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TWO TREATISES,

ON THE

CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD,

AND ON THE

DIGNITY OF THE EPISCOPAL ORDER:

WITH

A PREFATORY DISCOURSE

IN ANSWER TO

A BOOK ENTITLED, THE RIGHTS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, &c.,

AND AN APPENDIX.

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THE FOURTH EDITION.

V. 2

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VOLUME II.

CONTAINING

THE TWO TREATISES,

THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD ASSERTED,

AND

THE DIGNITY OF THE EPISCOPAL ORDER.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Editor cannot send out this volume without acknowledging his obligations to several friends who have relieved him from much of the most laborious part of his work. Without such assistance the publication of the volume must have been delayed much longer. If any apology is needed for the length of the notes, it may be found in the wish not only to present to the reader the originals of the passages quoted by the Author, but also to give the substance, and if possible the words, of the authorities referred to by him; a course which the peculiar character of the treatises seemed to make desirable.

The Author's table of contents has been retained. It will be found to combine the objects of an index and an analysis of the work; and its terms have been adopted in the headings of the pages and the marginal contents of the sections; which have been added in this as in the previous volume.

Sept. 8, 1847.

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[a] [In the contents to the third edition these words were wrongly put to the first interpretation.]

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THE

CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD

ASSERTED.

CHAP. I.

THE GRAND OBJECTION AGAINST THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD, FROM THE SILENCE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, CONSIDERED.

REVEREND SIR,

I THANK you for putting me in mind of what you think will be objected against the fourth proposition in my first letter[a]. You grant I have sufficiently proved from Scripture that the Christian Church, by its constitution, is a royal or regal priesthood, or sacerdotal kingdom[b]; but that I have not proved from it that the ministers of the Church are priests, which you say will be brought as an objection by some men against the second reason which I give, why the Church is called a royal or regal priesthood, to wit, "because the royal priest or sacerdotal king of it, Christ Jesus, hath committed the government and administration of His kingdom to priests." You tell me those men will be sure to observe

The occasion of writing this treatise.

[a] [This most probably is the first letter sent to Serjeant Geers: for the mention of this, and the circumstances of the composition of this discourse, see the Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. pp. 61, 62, and the notes there.

The fourth proposition (ibid., p. 66) is, "IV. That the Church, or incorporate body of Christians, is by its constitution a holy, royal, or regal priesthood, as it is called in the Scriptures. First, because Christ the head of it, is the antitype of Melchisedec, and as such, a sacerdotal sovereign, or regal priest. And secondly, because this sacerdotal Sovereign has committed the government and administration of His kingdom to ministerial priests, who, as I must often put you in mind, are the vicars, substitutes, legates, representatives, or vicegerents of their royal, sacerdotal Lord and Master, in His kingly, as well as His priestly office, throughout all the districts and dominions of His spiritual kingdom upon earth."]

[b] [This proof is contained in the third proposition, and the passages of Scripture and of the fathers given in support of it. See Prefat. Disc., pp. 64—66, and the notes there: and below, note n, p. 5.]

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against me, that the ministers of Christ in the whole New Testament are not once called priests, nor their ministry priesthood; but that those names or titles grew into use among the ecclesiastical writers after the times in which the Scriptures were written. This, Sir, you say, is expressly affirmed by Chemnitius, in the following words[c]: "In the writings of the New Testament the name of priest and priesthood is never given to the ministry of the Gospel, but the custom of calling the ministry priesthood, and the ministers priests, came to prevail from the use of those names in ecclesiastical writers." And that bishops are proper priests you say is affirmed by a late writer[d], to be "absolutely rejected by the whole Protestant communion." This writer seconds himself with great assurance in another book[e], where he tells us, that when the author of the Second Defence of the Church of England denied bishops to be priests in the proper sense of the word, "he spake in the language that hath been current in this Church ever since the Reformation. And for his own part, he saith, he cannot conceive why the author of the Regale and Pontificate asserted a proper priesthood, unless it were to make way for a proper sacrifice, and if that be the reason, (saith he, very ignorantly as well as maliciously,) it is easy to guess what men would be at." Indeed, it is easier to guess from whom he

[c] Examen Concil. Trident. [pars ii.] de Sacram. Ordin., cap. 1. [In Scriptura Novi Testamenti appellatio sacerdotum et sacerdotii nusquam tribuitur ministerio Novi Testamenti. Sed ecclesiasticorum scriptorum usu invaluit, ministerium vocare sacerdotium, et ministros sacerdotes. p. 259. Franc. 1574.]

[d] Second Defence of the Church of England, from the Charge of Schism and Heresy, [as laid against it by the Vindicator of the deprived Bishops, Lond. 1698; i. e. Dodwell, (in his Vindication of the deprived Bishops, 1692, and the Defence of it, 1695.) "He positively affirms our bishops to be properly priests, and that of a more noble order too than the Aaronical, even the order of Melchisedec. And what is it, I wonder, that makes him so readily admit that which, by his own confession, is so very difficultly admitted by many, (that which is absolutely rejected by the whole Protestant communion, he should have said,) viz., that bishops are properly priests, and the Eucharist a proper sacrifice."] p. 8. [The author's name is not known. Hickes afterwards says, "your late writer and his second."]

[e] In a book entituled, The Regal Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs asserted; in a Discourse occasioned by the Case of the Regale and Pontificate. [London, 1701. The passage referred to is, "As for the author cited by the objector, &c., his words have been grossly misrepresented; for he doth not positively deny that there are any priests or priesthood in the Church; but only that there are any priests in the proper sense of the word. And he spake in the language that hath been current in the Church ever since the Reformation."—p. 59. This work was answered by Leslie in a Defence, &c., in 1702. See his Theol. Works, vol. i. p. 493.]

borrowed this phrase, and at his ill meaning in it, which doth not only reflect, as he intended, upon that learned writer, but on the ancient fathers and councils, who thought the holy Eucharist a proper sacrifice, and upon our first reformers, as may be seen in our first liturgy[f], and upon those learned bishops[g] in both kingdoms who compiled the liturgy of the Church of Scotland, and upon Bishop Andrews, Mr. Mede, and some other very learned men now living, mentioned in the following discourse. Nay, he is so very self-assured as to affirm, that "the priesthood in a proper sense is not to be proved[h];" and yet he brings no other argument for his assertion but the single authority of one man, Dr. Outram[i], to whom he sends the author of the Regale as a scholar to his master, to learn "the difference betwixt a proper priesthood and the evangelical ministry." And that he might oblige that excellent writer to hearken to him with all deference and submission, as a disciple, he tells him that he was "as great a man as this Church ever had[k]."

[f] Commonly called the First Book of K. Edward VI. [See Appendix, No. i.; and for the Scottish Liturgy, Appendix, No. ii. See also Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. pp. 126, sqq. and p. 133.]

[g] Archbishop Spottiswood and Archbishop Laud, &c. [Spottiswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's, Maxwell, bishop of Ross, and Wedderburne of Dumblane, were the most active in the work; with Whitford of Brechin, Guthrie of Moray, and Lindsay of Glasgow. They requested Laud's assistance, and the book being first prepared in Scotland, was submitted to the consideration of Laud, Juxon, and Wren; but from Juxon's engagements as lord treasurer the burden of the work devolved on the other two.—Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 304.]

[h] [The Regal Supremacy, &c., p. 61.]

[i] De Sacrificiis [libri duo; quorum altero explicantur omnia Judæorum, nonnulla gentium profanarum sacrificia; altero sacrificium Christi;] lib. i. cap. 19. § 5. p. 222. [Lond. 1677.] Jam vero quamvis S. Paulus (Rom. xv. 16, 17.) tralatitio loquendi genere, &c. "And now, though St. Paul using a metaphorical kind of speech, assumes the person of a priest, and although all Christians, upon the account of those spiritual sacrifices which they daily offer unto God, are sometimes called priests [Rev. i. 6.]; yet it is to be noted, that no ministers of the Gospel, of what order soever, are upon the account of their office called priests or high-priests. Which I therefore observe, that you may understand the great difference betwixt the evangelical ministry, and the Aaronical priesthood: which chiefly appears in this, that the former is ordained for God in things pertaining to men, but the latter for men in things pertaining to God. From whence we may learn this also, that that hath chiefly to do with men, but this to do with God: to this we may add, that the priesthood of Christ, and not the evangelical ministry, succeeds the Jewish priesthood. So that now there is none but Christ Himself, who by authority derived from God, is a priest or high-priest, that is, an advocate for men with God."

[k] ["But now to shew this author, if he will vouchsafe to learn, not from me, but from as great a man as this Church ever had, wherein lies the difference between a proper priesthood and the evangelical ministry, I shall desire him to consider this passage of Dr. Outram's," &c.—The Regal Supremacy, &c. p. 62. Dr. William Outram was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge;

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He was indeed a learned and a pious man, and an ornament to the Church, and his learning and piety make me honour his memory. Particularly he was well versed in the Hebrew and rabbinical learning; but even in that, which was his chief study and talent, there were many eminent men of the Church, who flourished before him and in his time, whom he would have acknowledged his superiors, as Mr. Nic. Fuller, Dr. Pocock, Bp. Walton, Dr. Lightfoot, not to mention others. And as for the knowledge of the fathers and councils, which is so requisite for a divine, I wish he had been as well versed in them as in Ben Maimon and Abarbanel, and then indeed he might have been as great a man as this author, for his own purpose, describes him to have been, even a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of the Church. But, Sir, we injure the memories of such worthy men when we stretch their characters, and make them greater than they were; and therefore, as writers should take care not to lessen the just worth and greatness of authors when they give testimony against them, so ought they not to magnify and aggrandize them above what is meet, when they are on their side, especially when they reason only from their authority, as your late writer, in both his books, doth in a point wherein, against the voice of antiquity, it did not become him to be so dogmatical and assured.

But Grotius writes on this subject with more modesty than this gentleman; for he, when speaking of the Christian priesthood, writes thus[1]: "Truly it was a received custom

archdeacon of Leicester, 1669; afterwards prebendary of Westminster, and rector of St. Margaret's. He died in 1679, aged 54. The only work published by himself was the one here mentioned. After his death a volume of twenty sermons was published by Dr. Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Lincoln; who prefixed a preface to a second edition in 1697, in which he says, "His extraordinary skill in rabbinical learning he hath made appear in his book De Sacrificiis, wherein he hath also given a proof of his profound skill in the highest points of Divine wisdom. But what his abilities were in other parts both of Divine and human knowledge, he had not leisure enough from his ministerial labours to let the world know: nor have I leisure enough to make it sensible how great they were; or to represent the gravity, sobriety, simplicity, truth, and plainness of his conversation, his devotion to God, and his charity to the neighbourhood," &c. His epitaph in Westminster Abbey says that by his great labours and application of mind in the study of the Holy Scriptures and the fathers, he contracted the disease of the stone, of which he died.—See Biogr. Britannica, 1760.]

[1] [Ut autem præcones Novi Testamenti Sacerdotes speciatim appellentur, est quidem receptum antiqua ecclesiæ consuetudine, sed non de nihilo est quod ab eo loquendi genere et Christus ipse, et ejus Apostoli semper abstinuerunt. Idque satis esse debet ad nos admonendos ne passim atque

in the ancient Church to call the preachers of the Gospel priests, but there was some reason why Christ and His Apostles abstained from that way of speaking, which is sufficient to admonish us, lest we lightly and inconsiderately draw an argument (about some things mentioned there) from the Levitical priests to the ministers of the Gospel, because there is a great difference of one from the other in the function and the succession of the persons to it." Before I proceed to obviate that objection, I must observe that it makes no great difference as to my undertaking in the first letter[m], whether bishops be, properly speaking, priests or not, or whether or no they be so much as priests in an improper sense; that is, whether they are priests at all or no. For my chief design there is to shew, that they are Christ's stewards in His house; His vicegerents upon earth in the several principalities or dominions of His spiritual kingdom; and that all Christians as such, kings and senates, as well as their people, are subjects to them as to His vicegerents, or chief ministers over the Catholic Church[n]. To prove this is my chief design in my propositions[o], and this is true, whether they be admitted to be priests or no; or whether or no they represent Christ the antitypal Melchisedec in His double capacity, and are servants and ministers under Him in the several dominions of His spiritual kingdom, both as High-Priest and King. You know, Sir, the presbyterians, who do not allow bishops and presbyters to be priests, yet assert the nature of Christ's spiritual kingdom, and all the rights of it, to be independent of the kingdoms of the world; and carry the spiritual power and authority of the presby-

promiscue a sacerdotibus Leviticis ad Evangelii ministros argumentum ducamus, cum et in ipso munere et in modo personas designandi latum sit discrimen.—De Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra, (opus posthumum,) cap. ii. § 5. Grotii Opera, tom. iv. p. 210, a. Lond. 1679.]

[m] [See note, p. 1. That undertaking ultimately had reference to the nonjuring question. See Pref. Discourse, vol. i. p. 62. note g.]

[n] [He refers to Prop. III. "Christ the archetypal, eternal Melchisedec, is the King of this spiritual kingdom, Lord of this spiritual dominion, and supreme Head of this spiritual corporation; and the bishops, as successors to the Apostles, are under Him, by commission derived from Him, spiritual lords, chiefs, and princes, as well as priests in His spiritual kingdom; to whom, in their respective spiritual dominions and jurisdictions, He requires obedience of all His subjects, of what temporal rank or condition soever, as to His stewards, vicegerents, or chief ministers over His Church."—Pref. Disc., vol. i. pp. 64—66.]

[o] The first four of which are printed in the beginning of the Prefatory Answer. [The whole number was first twenty-three, afterwards forty. See Pref. Disc., vol. i. p. 62. note g.]

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tery, as His ministry, to as great a height as I have done that of bishops, whom, agreeably to the consentient testimony of ecclesiastical writers and councils, I assert to be priests, and their authority to be a sacerdotal authority, and their college in every Christian province, and in and through the whole world, to be a sacerdotal college. And I am neither afraid nor ashamed to say, that I will adhere to this consentient authority and tradition of the ancient Church, in the best and purest ages of it; though it were rejected, as your late writer falsely asserts, "by the whole Protestant communion," or as he should have said, by all the Protestant Churches; for they are many and different, and few of them, as the common adversary observes, are in communion one with another.

SECT. II. Division of the argument.

II. Having premised this, I proceed, as you advised me, to obviate the objection which these men will be apt to make against the second reason of my fourth proposition, not believing bishops and presbyters to be priests, or proper priests, because they are neither called priests, nor is their office or ministry called priesthood in the Scriptures of the New Testament, which hath been also observed by many learned men who yet never doubted but that they were priests. Wherefore, to set my answer to this objection in as clear a light as I can, I will shew first, that it is not a good argument to prove that the ministers of the Christian Church are not priests or their office not a priesthood, because they are not so called in the New Testament. Secondly, I will shew, that though the names of priests and priesthood, as applied to the ministers and ministry of Christ, are not found in the New Testament, yet the thing signified by those names is there, and properly belongs to them. And thirdly, I will give you the reasons for which learned men conjecture they are not called by those names in the writings of the New Testament.

SECT. III. Name not being in the New Testament no objection.

III. First, then, I will shew that it is no good argument to prove the bishops and presbyters of the Christian Church not to be priests, or their respective offices a priesthood, because those names are not given them in the Scriptures of the New Testament. For there are many things contained in the New Testament which have been taught for Gospel-truths

and doctrines by the Catholic Church, though the names or terms by which they are expressed and taught are not to be found there. The word or term 'original sin, or birth-sin[p],' is not to be found in the whole Bible, and yet because the thing signified by it is there, very few divines or other Christians doubt of the doctrine signified by it, as it was taught in the time of the Pelagian controversy, and is defined in the ninth article of our Church. The Divine authority of the New Testament, is and hath been a previous article of faith taught and believed in all Churches, and yet there is not one book in it which either saith of itself, or of the whole Testament, that it is of Divine authority, or was written by Divine inspiration. So the admitting women as well as men to the holy Eucharist, hath been the universal custom and practice of the Church; and yet no one book of the New Testament saith in express words, that women were admitted to the holy Sacrament, indeed no more than that infants were baptized. 'There are many more doctrines and practices, which have been taught and professed in all Churches and ages as common principles of Christianity[q], of which we have no

[p] IX. Article of Religion. [of Original or Birth Sin.] Ministration of Public Baptism for Infants. "Dearly beloved, forasmuch as all men are conceived and born in sin," &c.

[q] See Dr. William Beveridge's Proœmium before his Codex Canonum Eccles. Primitivæ Vindicat. [§ 2. Lond. 1678. Multa autem sunt, quæ, licet in sacris Scripturis expresse ac definite non legantur, communi tamen omnium Christianorum consensione ex iis eruuntur. Exempli gratia, tres distinctas in sacro sancta Trinitate personas venerandas esse, Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, eosque singulos verum esse Deum et tamen unum tantummodo esse Deum: Christum θεάνθρωπον esse, vere Deum, ac vere hominem in una eademque persona. Hæc et similia, quamvis totidem verbis ac syllabis, nec in veteri nec in novo Instrumento traduntur, de iis tamen, ut utroque fundatis, inter omnes semper convenit Christianos: demptis tantummodo paucis quibusdam hæreticis, quorum in religione haud major habenda est ratio quam monstrorum in natura. Sic etiam infantes sacro baptismate abluendos esse, et sponsores ad illud Sacramentum adhibendos: Dominicam sive primam per singulas septimanas feriam religiose observandam esse: Passionis, Resurrectionis, et Ascensionis Domini ad cœlum, necnon Spiritus Sancti adventus commemorationem per singulos annos peragendam: Ecclesiam ubique per episcopos a presbyteris distinctos iisque prælatos administrandum esse. Hæc et alia hujusmodi nusquam in sacris Scripturis diserte ac nominatim præcipiuntur; sed nihilominus per mille et quadringentos ab Apostolis annos in publicum Ecclesiæ usum ubique recepta fuerunt; nec ullam intra illud tempus invenire est Ecclesiam, in ea non consentientem. Adeo ut quasi communes sunt notiones omnium ab origine Christianorum animis insitæ, non tam ex ullis particularibus Sacræ Scripturæ locis, quam ex omnibus: ex generali totius Evangelii scopo et tenore; ex ipsa religionis in eo stabilitæ natura et proposito; atque ex constanti denique Apostolorum traditione, qui ecclesiasticos hujusmodi ritus, et generales, ut ita loquar, Evangelii interpretationes per universum terrarum orbem una cum fide propagarunt. Alioquin enim non incredibile

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express mention in the New Testament, nor can find therein the name or terms in which they have been taught and defined by the Catholic Church. The words Person or Trinity, or Trinity in Unity are not there; ὁμοούσιος or consubstantial, as the Arians objected, are not there to be found; nor is θεάνθρωπος in all the Greek Testament; or is it any where expressly, or in terms therein taught, that Jesus Christ is very God and very man in one and the same person.' The like is to be said of the Deity of the Holy Ghost, who, as the Unitarians object[r], is not once expressly affirmed to be God in all the Scriptures of the New Testament. The same may be said of the doctrine of satisfaction[s], which is there, though not under that name; and also of infant baptism; the religious observation of the first day of the week, by Christians called the Lord's day; and of the polity or government of the Church by bishops superior to and distinct from presbyters, which yet was the form of government in all Churches and ages for almost sixteen hundred years from the time of the Apostles, though it is not in express words mentioned or described in the holy Scriptures. So the doctrine of the two Sacraments[t] is not expressly to be found there, nor of the Eucharist's being a real, external, and material oblation, though the one,

imo vero impossibile prorsus esset, ut tam unanimi consensione, ubique, et semper, et ab omnibus reciperentur.]

[r] Wolzogenii Comment. in Act. Apost., cap. v. ver. 3. *Ut mentireris in Spiritum Sanctum.* Bene hoc loco Piscator in Scholiis, 'Spiritum Sanctum, id est, nos Apostolos, in quibus agit Spiritus Sanctus, et quibus revelat, quæ opus est ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ. Metonymia adjuncti.' ver. 4. *Non mentitus es hominibus, sed Deo.* Simile huic dictum est, Exod. xvi.; ubi postquam (ver. 2.) scriptum est congregationem Israelitarum murmurasse contra Mosen, et contra Aaronem; deinde (ver. 8.) dicitur: *non contra nos murmurationes vestræ, sed contra Dominum.* Et Numb. xx.; postquam dictum est (ver. 3.), jurgatum esse populum cum Mose; postea (ver. 13.) dicitur ibi tunc jurgatos esse filios Israelis cum Domino, seu Jehovah. Vide etiam Matt. x. 40; xviii. 5; Marc. ix. 37; Luc. x. 16; 1 Cor. viii. 12. [He proceeds, Non recte ergo hinc quidam concludunt Spiritum Sanctum hoc loco expresse vocari Deum.—Johannis Ludovici Wolzogenii Baronis Austriaci Op., tom. ii. p. 30. apud Bibliothecam Fratrum Polonorum. Irenopoli. 1656. Piscator however had said on ver. 4, *Deo*, τῷ Θεῷ· nempe Spiritui Sancto, qui in nobis agit, et arcana quum opus est, nobis revelat.—Johannis Piscatoris Commentarii, tom. iii. in N. T. p. 392. Herbonæ Nass. 1638.]

[s] [By "satisfaction" Hickes means the satisfaction made by the death of our Lord.]

[t] See the Preface to my Second Collection of Controversial Letters, pp. lv, lvi. [Lond. 1710. See note c, vol. i. p. 1. Hickes is there replying to Dr. Hancock's demand for Scripture proof of the Eucharistic Sacrifice; "I might challenge him in return," he says, "to prove from Scripture that the Lord's Supper is a Sacrament, and to give me out of it one express proof for that." Again; "There is not one place in the Greek Testament where the Lord's Supper is called a mystery (the Greek word for Sacrament)" &c.]

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the name of Dionysius Areopagita, affects the words. And Gregory Nazianzen saith[c], that "Christ as a *mystes* taught His disciples the mysteries of the passover." It would be tedious to shew how the fathers called the two Sacraments by the name of *μυσταγωγία*[d], nor need we wonder, when the word *μυστήριον*, 'mystery,' is so often used in the New Testament. The kingdom of heaven or the kingdom of God, as the Church is called by our Lord, had its institutions and mysteries, and (1 Cor. iv. 1), the ministers of it are called the "stewards or dispensers of the mysteries of God;" which expression, whether Mr. Toland will or no[e], is a plain description or gloss of a mystagogue, even as plain and significant a description of an hierophant or mystagogue as that of Hesychius[f], "a mystagogue is a priest who instructs, a learner of religious mysteries;" or that in Suidas[g], "a mystagogue is a priest, who is a teacher of mysteries." Hence St. Paul, as an hierophant or mystagogue of the Gospel, desires the Colossians "to pray for him, that God would open unto him a door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ." If you desire to see more applicable to this purpose, you may consult 1 Cor. ii. 4—7; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Rom. xvi. 25; Eph. iii. 3, 4; Coloss. i.

Matt. 13. 28; Mark 11. 10; Luke 7. 28; 9. 2.

[Col. 4. 3.]

νοις, τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἁμαρτεῖν.]—Sozom. Hist. Eccl., lib. i. cap. 3. [Hist. Eccl., tom. ii. p. 13.]

[c] (*Χριστὸς*) *μυσταγωγεῖ τοὺς μαθητὰς τὸ πάσχα.*—S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xl. [§ 30. Op., tom. i. p. 725, C.]

[d] [See Suicer, Thesaurus, tom. ii. p. 380, who, after giving the authorities referred to by Hickes, says, Hæ voces usurpantur de Sacramentis; 1. de Baptismo; 2. de S. Cœna; giving instances of each.]

[e] [Hickes refers to Toland's work, entitled, Christianity not Mysterious: or a treatise shewing that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to reason, nor above it; and that no Christian doctrine can be properly called a mystery. London, 1698. He maintains, ch. i. sect. 3. § 6. p. 73, "that in the New Testament mystery is always used . . . for things naturally very intelligible, but so covered by figurative words or rites, that reason could not discover them without special revelation; and that the vail is actually taken away; and that the doctrines so revealed cannot now be properly called mysteries." So ch. iii. sect. 3. § 30. p. 100, he interprets the words of the text, 1 Cor. iv. 1, "the preachers of those doctrines which God was pleased to reveal;" and ch. v. sect. 3, after tracing, as he professes to do, the gradual introduction of 'mystery' into Christianity from paganism, he says, § 84. p. 164, "their terms were exactly the same without any alteration; they both made use of the words 'initiating,' *μυεῖσθαι*, and 'perfecting,' *τελεῖσθαι*. They both called their mysteries *μυήσεις, τελειώσεις, τελειωτικά, ἐποπτεῖαι*, &c. They both looked upon initiation as a kind of deifying. And they both styled their priests mystagogues, mystes, hierotelestes, &c.]

[f] *Μυσταγωγός· ἱερεὺς ὁ τοὺς μύστας ἄγων.*—Hesych.

[g] *Μυσταγωγός· ἱερεὺς μυστηρίων διδάσκαλος.* [Suidas. The words *μυστηρίων διδάσκαλος* are enclosed in brackets in Gaisford's edition.] *Μυσταγωγῶ. τὰ μυστήρια διδάσκω.* [Phavorinus. *Μυσταγωγεῖ· αἰτιατικῇ. μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖ, ὡς μυστήρια ἄγει, ἢ ἐκδιδάσκει.* Suidas. *μυστήριον ἄγει.* Hesychius.]

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the name of Dionysius Areopagita, affects the words. And Gregory Nazianzen saith[c], that "Christ as a *mystes* taught His disciples the mysteries of the passover." It would be tedious to shew how the fathers called the two Sacraments by the name of *μυσταγωγία*[d], nor need we wonder, when the word *μυστήριον*, 'mystery,' is so often used in the New Testament. The kingdom of heaven or the kingdom of God, as the Church is called by our Lord, had its institutions and mysteries, and (1 Cor. iv. 1), the ministers of it are called the "stewards or dispensers of the mysteries of God;" which expression, whether Mr. Toland will or no[e], is a plain description or gloss of a mystagogue, even as plain and significant a description of an hierophant or mystagogue as that of Hesychius[f], "a mystagogue is a priest who instructs, a learner of religious mysteries;" or that in Suidas[g], "a mystagogue is a priest, who is a teacher of mysteries." Hence St. Paul, as an hierophant or mystagogue of the Gospel, desires the Colossians "to pray for him, that God would open unto him a door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ." If you desire to see more applicable to this purpose, you may consult 1 Cor. ii. 4—7; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Rom. xvi. 25; Eph. iii. 3, 4; Coloss. i.

Matt. 13. 28; Mark 11. 10; Luke 7. 28; 9. 2.

[Col. 4. 3.]

νοις, τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἁμαρτεῖν.]—Sozom. Hist. Eccl., lib. i. cap. 3. [Hist. Eccl., tom. ii. p. 13.]

[c] (*Χριστὸς*) *μυσταγωγεῖ τοὺς μαθητὰς τὸ πάσχα.*—S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xl. [§ 30. Op., tom. i. p. 725, C.]

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25—27; ii. 2. Which places being considered, I believe it will be impossible for Mr. Toland, that bold enemy to all revealed religion[h], to give a good reason why a Christian priest, or *pater sacratus*, may not as properly be called a *mystes* in one sense for a mystagogue, (whose office it is to initiate into the mysteries of the Christian sect,) as well as the learners whom he initiates and instructs, are so called in the other. St. Ignatius, as I have shewed, so calls the latter; and why we may not so esteem and call the former, I can give no reason, though the word is not to be found in the writings of the New Testament, since the thing, in other words, is denoted there. In like manner the ministers of the Christian Church have been ever deemed, and spoken of as priests from the time of the Apostles by the Church and Church writers, who could not be ignorant of the common notion of priesthood among Jews and Gentiles, and of the nature of their own ministry; and who had more sanctity than to usurp the title of priests, when they first began to be so called, if they had not known and believed themselves to be such, and their office, in which they ministered unto God, to be as truly and properly sacerdotal under the new law, as that of Aaron and his sons was under the old. It was indeed a priesthood of a different kind and religion, nay of a more simple kind, because of a more simple religion; of a more simple, free, and easy kind, because in conformity to Christianity, which was but reformed Judaism; it was stripped of much ceremonial pomp, and many carnal rites; and servile and burdensome observances "imposed upon them till the time of reformation;" and particularly discharged of all the sacrifices by slaughter and blood, as of goats, bulls, and calves, to which Christ put an end by His one offering up of Himself once upon the cross for the sins of the whole world. But then, though it was a more simple priesthood than the Levitical, yet nevertheless they thought it had the nature and notion of priesthood, as much as that ministry, or else it is difficult to imagine that the successors to the Apostles, after the destruction of Jerusalem, should arrogate and assume to themselves a title which did not truly belong to them, as ministers of the New Testament. They un-

[Heb. 9. 10, sqq.]

[h] [See vol. i. p. 51, note h.]

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doubtedly knew the reasons for which the Apostles and presbyters in the infancy of the Church did not call themselves priests; but if they had thought their office and ministry was not a priesthood, they would also have abstained from the title of priests after their example; but since they did not, it is reasonable to presume that they thought their office to be truly sacerdotal, and that the great difference which Grotius saith was between them, consisted in circumstance as to their different succession and designation, and not in essence or substance; as will appear from the Scriptures of the New Testament, as expounded by the consentient opinion and practice of all Christians till of late years. "And[1] as Tully saith, that 'the consent of all men is the voice of nature:' so the consent of all Christians in opinion and practice for so many ages, ought to be received as the undoubted sense of the Scriptures, and the voice of the Catholic Church;" and particularly as to this thing, as well as others, which I have proved by several instances are in the Scriptures of the New Testament, and may be proved from thence, though they are not named therein.

[1] Dr. Beveridge's Proœmium [§ 2.] above cited, [note q, p. 7. Quemadmodum enim omni in re 'consensus omnium vox naturæ est,' ut ait Cicero, sic etiam in hujusmodi rebus consensus omnium Christianorum vox Evangelii merito habeatur. On this follows the passage quoted above.]

CHAPTER II.

THE POSITIVE PROOFS FOR THE CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD, UPON THE PRINCIPLES AND REASONINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. Wherefore I proceed to shew in the second place, that though the names of priest and priesthood, as applied to bishops and presbyters, and their office, are not to be found in the New Testament: yet the things signified by them are there, and properly belong to the ministers and ministry ordained by Christ under the dispensation of the Gospel, which is the very end, substance, and verity of the Mosaic economy, and the fulfilling of the Mosaic law.

St. Paul's description of a priest.

To evince this, I begin with the description or definition of an high-priest or priest, which the Apostle gives us in the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Hebrews, ver. 1. "Every high-priest," saith he, "taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins." Or, "Every high-priest is taken from among men, and ordained in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins:" that is, every high-priest is taken from among men, and ordained for men, to preside[k] in holy matters relating to God, or the worship of God[l]; or as the Syriac version renders the place[m], "every high-priest among men stands for men in things that are of God," i. e. every high-priest on earth among men stands in the presence of God to perform Divine offices for them, and "for their benefit and good[n], to reconcile them to

[k] *Pro hominibus præest rebus divinis.*—Castalio. [Biblia Sacra ex Sebast. Castalionis postrema recognitione cum annotationibus ejusdem, &c. Basileæ. 1573.]

[l] Etabli pour les hommes en ce qui regarde le culte de Dieu.—Mons-Testament. [Le nouveau Testament, traduit selon l'edition vulgate avec les differences des Grec (par le maistre de Sacy, Arnauld, Nicole, &c.) tom. 2. 8vo. ed. 2. Mons. 1699.] Etabli pour les hommes, en ce qui regarde Dieu. —Le Clerc. [Le nouveau Testament, traduit sur l'original Grec, avec de remarques, per Jean le Clerc; tom. 2. 4to. Amst. 1703.

Hickes has selected the classical version of Castalio; and the then most recent ones, by the Port Royalists, and Le Clerc, the great critic of his day, and of views quite opposed to himself.]

[m] [ܟܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ
ܡܬܩܢܐ ܠܡܕܡ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܕܡܩܪܒ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܘܒܚܛܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ]

Omnis enim pontifex qui est ex hominibus, pro hominibus stat super iis quæ Dei sunt.—Vers. Syr. Biblia Polyglotta, Waltoni. tom. v. p. 856.]

[n] A cause des hommes, pour leur bien et leur utilité; afin de les reconcilier à Dieu, ou de leur obtenir quel-

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God, and God to them, or to obtain graces and favours to them from Him, and as it were to interpose between Him and them." So in the second chapter of the same Epistle, ver. 17, the Apostle, describing the priesthood of Christ from the nature of the priesthood or priestly office among the Jews, saith, "in all things it behoveth Him to be made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and faithful high-priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people."

SECT. II.

A priest is a vicegerent of God in His Church.

II. Sir, you know the words in the original here and in the first verse of the fifth chapter are, *τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν*, and perhaps you may also know, that the Apostle took them from the Greek translation of the Old Testament, Exod. xviii. 19, where Jethro saith unto Moses, היה אתה לעם מול האלהים, *γίνου σὺ τῷ λαῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.* In our translation, "Be thou to the people to God-ward, that thou mayest bring the causes unto God." In other versions[o], "Be thou to the people before God," or "in the presence of God," or "Be thou to the people, *a parte Dei*, on God's part," or as the vulgar Latin translation[p], "Be thou to the people in things pertaining to God." Or[q], "Be thou for the people in things towards God," or as Castalio, *Tu populi rem apud Deum agito*—"Do thou the people's business with God." So in Exod. iv. 16, where God

Exod. 7. 1.

told Moses that Aaron should be his prophet, and he should be Aaron's prince, the Greek and Latin translations have it, "He shall speak for thee to the people, he shall be a mouth unto thee, and thou shalt be unto him in things[r] pertaining to God[s];" that is, thou shalt be unto him a king[t].

ques graces, et bienfaits de lui, et ainsi s'interposer entre Dieu et eux. In the great French Bible [commonly known as the Geneva Bible] on the place, published with large notes, [Geneva, &c.] by Samuel and Henry Des Marets, Amsterdam, 1669.

[o] [The Samaritan version of the words is ·ⲝⲙⲩⲁⲍ ·ⲝⲁⲛⲏ ·ⲙⲣⲝ ⲙⲡⲝⲁⲍⲏⲝ ·ⲍⲁⲣ *Esto tu pro populo ante Dominum.* The Arabic, كن انت للقوم من جهة الله *Sis tu populo a parte Dei.*—Walton, Polyglott, tom. i. p. 305. Pagninus' version, corrected by Montanus; *Esto tu populo coram Deo;* commonly known as Montanus' version, Antw. 1584.]

[p] *Esto tu populo in his quæ ad Deum pertinent.*—[Vers. Vulgata.]

[q] Que tu sois pour le peuple envers Dieu.—Great French Bible. [See note l.]

[r] לאלהים, Lelohim.

[s] [Vulg. *Ipse loquetur pro te ad populum et erit os tuum; tu autem eris ei in his quæ ad Deum pertinent.* LXX. Καὶ αὐτός σοι λαλήσει πρὸς τὸν λαὸν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται σοι στόμα· σὺ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔσῃ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.]

[t] Grot. [Inter Criticos Sacros, tom. i. pars 1. Annot. in Exod. p. 88. Amst. 1698. Textus Hebræus habet,] *Tu eris ipsi in Deum*, id est, Jus gladii habebis in ipsum et alios. Nunquam

From hence, Sir, I think it is plain, that the priest's office is the same in sacred, as Moses' was in civil affairs; when as king, or ruler of the twelve tribes in the beginning of the theocracy, he ministered in temporal matters betwixt God and the people. Hence Grotius thinks that the sixth verse of the ninety-ninth Psalm, ought not to be rendered "Moses and Aaron among His priests," but rather, "Moses and Aaron among His ministers[u];" that is, Moses among His ministers of state, and Aaron among His priests, or ministers of His Church. For the original word כהן, *cohęn* signifies in its general signification λειτουργὸς, 'minister;' and though it is most commonly used in the Old Testament to denote a sacred minister or priest, yet sometimes it is used to denote a prince or great man in the state, as in 2 Sam. viii. 18, where it is said, that "Benaiah was over the Cherethites and Pelethites," there it is said of the sons of David, that they were כהנים, *cohenim*, which we render 'chief rulers,' and the Greek translation, 'princes, or rulers of the court[x].' So in Gen. xli. 45, what our and other translations render 'priest of On[y],' the Chaldee version translates רבא דאן, *rabba deon*[z], 'prince of On,' and some of the critics think it the better version[a]. So saith Buxtorf[b], "כהן, *cohen*, the Hebrew word, sometimes is used in a large sense for prefects, governors of cities and provinces, and civil governors, and then it is rendered in the Targum by רבא, *rabba*, which signifies a prince." Wherefore as Moses, in his regal capacity, was God's minister over the people in the state; so Aaron, in his

enim hoc nomen hominibus datur, nisi ad significandum jus vitæ, ac necis. Fagius, [ibid., p. 67,] *Et tu eris illius Deus.* Nam principes, judices et magistratus dii vocantur in Scriptura, propterea quod Dei judicium in terris exercent, ut Hebræi loquuntur. See also chap. vii. 1.

[u] [*Inter ministros ejus:* nam vox כהן valde generalis est, etsi plerumque per ἀντονομασίαν (nominis adstrictionem) quandam de sacerdotibus usurpatur. Vid. 2 Sam. viii. 19.—Grotius in Ps. xcix. 6. Crit. Sacr., tom. iii. p. 532. In his work de Imperio Summ. Potest. quoted note l, p. 5, he says, when speaking of the union of the regal and sacerdotal offices in patriarchal times; 'haud aliter Moses ad consecratum usque Aaronem, unde eum et regem et sacerdotem vocant sacræ literæ.'—Grot. Opera Theol., tom. iv. p. 208.]

[x] αὐλάρχας, LXX.

[y] כהן אן, Cohen On.

[z] [Paraph. Chald. apud Bibl. Polyglott. Walton, tom. i. p. 185.]

[a] [Vatablus in Gen. xli. 45. says; Doctiores hoc loco *principem* malunt transferre.—Apud Crit. Sacr., tom. i. p. 911.]

[b] Lexicon Rabbinicum; in Cohen. [כהן, כהנא, *sacerdos*, ut Hebræi כהן. Hebræum autem vocabulum aliquando late accipitur pro præfectis, toparchis, gubernatoribus politicis, et tunc in Targum redditur רבא *princeps.*]

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sacerdotal, was His minister over them in the Church: as the one, as a temporal prince, was His vicegerent to transact temporal matters between Him and the people; so the other, as a priest or spiritual prince, was His vicegerent to transact spiritual matters between God and them. They both acted as God's ministers, though in different spheres, and therefore saith Grotius of the priest[c], Heb. ii. 17, *Erat ejus officium Dei vice apud populum fungi, et populi vice apud Deum,* "It was the priest's office to be in God's stead to the people, and the people's stead to God." I say from this comparison it is plain, that the common notion of a priest is to be a negotiator between God and man in sacred things, as Moses' was in civil. Aaron was so, after God divided the sacerdotal from the regal office. He was chosen and appointed chief minister in the Jewish Church, as Moses was in the Jewish state, to transact and mediate in all sacred offices betwixt Him and the people: I say he was chosen; because, as the Apostle observes, no man can take this honour to himself, of standing, mediating, or interceding betwixt God and men in Divine matters, but he that is called of God, as Aaron and his sons were. So Christ our great archetypal High-Priest did not arrogate to Himself the honour of the priestly office, because He was called to it by God, who said unto Him, "Thou art My Son, to-day have I begotten Thee; Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec." This vicegerency, or mediatory office to transact and minister in sacred matters betwixt God and man, which belongs to the priestly character, as such, is emphatically set forth by the Hebrew preposition מול, which signifies, *erga, adversus,* 'towards,' *e regione,* 'over against[d],' *ante, coram,* 'before,' 'in the presence of,' and with *el* before it, *ἀνα μέσον, in terminis,* or *in medio duorum,* 'in the boundaries,' or 'middle between two, nigh, near;' and *ad* 'to.' And therefore by the import of מול האלהים, of which the Apostle's Greek is but the translation, the priest is the common manager, or minister of sacred affairs betwixt God

Ps. 2. 7; 110. 4.

[c] [Crit. Sacr., tom. vii. Annot. in Ep. ad Hebr., p. 932.]

[d] Hence in the German version by M. Luther, Heb. v. 1. is rendered thus: "For every high-priest that is taken from among men, is set, or placed for men over against God." Der werd gesetzt für die Menschen gegen Gott. [Wittenberg, 1555.]

and the people, over whom, by God's appointment, he is priest. He is their procurator or proxy, to transact with Him, and His procurator to transact with them. He stands and acts as mediator between both parties, as it were in the middle line of conversation, and in the very centre of communication betwixt them. He limits and regulates the intercourse on both sides between them, as their common vicegerent; and in this double relation to the two parties is conceived to be as it were posted 'between,' or 'in the middle' of them, and 'over against' them both. When he speaks to, or acts with the people in God's name, God is understood to draw nigh unto them; and when he speaks to Him, or for them in their name, and as their orator, they are understood to draw nigh unto Him. A priest, then, properly speaking, is לעם מול האלהים, *legnam moul haeloim*, and לאלהים מול העם, *leloim moul ha gnam*, 'a person ordained to act for the people God-ward, and for God to the people-ward;' i. e. as learned men are wont to express it, *pro hominibus constituitur in iis quæ erga Deum, pro Deo constituitur in iis quæ erga homines aguntur. Adstat propter populum coram Deo, et propter Deum coram populo.* To express myself about the proper notion of a priest in other words; he is an advocate, mediator, intercessor, negotiator, representative, vicegerent, mandatory, interpellant; or if there is any other name that will better express the force of the Hebrew and Greek words, or better suit with the honourable character or office of a priest, who by Divine institution is to officiate between God and man, in their spiritual addresses to, and negotiations one with the other.

The heathens themselves had the same common notion of priests and priesthood. "They accounted them as mediators betwixt God and men, being obliged to offer the sacrifices of the people to their gods; and on the other side, ἑρμηνευταὶ παρὰ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις, deputed by the gods to be their interpreters to men, to instruct them how to pray for themselves, what it was most expedient to ask, what sacrifices, [what vows,] what gifts would be most acceptable to the gods; and, in short, to teach them all the rites and ceremonies in Divine worship." These are the words of a most learned antiquary[e], in the beginning of the third chapter of

[e] Dr. Potter. [Antiquities of Greece, book ii. c. 3.]

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the second book of his "Archæologia Græca, or the Antiquities of Greece." Here I am invited to observe how the common notion of priesthood, and the idea of a priest answering to it, were expressed by the pagan Goths, or rather Germans, in words which are formed from their word GUD, which signifieth God, and in the plural is GUDIN[f], 'gods.' Those words are GUDINASSUS, and GUDI, or GUDA, from whence also the verb GUDINON signifies 'to do the office of a priest.' These words were all transferred from the idolatrous use of them to the Christian religion, as may be seen in the Gothic Gospels[g]; and according to their notation they signify the ministers and ministry of any god, whatever he be, true or false. No doubt but their religious worship and rites were as various as their gods; but whoever was appointed as a public minister, in the service of any of their gods, he was GUDI, his office GUDINASSUS, and he was said GUDINON, when he performed Divine service, of what nature soever it was, purely moral without signs or symbols, or mystical, or sacramental, with signs or symbols; both which sorts of Divine offices all religions ever had.

SECT. III.

Christian bishops and presbyters proper priests. Exod. 28. 1; 29. 1.

III. Now, Sir, to apply this general notion of a priest, or priesthood, I would fain ask your late writer, if it doth not properly belong to Christian bishops and priests. Are they not taken, or separated from men, as Aaron and his sons were, לכהן, *lecahen*, *ἱερατεύειν*, GUDINON, *ministrare, fungi sacerdotio;* or in the words of our translation, to "minister unto the Lord" in the priestly office? Are they not לעם מול האלהים, *legnam moul haelohim, populo in his quæ ad Deum pertinent?* 'ordained for men in things pertaining to God?' Do they not stand in the presence of God to perform mystical as well as moral offices, and minister in His holy worship for the benefit of the people, and serve before Him, especially at the altar, to make reconciliation for their sins? Are[h] they not *a parte Dei,*

[f] [Rather GUDA.]

[g] [Quatuor Evangeliorum versionem Gothicam (ex celeberrimo codice argenteo), et Anglo-Saxonicam deprompsit Franciscus Junius. Dordrechti. 1665. GUDA Goth, John ix. 31. GUDA Guda, dii, John x. 3. GUDINASSUS Gudjinassus, sacerdotium, Luc. i. 9. GUDI Gudji sacerdos, Luc. i. 5. GUDA Gudja, sacerdos, Marc. xiv. 61; John xviii. 19. GUDINON Gudjinon, sacerdotali officio fungi, Luc. i. 8.]

[h] Sacerdos in altari vice Christi fungitur, et sacrificium verum et plenum

'on God's part' to the people? Do they not negotiate their business with Him? Are they not His vicegerents to them, and their vicegerents to Him; and act between God and them in sacred, as Moses did in civil things? Are they not mediators, intercessors, or procurators betwixt God and man, and, as such, transact and minister in sacred matters between them? Are they not representatives of both parties, and placed by the nature of their office, as it were על מול, *el moul, in terminis*, on the frontier of intercourse, or in the middle line of communication between them? Do they not speak to, and act with the people in God's name, and with God in the name of the people? Is it not their office to initiate them by the mystical washing of baptism, and to offer their sacrifices as well as prayers and praises, and thanksgivings to Him; and to bless them more especially in the more solemn benedictions of their public ministrations, sacramental or not sacramental: of which latter sort are their offices of mere prayer, as also those in and by which they consecrate things or persons to God? And on the other side, are they not deputed and appointed by Him to be His interpreters, and the interpreters of His laws, and will, and pleasure in all things to them? I cannot think that your late writer, upon more mature thoughts, will deny this; and if he will not deny it then he must grant that bishops and presbyters are properly priests, and, like Aaron and his sons, properly ordained in things pertaining to God. I am persuaded, Sir, that no sober man or sound reasoner will deny this proposition, that considers the nature of the several holy offices, that ministers over the Christian Church are ordained to perform under and by the authority of our sovereign High-Priest, the Son of God. Though it would take up a great deal of time to shew this

Deo Patri in passionis Unigeniti sui offert recordationem.—Cyprian. Epist. lxiii. [The passage is so quoted by Hickes, who appears to have copied it from Grabe's note on Irenæus, lib. iv. c. 34, where the same words are given, and the reference is erroneously made to Ep. lxviii., which error was also copied by Hickes, and has been here corrected. The words of St. Cyprian are; Ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur qui id quod Christus fecit, imitatur; et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert Deo Patri, si sic incipiat offerre, &c.—Epist. lxiii. ad Cæcilium, p. 109. ed. Ben. In the same epistle, a few lines below, the words occur; Calicem in commemorationem Domini et passionis ejus offerimus; and in Epist. lviii. ad Lucium; ut altari Dei assistat antistes, p. 96. ed. Ben. Grabe seems to have intended to give the substance of St. Cyprian's statement, supplying words occurring elsewhere to make his meaning clearer.]

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out of the more ancient and modern offices of the Church; yet I would take the pains to prove it from them all, that bishops and presbyters are, truly and properly speaking, sacerdotal ministers of God, and their offices of a sacerdotal nature, but that I think it needless to go about to prove a thing, which will be evident to any man who will but read and consider the several offices of our own Church, and apply the common notion of a priest, and priesthood, as I have explained it out of the Scriptures, and in which, as in the notion of temple and sacrifice, both Jews and heathens did agree. In Julius Pollux[1] priests are called *οἱ τῶν θεῶν θεραπευταὶ*, 'the ministers of the gods;' and in Suidas *ἱερατικὴ*, 'the priesthood,' is according to the Egyptians said to be *θεῶν θεραπεία*[k], 'the ministry, or service of the gods,' and 'to be conversant about the immortality of souls, and the things of the other state, and virtue, and vice.' All which agree to the Christian ministry, and shew it to be a proper priesthood, and the ministers of it to be *θεουργοὶ*, 'ministers in things that relate to God,' as Pollux[l] also calls priests. I hope it will not be much from the purpose, or give offence to any thinking man, if I here set down the expressions which Dionysius Halicarnassensis uses in the second book of his Roman Antiquities[m], in describing the priests and several sorts of priesthood instituted by King Numa, to see whether the common notion they had of priests, and the priestly office, is applicable to the ministers and ministry of the Christian Church: they are these; *ἱερᾶσθαι*[n], *sacerdotio fungi*, 'to execute the priest's office,' as in this; '*διὰ παντὸς ἱερωμένοι τοῦ βίου*[o],'—'to exercise the priest's office all their lives long;' *ἱερατεία μεγίστης*—'the office of the chief pontiff,

[1] Julii Pollucis Onomasticon, lib. i. cap. 1. segm. 24. [*ὀνόματα τῶν θεοὺς θεραπευόντων· οἱ δὲ τῶν θεῶν θεραπευταὶ, ἱερεῖς, θύται, τελεσταὶ . . . ὑπηρέται, θεουργοί.*—tom. i. p. 6. ed. Dind.]

[k] [*ἱερατικὴ* is said by Suidas to be *θεῶν θεραπεία*, not "among the Egyptians," but simply. The passage is one in which *ἱερατικὴ* and *φιλοσοφία* are contrasted, as holding corresponding positions among the Greeks and the Egyptians. *τὴν δὲ ἱερατικὴν, ἥ ἐστι θεῶν θεραπεία, ἐντεῦθέν ποθεν ἀπὸ τῶν περικοσμίων αἰτιῶν ἄρχεσθαι, καὶ περὶ ταῦτα πραγματεύεσθαι, περὶ ἀθανασίας ψυχῶν, ὅτι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις φιλοσοφεῖται· τῶν δὲ ἐν ᾅδου μυρίων λήξεων παντοίων πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ἀφωρισμένων, τῶν τε περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολῶν μυρίων . . . Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτά εἰσιν οἱ πρῶτον φιλοσοφοῦντες.* Suidas in voc. *ἱερατική.*]

[l] [See note d.]

[m] [Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Roman., lib. ii. c. 72. Op., tom. i. p. 389. Reiske. Lips. 1774.]

[n] [Ibid., c. 72. p. 389.]

[o] [Ibid., c. 73. p. 393.]

or priest;' *τελευταῖος δ' ἦν τῆς Νομᾶ παρατάξεως μερισμὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὃν ἔλαχον οἱ τὴν μεγίστην [παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις] ἱερατείαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες*—"the last part of Numa's institutions about sacred things, was that which was allotted to them who had the chief priesthood and power;"—*μία τῶν ἱερουργιῶν διάταξις*[p]—"the first order of the holy ministries;"—*οὗτοι τεταγμένας τινὰς ἱερουργίας ἐπετέλουν*[q]—"these performed certain appointed holy ministrations;"—*ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀπείρου τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σοφίας*[r]—"from a man not ignorant of Divine matters," or "mysteries;" *παρθένων τὰς θεραπείας κατεστήσατο τῇ θεῷ*[s]—"he ordained virgins to be ministers (or priestesses) to the goddess;"—*αἱ δὲ θεραπεύουσαι τὴν θεὸν παρθένοι τέτταρες μεν ἦσαν κατ' ἀρχάς*[t]—"the virgins, which at first were ministers (or priestesses) to the goddess, were but four;"—*διὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἃς ἐπιτελοῦσιν*[u]—"through the multitude of the holy offices which they perform;"—*τῆς οὐχ ὁσίως ὑπηρετούσης τοῖς ἱεροῖς*[x]—"of the priestess who did not minister aright in holy things;"—*ἡ περὶ τὰ θεῖα νομοθεσία*[y]—"an institution of things pertaining to God," or "Divine matters;" *καὶ γὰρ δικάζουσιν οὗτοι τὰς ἱερὰς δίκας ἁπάσας ἰδιώταις τὲ καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ λειτουργοῖς θεῶν . . . τάς τε ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας ὅσαις θυσία τε καὶ θεραπεία ἀνάκειται, καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἅπαντας ἐξετάζουσιν*[z]—"the chief pontiffs have cognizance of all causes relating to holy matters, both among private men and magistrates and the ministers (or priests) of the gods . . . . and they examine all magistrates to whose care sacrifice and the worship of the gods is committed, and all priests whatsoever;"—*πολλοὺς δὲ βωμοὺς καὶ ναοὺς ἱδρυόμενος, ἑορτάς τε ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἀπονέμων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς καθιστάς*[a]—"he (Numa) built many altars and temples, and appointed several festival days for every one of them, and ordained priests, who were to take care of them;"—*περιλαβὼν δὲ ἅπασαν τὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα νομοθεσίαν γραφαῖς, διεῖλεν*

p [Dionys. &c., c. 64. p. 371.]
q [Ibid., p. 372.]
r [Ibid., c. 65. p. 374.]
s [Ibid., p. 375.]
t [Ibid., c. 67. p. 378.]
u [Ibid.]
x [Ibid., p. 380.]
y [Ibid., c. 63. p. 371.]
z [Ibid., c. 73. p. 394.]
a [Ibid., c. 63. p. 369.]

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εἰς ὀκτὼ μοίρας[b]—"farthermore (Numa) having committed his whole institution about matters of religion to writing, he divided them into eight parts;"—*τοῖς δὲ ἰδιώταις, ὁπόσοι μὴ ἴσασι τοὺς περὶ τά θεῖα ἢ δαιμόνια σεβασμούς, ἐξηγηταὶ γίνονται καὶ προφῆται*[c]—"they are the expositors and interpreters of matters of religion to the people who are ignorant of them[d];" *περὶ οὖν τῶν ἱερέων τῶνδε, εἴτε βούλεταί τις αὐτοὺς ἱεροδιδασκάλους καλεῖν, εἴτε ἱερονόμους, εἴτε ἱεροφύλακας, εἴτε, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀξιοῦμεν, ἱεροφάντας, οὐχ' ἁμαρτήσεται τοῦ ἀληθοῦς*[e]—"wherefore as to these priests, (understanding the chief pontiffs,) if a man will call them teachers of holy things, or administrators of holy things, or keepers and curators of holy things, or, as I think, the chief masters in teaching holy things, he will not err from the truth."

Sir, I think I have omitted no word or expression by which my author describes the priestly office, but *θυηπόλος*[f], which Pollux reckons among the poetical names for a priest[g]; and according to the notation of that word, it signifies one conversant or employed about offerings and sacrifices[h], as I shall hereafter shew the ministers of the Church are. But in the mean time let me ask your late writer, whether the terms of my author are not in propriety applicable to the Christian ministry? Is it not properly *ἱερουργία* and *θεραπεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, or *λειτουργία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and *περὶ τὰ θεία νομοθεσία*? And are we not, properly speaking, *ἱερωμένοι*, who may properly be said, when we minister in our holy offices sacramental, or not sacramental, and with or without holy rites, *ἱερᾶσθαι*, or *ἱερατεύειν*? Are we not *ἱερουργοί*, and *θεραπεύοντες τῷ Θεῷ*, in propriety of speech, and *ὑπηρέται τοῦ Θεοῦ*, or *ὑπηρετοῦντες τῷ Θεῷ*? Are we not *τῶν ἱερῶν*

[b] [Ibid.]

[c] [Ibid., c. 73. p. 394.]

[d] So in Plutarch's Life of Numa. *ὁ δὲ μέγιστος τῶν ποντιφίκων, οἷον ἐξηγητοῦ καὶ προφήτου, μᾶλλον δὲ ἱεροφάντου τάξιν ἐπέχει, οὐ μόνον τῶν δημοσίᾳ δρωμένων ἐπιμελούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίᾳ θύοντας ἐπισκοπῶν, καὶ κωλύων παρεκβαίνειν τὰ νενομισμένα, καὶ, διδάσκων ὅτου τις δέοιτο πρὸς Θεῶν τιμὴν ἢ παραίτησιν.*—[c. 9. Op., tom. i. p. 262. Lips. 1774.]

[e] [Ibid.]

[f] [Ibid., c. 67. p. 379. *θυηπολούσας τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θρησκευούσας κατὰ νόμον.*]

[g] [Onomast., lib. i. cap. 1. segm. 14. (the continuation of the passage quoted in note i, p. 20.) *ποιητικώτερον γὰρ τὸ θυηπόλος.*—tom. i. p. 7.]

[h] *θυηπόλος. ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὁ περὶ τὰς θυσίας πολῶν, καὶ ἀναστρεφόμενος.* Phavorinus. *ὁ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀναστρεφόμενος ἱερεύς.* Hesychius. *ὁ θύων, ὁ ἱερεύς.* Suidas.

θυηπολοῦσι. περιπολοῦσι, διὰ θυσιῶν ὑπισχνούμενοι θεοὺς ἐξιλάσκεσθαι.—Suidas and Phavorinus. [Hickes quoted the passage as *περὶ τὰ ἱερα πολοῦσαι.*]

ἐπιμελοῦντες? and in full propriety of speech τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ καὶ προφῆται, "teachers, and interpreters of holy things?" Is not the episcopal office μεγίστη ἱερατεία? and may it not be properly said of our bishops, that ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἔχουσι τὴν μεγίστην ἐξουσίαν, or that τὰς ἱερὰς δίκας ἁπάσας δικάζουσιν, or that they have power, τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἅπαντας ἐξετάζειν? are not they principally, and their presbyters under them, ἱεροδιδάσκαλοι, ἱερονόμοι, ἱεροφύλακες, and ἱεροφάνται? And is not their office περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ, or περὶ τὰ θεῖα πολεῖν, "to be conversant about holy and Divine things?" Or is it not as St. Cyprian speaks[i], *divinis rebus et spiritalibus occupari,—operationibus divinis insistere,—cœlestibus rebus et spiritalibus servire:* "to be employed in Divine and spiritual matters,—to apply themselves wholly to Divine ministrations,—and to devote themselves to heavenly and spiritual things?" How like are my heathen author's descriptions of priests and priesthood to those of this holy father; and if they are properly applicable to Christian ministers and their ministry, as I think they are, then, I hope, Sir, we have a good title to the priesthood, and without the help of a metaphor, may be dignified with the holy and honourable name of priests. If these descriptions belong to our holy office, the thing described by them must belong to us, according to this maxim in logic; *Cui convenit definitio, et eidem convenit definitum.* Your late writer may undervalue the name and character of priest, and put it as far as he will from himself, but I value it to the highest degree; and I speak it to God's honour, I had rather be the poor deprived priest that I am, with all the hatred, and contempt, and persecution that now attends the Christian priesthood in this most irreligious age, than be premier, or plenipotentiary to the greatest monarch, or the most victorious conqueror in the world. The Hebrew word כהן, *cohen,* which, in relation to God, all translations render 'priests,' signifies primarily a 'minister,' ὑπηρέτης θεοῦ, as Pollux also calls a priest[k], and it is a verbal noun derived from the verb כהן *cihen,*

[i] S. Cypr., Epist. i. [ed. Oxon., Epist. lxvi. p. 114. ed. Ben. See the passage quoted at length, Pref. Disc., vol. i. p. 95, note y.]

[k] [Jul. Poll. Onomast., lib. i. cap. 1. segm. 14, among the titles of priests. See note i, p. 20. Dindorf reads ὑπηρέται simply, others ὑπηρέται θεοῦ.]

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which signifies λειτουργεῖν, 'to minister[l];' and as λειτουργὸς, when it relates to God and sacred matters, signifies a 'priest,' or minister of the Church, so when it relates to the king, as I observed before, it signifies a 'prince,' or minister of state. From which notation of the word it follows, that bishops and presbyters, as ministers of God, and employed in His service, are *cohens*, or 'priests;' or as Philo describes the Jewish priests, they are οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπηρέται, καὶ λειτουργοὶ[m], 'servants and ministers of God, to perform holy offices in His temple;' or as the Apostle speaks, τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργοὶ, 'ministers of the sanctuary, or holy things[l];' ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι, 'ministers about holy things;' τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσεδρεύοντες, 'waiters at the altar,' or the same to the one true God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, what Plutarch saith that the priests of the Gentiles were to their idols, ἱερεῖς, θεῶν λειτουργοὶ, 'priests are the ministers or liturgs of the gods[n].' So Acts xiii. 2, Barnabas and Paul's ministering to the Lord by fasting and prayer, is thus expressed, λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ. In which place, as well as in Heb. viii. 2, [τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργὸς,] had the holy writers written in Hebrew, I doubt not but they would have expressed themselves by כהן *cohen* and כהן *cihen*; for what is expressed 'the priest's office,' Luke i. 8, 9, by ἐν τῷ ἱερατεύειν, and ἱερατεία, is expressed by λειτουργία, 'ministry,' in the twenty-third verse, and therefore the ministers of God and Christ, by all analogy, must be sacerdotal ministers, λειτουργοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *cohens*, or 'ministers of Jesus Christ,' as St. Paul calls himself, Rom. xv. 16. Hence the words, λειτουργεῖν, λει-

Heb. 8. 2.
1 Cor. 9. 13.

[l] [The verb כהן, only found in Pihel, (LXX. λειτουργεῖν, ἱερατεύειν,) is never used, as Hickes' words might seem to imply, in the simple sense of 'ministering.' It is however by Fürst derived from the root כון, and so would mean 'parare, apparare, adornare, ministrare.' See his Concordant. Hebr., p. 544. For this connection there are analogies; see Gesenius, Lex. Hebr., ad lit. ה. Fürst interprets the noun כהן "minister Dei, tanquam adparitor; sacerdos;" but considers the use of the word for 'a prince,' (see above, p. 15,) to be derived from the notion of dignity connected with the sacerdotal office. Gesenius and others derive כהן from a root found in Arabic meaning "to divine," and thence having the sense of intercession and mediation.]

[m] [τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπηρέταις καὶ λειτουργοῖς χαρίζεσθαι, κ. τ. λ.—Philo. Jud. de Sacerdot. Præmiis, Op., tom. ii. p. 236.]

[n] [The passage referred to seems to be, ἀλλ', οἷς δίκαιόν ἐστι ταῦτα λειτουργοῖς θεῶν ἀνατιθέντες, ὥσπερ ὑπηρέταις καὶ γραμματεῦσι, δαίμονας νομίζωμεν, ἐπισκόπους θεῶν ἱερῶν καὶ μυστηρίων ὀργιαστάς.—Plutarch. de Oraculorum Defectu, tom. vii. p. 641. Lips. 1774; but it is the δαίμονες who are spoken of as λειτουργοὶ θεῶν.]

τουργία, λειτουργὸς, came in ecclesiastical writers to be appropriated to the service of God, and priestly ministration of holy things, as in Canon IV. Concil. Antioch.[o], εἰ τὶς ἐπίσκοπος, &c. "If any bishop deposed by the synod, or priest or deacon deprived by the bishop, presume to do any liturgical act, τολμήσειέν τι πρᾶξαι τῆς λειτουργίας, he shall not be restored." Balsamon on the place paraphraseth the words in this expression, ἱερατικόν τι ἐνεργήσασθαι, "to do any part of the priestly office[p];" and Zonaras upon the same canon saith that λειτουργία in this place does not only signify τὴν ἱερουργίαν καὶ τὴν τελετὴν τῆς ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας μόνην, "not only the performance of Divine services, and the celebration of the unbloody sacrifice" of the Eucharist, ἀλλ' ἅπαν ἀρχιερατικὸν δίκαιον, "but all the functions of the chief-priest[q]." The new covenant is better than the old, and the house of Christ much more excellent than that of Moses, inasmuch as the Christian is the full improvement and perfection of the Mosaic religion and worship, and therefore it would be strange if either the liturgical ministrations of the Christian worship for men, should be less holy, or pertain less to God for them than those of the Jewish Church; or the Christian liturgs, or ministers, should either not at all be priests, or priests in a less proper sense than those of the Levitical order and institution, who were ministers by fire and immolation under the first testament. What is there in the notation of ἱερεὺς, or *sacerdos*[r], that doth not properly belong to the Christian ministers? they only denote holy ministers, or ministers of holy things; ministers of God for the people in holy offices, and employments, whatever those offices be, ministers of Divine rites and services for men, of what kind soever those rights and services be. For as there

[o] [The council was held A.D. 341. Canon iv. is, εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ συνόδου καθαιρεθεὶς, ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, τολμήσειέν τι πρᾶξαι τῆς λειτουργίας . . . μήκετι ἐξὸν εἶναι αὐτῷ, μήδ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ συνόδῳ ἐλπίδα ἀποκαταστάσεως, μήτε ἀπολογίας χώραν ἔχειν.—Concil., tom. ii. p. 588, C. et apud Beveregii Pandect., tom. i. p. 434, A, B.]

[p] [ἐνεργοῦντας, ἐνεργήσαντας ἱερατικόν τι, repeatedly.—Balsamon, Schol. apud Beveregii Pandect., ibid., C, D.]

[q] [λειτουργίαν ἐνταῦθα οὐ τὴν ἱερουργίαν καὶ τὴν τελετὴν τῆς ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας φησὶ μόνην, ἀλλ' ἅπαν ἀρχιερατικὸν δίκαιον.—Zonaras, ibid., F.]

[r] Sacer, cra, um; quicquid ad religionem pertinet. Sacerdos; a sacer; qui sacris præest, et ea administrat, "quasi sacra dans."—[The last words are quoted from the Origines of St. Isidore Hispalensis, lib. vii. cap. 12. § 17. Op., tom. iii. p. 341.]

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have been different Churches and religions, so there have been different rites and services in them, and yet the ministers of those different holy rites and services for the people to their God, have all been counted priests, as agreeing in the common notion of priesthood, which is the function or office of a person separated, or taken from men, and ordained *πρὸς τὸ ἱερουργεῖν*, or, *θεουργεῖν*, as human authors speak, to minister for the people in holy services pertaining to God.

SECT. IV. Of the several sorts of priesthood.

IV. Wherefore, as there are several sorts of religions, so there are several sorts of priesthood, as among the heathens[s], whose sacrifices and priests, or ministers of holy rites, were as different as the deities and rites themselves. Some were men, and some women; some of their services were more simple, and some more ceremonious; some sacrificed by blood, and slaughter, and burning, and some not; some used rites and ceremonies of this kind in sacrificing, and some of that: the ancient Persians[t] had no temples, nor statues, nor altars, and in sacrificing to their gods they never used fire or libations, or the *mola salsa* made of meal and salt, or music, or pontifical mitres, and yet the ministers of their gods were as proper priests as those of the Romans and Grecians, who used all these things. Nay, "the Romans, for a hundred and seventy years after Numa, though they built temples, yet they had no sort of images to represent their gods, being taught by that great king, lawgiver, and priest, that there could be no representation of God, who was invisible and incorruptible, but His idea in the mind of man." In that period also their sacrifices were simple "Pythagorean, and unbloody oblations," as Plutarch tells us in the life of Numa[u], whither I refer you. The

[s] Jam sacrorum ritus, statasque et solemnes cæremonias non est quod a me quisquam expectet. Itaque nec quæ cuique Deo gratæ decoræque essent hostiæ, nec cui maribus, cui fœminis, cui majoribus, cui lactentibus immolaretur, dicam. Nec farciminum, liborum, et pultium, vel vasorum, quibus in sacris locus erat, nomina, et genera recensebo, nec denique quo ordine, rituque res divinæ fierent, explicabo.—Brisson. de Formul., lib. i. p. 32. See also Dr. Potter's Antiquities of Greece, book ii. cap. 3.

[t] [Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοῖσδε χρεωμένους· ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἱδρύεσθαι . . . οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, μέλλοντες θυειν· οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῷ, οὐ στεμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῇσι.]—Herodot., lib. i. cap. 130. 132.

[u] p. 65. edit. Lutetiæ. 1624. [οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος αἰσθητὸν, ἢ παθητὸν, ἀόρατον δὲ καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ νοητὸν ὑπελάμβανεν εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ οὗτος διεκώ-

Mahometans have no bloody sacrifices, or altars for them, but at Mecca[x], and offer them but once in the year; yet they look upon the ministers of their religion separated from the people in all other places, as proper priests as those of Mecca. For expiation, atonement, or propitiating an offended deity[y], or otherwise procuring his favour and

λυσεν ἀνθρωποειδῆ καὶ ζωόμορφον εἰκόνα θεοῦ Ῥωμαίους νομίζειν. οὐδ' ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔτε γραπτὸν, οὔτε πλαστὸν εἶδος θεοῦ πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἐν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα τοῖς πρώτοις ἔτεσι ναοὺς μὲν οἰκοδομούμενοι, καὶ καλιάδας ἱερὰς ἱρῶντες, ἄγαλμα δ' οὐδὲν ἔμμορφον ποιούμενοι διετέλουν· ὡς οὔτε ὅσιον ἀφομοιοῦν τὰ βελτίονα τοῖς χείροσιν, οὔτ' ἐφάπτεσθαι θεοῦ δύνατον ἄλλως ἢ νοήσει. κομιδῇ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἔχεται τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς ἁγιστείας· ἀναίμακτοι γὰρ ἦσαν, αἵ γε πολλαὶ δι' ἀλφίτου καὶ σπονδῆς καὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων πεποιημέναι.—Plutarch. Vit. Numæ, c. 8. Op., tom. i. pp. 258, 259. Lips. 1774.]

[x] Herbelot's Biblioth. Orientale, in the word 'adhha.' "'Adhha,' a religious feast of the Mussulmans, which they celebrate on the tenth day of the month, which they call 'dhoulheciat,' which is the twelfth and last month of their year. This month being particularly set apart for the ceremonies which the pilgrims observe at Mecca, takes its name from thence, for it signifies the month of pilgrimage. They solemnly sacrifice on that day a sheep at Mecca, and no where else; and it is called by the name of the feast, which the Turks commonly call the grand Beiram, to distinguish it from the little feast of that name, with which they conclude their fast, and which the Christians of the Levant call the pasque, or Easter of the Turks. This feast is also called Jaum al Corban, that is, the day of sacrifices and victims. For every pilgrim on that day may offer as many sheep as he will, and every one of these sacrifices hath the name of 'dhahiat.' The Mussulmans go out of Mecca unto a valley called Mina or Muna, to solemnize this feast, and there sometimes they sacrifice a camel. The books which treat of the ceremonies of this sacrifice, which is the only one the Mahometans have, have the title of Manasseck."—[p. 62. Paris. 1697.]

[y] Heb. ii. 17, "That He might be a merciful and faithful High-Priest, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people." Ch. vi. 1, "Every high-priest, taken from among men, is ordained for men, in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins." 3rd verse, "He ought, as for the people, so also for himself, to offer for sins." Lev. i. 4, "He shall put his hand upon the head of the burnt-offering, and it shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him." So in chap. iv. 20, 26, "The priest shall make atonement for them." And chap. v. 6, "He shall bring his trespass-offering unto the Lord, and the priest shall make an atonement for him concerning his sin." So in the 10th, 13th, 16th, and 18th verses of the same chapter, and the 7th verse of the sixth, "The priest shall make an atonement for him before the Lord, and it shall be forgiven him." So Numb. xvi. 46, sqq., "Moses said unto Aaron, Take a censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly unto the congregation, and make an atonement for them. And Aaron took as Moses commanded, and ran into the midst of the congregation, and behold the plague was begun among the people, and he put on incense, and made atonement for the people, and he stood between the dead and the living, and the plague was stayed."

Brisson. de Formul., p. 28. *Litare* enim Macrobius explicat, [Saturnal.] lib. iii. cap. 5. 'Sacrificio facto placare numen.' Unde et 'litationem propitiationis' idem dixit. In Somn. Scipion., lib. i. cap. 7. Nonius etiam Marcellus inter *litare*, et *sacrificare* hoc interesse tradit, quod 'sacrificare sit veniam petere, litare vero propitiare, et votum impetrare.' [De differentiis verborum, p. 424. Paris. 1614.] Virg. Æneid, lib. iv. 50.

Tu modo posce Deos veniam, sacrisque litatis
Indulge hospitio—

Ubi Servius, 'diis litatis debuit dicere, non enim sacra, sed Deos sacris litamus, i. e. placamus.' [Servius' words are, 'nove dictum; nam Deos litamus, non sacra.']

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good-will[z] being the end of all material offerings and sacrifices in priestly ministrations, as you may see in the margin; it must follow, that if the true God is pleased to supersede or take away the use of them, and be as effectually propitiated when He is offended, or otherwise made favourable by holy ministrations without them, as before with them, then I say it must follow that the liturgs or ministers, whose office it is to make expiation and atonement for their own sins, or for the sins of the people, or otherwise to procure the Divine favour, without gifts and sacrifices, must be as true and proper ministers of atonement and procuring the favour and blessings of God, as the priests who did the same thing with offerings and sacrifices, and, by consequence, be true priests; because in the same manner as priests they are "taken from the people, and ordained for them in things pertaining to God;" that by prayers, supplications, intercessions, and praises, and thanks, which they offer up to Him, according to His own appointment, without sacrifice or sacrificial rites, they may reconcile God, and make atonement for their own and the people's sins, or otherwise procure His favour and blessings to themselves and them. For gifts and sacrifices, i. e. 'offerings of inanimate things and of animals[a],' or offerings without or with slaughter, were both of an honorary nature[b]; for as it was thought dishonourable to their

[z] As in peace-offerings, whether they were sacrifices of thanksgiving or free-will offerings upon vows: all which in the Scripture phrase are also said to be "a sweet savour unto the Lord," [Lev. i. 9, &c.,] or that He "hath respect unto them," [Gen. iv. 4, 5,] and that He "accepts them," [Ps. xx. 3,] which are all terms to signify that God is pleased with them.

[a] Diodati upon Hebr. v. 1. *Offerte.* Questa parola, posta in differenza de' sacrificii, significa l'offerte delle cose inanimate. [La Sacra Biblia tradotta in lingua Italica da Giovanni Diodati. Geneva, 1641.] Jac. Cappellus; 'Constituitur Pontifex, ut offerat dona rerum inanimatarum pro peccatis, et sacrificia rerum animatarum.' [Crit. Sacr., tom. vii. p. 974.] Grotius; ἵνα προσφέρῃ δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν. Explicat generalitatem per species quasdam; [i. e. by the addition of ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν] δῶρα, (dona,) קרבנים; (oblationes) est generale, sed eximie dicitur de holocaustis, ut videre est Lev. i. 2. θυσία (sacrificium) item satis generale. Comprehendit enim et מנחה (oblationem e simila), sed cum hic addatur ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν (pro peccatis) intelligendum אשם delictum in committendo; de quo Levit. iv. 3, sqq.'—Ibid., p. 979. Grotius, it seems, does not (as Hickes' referring to him might imply) identify δῶρα and θυσίαι respectively with inanimate and animate sacrifices: but considers each a general term, including both kinds of offering.]

[b] Brisson. de Formul., lib. i. pp. 29, 30. [Atque hujusmodi sacrificiis, et tam hostiarum cæde, quam ture et vino dato, honor Diis haberi dicebatur. He then gives numerous instances of the use of 'honor,' 'honorare,' in this sense.]

kings to make solemn approaches to them without presents, especially when they were to ask or expect favour, so was it counted dishonourable to God to come empty handed to wait upon Him in solemn worship, as it is written, "none shall appear before Me empty[c];" and therefore the true God, as well as the false deities, was supposed to be appeased, pleased or gratified with the honour of gifts, when those who brought them were duly purified, especially with virtuous and holy minds, which the pagan, as well as Jews and Christians[d],

[c] Exod. xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 16. So Ecclesiasticus xxxv. 4, "Thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord, for all these things are to be done because of the commandment. The offering of the righteous maketh the altar fat, and the sweet savour thereof is before the Most High. The sacrifice of a just man is acceptable, and the memorial thereof shall never be forgotten. Give the Lord His honour with a good eye, and diminish not the first-fruits of thine hands. In all thy gifts shew a cheerful countenance, and dedicate thy tithes with gladness."

[d] So commentators interpret these verses of Menander, εἶτ' οὐχ', &c., preserved in Athenæus, lib. iv. p. 146. [Lugd. 1657.

εἶτ' οὐχ ὅμοιας πράττομεν καὶ θύομεν;
ὅπου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἠγορασμένον
δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον ἀγαπητὸν δέκα,
αὐλητρίδας δὲ καὶ μύρον καὶ ψαλτρίας
ταύτας, * Θάσιον, ἐγχέλεις, τυρὸν, μέλι·
μικροῦ ταλάντου γίγνεται τὸ κατὰ λόγον.

Athenæus ex recension. G. Dindorf., tom. ii. p. 73. Lips. 1827.] See Persius, Satyr. ii. v. 63—75.

[At vos
Dicite, pontifices, in sacro quid facit aurum?
Nempe hoc quod Veneri donatæ a virgine puppæ.
Quin damus id superis, de magno quod dare lance
Non possit magni Messalæ lippa propago,
Compositum jus fasque animo, sanctosque recessus
Mentis et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.
Hæc cedo ut admoveam templis et farre litabo.]

Isaiah lvii. 15; Psalm li. 17; xxxiv. 18; cxxxviii. 6; Isaiah l. 10; lxvi. 2; Jeremiah vii. 9, 21—23. [Sacrificia omnia non dignitate rei oblatæ, sed offerentis animo æstimantur. Grot. Consult. Cass., Art. xxiv. [The extract is made from 'Georgii Cassandri de articulis Religionis inter Catholicos et Protestantes controversis Consultatio, Art. xxiv. De Missa.' apud Grotii Opera, tom. iv. p. 607. Grotius' comment on it is; De sacrificio corporis et sanguinis Christi. Recte dici in actione Eucharistica corpus et sanguinem Domini, sive ipsam Domini passionem a nobis offerri supra diximus ad Art. x.; unde et propitiatorium sacrificium recte dicitur, siquidem Christi sanguis propitiatio est pro mundi peccatis. Accedit quod qui criminum sibi conscii sunt, non nisi per pœnitentiam piati accedunt, et sic ipsam suam pœnitentiam et pœnitentiæ opera, quæ et ipsa, ex vi sacrificii generalis, sacrificia sunt propitiatoria Novi Fœderis, Deo offerunt.—Grotii annotata in Consult. Cass. ibid., p. 626.] So in the Morals of Confucius we are told that 'though the Chinese offered sacrifice, and worshipped God with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, yet they taught that all this external worship was not acceptable to the Divinity, if the soul was not inwardly adorned with piety or virtue.' [Non aliis quam suprema majestate dignis honoribus et sacrificiis, non alio magis quam virtutum et recti animi cultu colendum tam verbis docuerunt, quam factis et exemplis; ut nihil hic dicam de externo quoque apparatu, gravitate, modestia, continentia, abstinentia, decore et ornatu; sic tamen ut negarent omnem hunc cultum exteriorem placere cœlo posse, quando cultu animi virtutcque interna non esset imbutus.—Confucius Sinarum Philosophus, sive scientia Sinensis Latine exposita, Procem. Declar. pp. lxxxiii, lxxxiv. fol. Paris. 1687.] Which shews how weakly they argue against the Eucharistical sacrifice, who

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counted and called the chief or only sacrifices, without which no gifts or external material sacrifices could be acceptable to any God, true or false, and that those alone would be accepted when these could not be had. Wherefore if we may suppose any deity to discharge his worshippers for any time, or altogether, of those offerings, and to order his priests to offer up prayers, and supplications, and thanksgivings, and praises without them, his priests would nevertheless remain proper priests still, and their ministrations, though stripped of all sacrificial solemnities, would yet be sacerdotal, that is to say, of as holy a nature, and as much pertaining to that god and his honour, and as acceptable to him, and of as much force to atone him, as when they were solemnized with gifts and sacrifices, and he was honoured and adored with them as holy rites. Thus in the seventy years of captivity, when the Jews had neither temple nor altar, nor sacrifice of any sort, yet their priests remained proper priests, and their ministrations, by solemn prayers, and supplications, and confessions, were of the same sacerdotal, holy, and honorary atoning nature as when they ministered at the altar, and filled the courts of the temple with the nidors of their offerings, as it is in the apocryphal prayer of Azarias[e]: "O Lord, we are become less than any nation, and are kept under this day in all the world, because of our sins. Neither is there at this time prince, or prophet, or leader, or burnt-offering, or sacrifice, or oblation, or incense, or place to sacrifice before Thee, and to find mercy. Nevertheless, in a contrite heart and humble spirit let us be accepted. Like as in the burnt-offering of rams and bullocks, and like as in ten thousand of fat lambs, so let our sacrifice" (of penitential prayer and confession, and deprecation) "be in Thy sight this day." Thus if their captivity and line of priestly succession had continued to this day they would have been proper priests still, and their worship sacerdotal worship, though without sacrifice or altar, and acceptable

say that under the Gospel dispensation instead of an external material sacrifice the spiritual sacrifices of the mind are only to be offered to God, against the most express testimonies of the fathers for that sacrifice, because they prefer the living sacrifice of ourselves, and of a contrite heart to it, as Jewish and heathen writers do, calling it the chief or only sacrifice which God requires. See the note in pp. 91, 92, of the Prefatory Answer; [vol. i.]

[e] [The Song of the Three Holy Children, v. 14—17.]

to God without their sacrifices and sacrificial rites. In like manner, upon supposition that the Christian religion hath neither altar nor sacrifice, as some few writers rashly maintain, yet the ministers of it, as I have already shewed from the general notion of priesthood, are proper priests or sacerdotal ministers, and their solemn ministrations of as holy, hieratical, acceptable, and atoning a nature, as those of the Jews were, and as much pertaining to God, and as powerful to procure His favour and protection, and blessings of all sorts. Christ Himself, our eternal High-Priest in heaven, hath made intercession for His Church and the faithful members of it, ever since He entered into the holy place, without any sacrifice, only by presenting that before the Father which He offered up once for all upon the cross. This shews that the priest's office doth not consist only in offering sacrifices, but that it may be executed when and where there are no more oblations appointed to be offered; and so at all times and in all places where sacrifice is no part of the worship or service of God. Wherefore it was not sacrifices, or power to offer them, which alone made the Jewish ministers priests, but other holy performances pertaining to God for which they were ordained, and the ministering in which, as well as sacrificing, belonged to their priestly office; and therefore, though it be certain there can be no sacrifice, or sacrificing, without priests ordinary or extraordinary, yet it is as certain there may be priests without offerings or sacrifices, as when God is pleased to suspend or abolish the use of them; and therefore upon supposition that God hath abolished all sorts of offerings and sacrifices, as well as those by fire or immolation, in the Christian religion; yet the Christian priesthood, like the Jewish, being a separate order of men, severed and set apart from the community of the people, and, like them, ordained to act and administer for them in holy things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for sins, and to impetrate His favour and blessings for them, they must be as proper priests as the Jewish *cohens* were in captivity, though not sacrificing priests. Sir, I have said thus much for the sake of such men as your late writer[f], who thinks sacrificing essential to the office of a priest, and therefore denies bishops

[f] [See p. 2.]

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and presbyters to be proper priests; because, as he affirms, "they have no material sacrifices to offer;" whereas offering material sacrifices belongs only to priests of a sacrificing religion, and is only a part of their holy ministerial office; as many things besides offering gifts and sacrifices for sins belonged to the office of a Jewish priest. It belonged to them to judge of legal uncleannesses, and to bless the people. And as the high-priests were to enter once a year into the holy of holies; so God, had He pleased, might have continued that ordinance as a part of the holy ministry of every Christian bishop, to signify that Christ had entered with His own blood into heaven, there to appear for us in the presence of God. But as the common definition of a priest doth belong to a Christian bishop, though the Christian religion had not that ministration; so, granting that it hath no material sacrifice, yet its presbyters are priests, because they are taken from among men, and ordained for them in other things of as solemn and holy a nature as sacrifice, which pertain unto God. In truth, Sir, I think they may as well say that Christian Churches are not proper temples, or that the definition of a temple doth not properly belong to them, because they are not built after the pattern of the Jewish temple, nor have an altar for burnt-offerings in their courts or yards, nor an altar for incense, or tables for presence-bread in them, or a veil to distinguish the holy from the most holy place. Nay, Sir, in my opinion, by the same way of reasoning, your late writer may deny the Christian religion to be a proper religion, as well as its presbyters to be proper priests, because, as they assert, it hath no proper sacrifice. Do they not know that the shew-bread belonged only to the priests or ministers of the Jewish temple; and that they only had a right to eat it? And will they therefore deny Christian ministers to be proper priests, because the Christian religion hath no such holy bread to be always set for them in the presence of God? The ministers of God, as priests, received tithes before and under the Mosaic law; and St. Paul describes a Jewish priest by taking of tithes, as well as by offering of gifts and sacrifices; and if these men think, as probably they do, that tithes are not due under the Christian religion by Divine right to its ministers, will they for that reason deny them to be proper

Heb. 7. 8.

priests? Nay, in religions which had sacrifices, the ministers of it were thought to act as priests in other applications to their gods as well as in sacrificing. Thus the sovereign pontiff[g] among the Romans acted as much the priest in 'walking at the head of that most solemn funeral sort of procession of a defiled vestal, and the secret prayers he made with hands lifted up to heaven, at the brink of the pit where she was to be buried alive,' as when he offered sacrifice. And Jesus Christ, when as advocate with His Father, and by consequence as a priest[h], though not yet so declared, He made public and most solemn intercession unto His Father; the intercession, I mean, which He made not only for His Church at that time, but for His future Church throughout the world, with His eyes lifted up to heaven; I say, when He then interceded with God in a most pathetic prayer for His little Church in Judea, and His Catholic Church, which was to be dispersed over the world, He offered no sacrifice, though He had all power given Him, and was Lord of the temple as well as of the sabbath; and might, had He pleased, have solemnized His prayer with burnt offering, and peace offering, either at the great altar of Jerusalem, or at any other which He had power to erect. This shews, Sir, though there can be no sacrificing without a priest, yet that a man may be a priest, and act as a priest, particularly by solemn sacerdotal prayers and intercession, without sacrifice or altar.

John 17. 1, 20.

SECT. V. The deacon's office in a measure sacerdotal.

V. And therefore, Sir, it is so far from being true, that Christian bishops and presbyters are not priests for want of

[g] Plutarch. in vita Numæ. [ἡ δὲ τὴν παρθενίαν καταισχύνασα, ζῶσα κατορρύττεται . . . ἐξίστανται δὲ πάντες σιωπῇ, καὶ παραπέμπουσιν ἄφθογγοι μετά τινος δεινῆς κατηφείας· οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἕτερον θέαμα φρικτότερον, οὐδ' ἡμέραν ἡ πόλις ἄλλην ἄγει στυγνότεραν ἐκείνης· ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὸν τόπον κομισθῇ τὸ φορεῖον, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται τοὺς δεσμοὺς ἐξέλυναν, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἱερέων ἔξαρχος εὐχάς τινας ἀπορρήτους ποιησάμενος, καὶ χεῖρας ἀνατείνας θεοῖς πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἐξάγει συγκεκαλυμμένην, καὶ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ κλίμακος εἰς τὸ οἴκημα κάτω φερούσης· εἶτ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποτρέπεται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων, τῆς δὲ καταβάσης, ἥ τε κλίμαξ ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ κατακρύπτεται τὸ οἴκημα.—c. 10. pp. 266—268. Lips. 1774.]

[h] Qui rex erat semper; sacerdos autem factus est quando carnem suscepit. —S. Ambros. in Epist. ad Hebræos, [ad cap. 7. ver. 14. Op., tom. iii. p. 500. Rom. 1579. This is a spurious work, which is not printed in the Benedictine edition. See S. Ambr. Op., tom. ii. App. p. 26. ed. Ben. It is a compilation from various authors, and is found in a fuller form in Rabanus Maurus, in Ep. ad Hebr., Op., tom. iii. The extract here given occurs p. 554, B, where it is referred to Alcuin; see his Works, tom. i. p. 687. It is originally the observation of St. Chrysostom; in Epist. ad Hebr., Hom. xiii. § 1. βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀεί· ἱερεὺς δὲ γέγονεν ὅτε τὴν σάρκα ἀνέλαβεν. Op., tom. xii, p. 130, A.]

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oblation or sacrifice, that it seems more consonant and reasonable to think the deacons who cannot offer, to be sharers of the priesthood in the third or lowest rank or order, because by their office they have power and authority, with the leave of the bishop, to minister public prayers and praises, and to administer the mystical, or sacramental office of baptism; in the former of which Divine services the officiating deacon acts as the people's orator, or spokesman, to offer up their devotions to God; and in the latter he is appointed to act as God's procurator, or representative, to stand in His stead to receive such candidates of heaven as offer themselves to be baptized into covenant with Him, and enrolled into the number of Christ's Church. In the former he solemnly and in a sacerdotal manner offers up prayers, and supplications, and praises, and thanksgivings for the people, and makes intercessions to God for them; or what is equivalent, the people by him, or his mouth and ministry, offer up their prayers and other devotions to God; and in the latter he is the minister of God for remission of sins by spiritual regeneration, and His vicegerent to receive the baptized person's profession of faith, and his most solemn vows and promises; and in God's name to release him of his sins, and to promise him the kingdom of heaven, and everlasting life, and to write his name in the book of life. In these Divine and honourable ministrations the office and characters of priesthood, as above described, are visible, and by consequence it is not absurd to assert that the deacons, who are thus allowed to officiate and act in things of such weight and concern between God and the people, may be deemed priests, or sharers in the priests' office in the largest sense of priesthood; and that their ministration in things pertaining to God is truly and properly sacerdotal, though in the lowest degree. Of this opinion was Optatus, bishop of Milevi in Africa, the great mall of the Donatists, and equal to St. Augustine in piety and learning, with whom he was contemporary[1]. "What need I (saith he[k]) mention many of the mi-

[1] [St. Optatus was earlier than St. Augustine; he wrote this work about A.D. 370; the time of his death is uncertain. His testimony is alleged with that of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine; he is called 'venerabilis memoriæ' by St. Augustine; and recognised as a saint by the Latin Church: Dupin calls him a person "magnæ eruditionis et excellentis ingenii." See the Pre-

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nisters, either deacons in the third, or presbyters constituted in the second degree of priesthood? when in those times of persecution, some bishops, though the supreme and chief rulers of clergy and people, that they might save this short uncertain life by the loss of life eternal, delivered up their bibles to be burnt." So in another place[l]; "The Church (saith he) hath several sorts of members; of the ministry, bishops, priests, and deacons, and the flock of the faithful people. Tell me then, what sort of men in our Church you charge with those things which you object." Perhaps there were others before this father, who thought the deacon's office of a sacerdotal nature in the lowest degree. For we read in Eusebius[m] of an epistle of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, sent by Hippolytus to the brethren at Rome, styled *διακονικὴ*, *diaconica*, which Valesius thinks was so called "because it treated of the office of a deacon," about which there might be different sentiments or disputes at that time[n]. If any then thought it a degree of the priesthood, they might be led into those sentiments by some passages in St. Ignatius' Epistles; who in that to the Trallesians speaks of deacons thus[o]; "It becomes the deacons as ministers of the mysteries of Jesus

face to his Works; ed. Dupin, Paris, 1700, and the Veterum Testimonia appended to it.]

[k] [Optatus is speaking of the Dioclesian persecutions; his words are, Quid commemorem laicos qui tunc in Ecclesia nulla fuerant dignitate suffulti . . . quid ministros plurimos? quid diaconos in tertio? quid presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio constitutos? Ipsi apices et principes omnium, aliqui Episcopi illis temporibus, ut damno æternæ vitæ istius incertæ lucis moras brevissimas compararent, instrumenta divinæ legis impie tradiderunt.—S. Optat. Milev. de Schismate Donatist., lib. i. c. 13. p. 11. fol. Paris. 1700. On this use of the word 'priesthood' Dupin observes: Sacerdotii nomen hic usurpat generatim Optatus, pro jure ac potestate exercendi alicujus muneris ecclesiastici, quo sensu diaconi tertium in sacerdotio ordinem obtinere merito dici possunt.—Dupin. ibid., not. in locum.]

[l] [Certa membra sua habet Ecclesia, episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, ministros, et turbam fidelium; dicite cui generi hominum in Ecclesia nostra hoc possit ascribi.—Ibid., lib. ii. c. 14. p. 35. In both instances 'ministros' means a distinct class, lower than the deacons; not, as Hickes translates it, the general class under which all the three orders come. See Bingham, book iii. chap. 1. sect. 6.]

[m] Eccl. Hist., lib. vi. cap. 46. [*ἑτέρα τις ἐπιστολὴ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρεται, διακονικὴ, διὰ Ἱππολύτου.*—Hist. Eccl., tom. i. p. 319. Valesius' words are; Ego Rufino assentior, qui epistolam Dionysii idcirco *διακονικὴν* dictam esse innuit quod de officio diaconi pertractaret. — Valesii annot. ad loc. ibid.]

[n] Concilii Niceni Can. xviii. [See below, note x, p. 37.]

[o] [*δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστῆριον* (scribe *μυστηρίων*, Voss.) *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν· οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσὶν διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρέται· δέον οὖν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσεσθαι τὰ ἐγκλήματα ὡς πῦρ. ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους, κ. τ. λ.* (see note q).—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Trall., c. 2, 3. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 22.]

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Christ, by all means to study to please all; for they are not the ministers of meats and drinks, but of the Church of God; wherefore it behoves them to avoid all offences, as they would avoid fire. Accordingly, let all reverence the deacons," &c. So in his Epistle to the Magnesians[p]; "I exhort you, that you study to do all things in divine concord, your bishops presiding in the place of God, your presbyters in the place of the council of the Apostles, and your deacons most dear to me, as those to whom is committed the ministry of Jesus Christ." And then a little after[q] he speaks of their order as essential to the Church, with those of the bishops and presbyters; "In like manner (saith he) let all reverence the deacons, as Jesus Christ; and the bishop, as the Father[r]; and the presbyters, as the sanhedrim of God and college of the Apostles; without these there is no Church[s]." For the clearer understanding of this matter, Sir, we must remember that in all religions, true or false, there have been two sorts of ministries, or ministers: one of the priests, who were ministers of the gods, and the other of those who were ministers, or servants to the priests, who among the Latins were called *ministri*, as Brissonius[t] hath shewed by many examples. Such were the *popæ*, or *succincti*, who bound and slew the victims; *victimarii*, who prepared the beasts for sacrifice by holy rites; the *æditui*, or *sacristans*, who kept the holy vessels, and habits, and the temple, &c. And for this reason the mi-

[p] [*παραινῶ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν, προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων, τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*—Id. Ep. ad Magnes., c. 6. ibid., p. 18.]

[q] [That is 'a little after' the passage from the Epistle to the Trallesians just quoted, which continues, *ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ πατρός· τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων· χώρις τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.*—Id. Ep. ad Trall., c. 3. ibid., p. 22.]

[r] See Vossius in locum. [*ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ πατρός*· etiam interpres, codicem corruptum secutus, ut puto. Antiochus autem nos hoc loco juvare potest, apud quem est; *καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὡς τὸν πατέρα.* Ac similiter legisse Pseudo-Ignatius videtur.—Vossii annott. ibid.]

[s] St. Polycarp in his Epistle to the Philippians magnifies the deacons' office almost in the same words, saying 'they are not the servants of men but of God in Jesus Christ.' [*ὁμοίως διάκονοι ἄμεμπτοι κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὡς θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ διάκονοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων.* S. Polycarpi Epist., c. 5. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 188.]

[t] De Formul., lib. i. [pp. 12, 13, where the ministri, popæ, succincti, et victimarii are treated of.] See Rosini Antiquit. Rom., lib. iii. cap. 31. [De ministris sacerdotum populi Romani; he makes the statement given by Hickes respecting the Flaminii, quoting Festus on the point, and treats of the æditui, popæ, and victimarii. pp. 227, 228. Amst. 1685.]

nisters of the heathen priest called *flamen dialis*, were from him named *flaminii*. To the *popæ*, *victimarii*, and *æditui* among the Latins, answered, the κήρυκες, or ἱεροκήρυκες, the νεωκόροι, or ζάκοροι, and ναοφύλακες among the Greeks: and so among the Jews the Levites were set aside to serve and attend the priests, and do all the servile offices of the sacrifices about the tabernacle, and afterwards about the temple, in such manner as I need not describe. Hence came a twofold use of the verb λειτουργεῖν, which signifies 'to minister,' and of all the words that come from it, in the Christian Church. For in the more noble[u] and usual signification they denote sacerdotal ministration, but sometimes by a *catachresis* they also denote the servile ministry of those inferior officers, who attended the bishop and priests, and the ministration of holy services, and kept the church. Λειτουργική· κυρίως μὲν ἡ ἱερατική, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ ἡ δουλική· "'Liturgical' (saith the gloss in Suidas) properly signifies 'sacerdotal,' but catachrestically 'servile.'" According to which explication of the word, the office of deacon is of a double nature; first, servile[x], with respect to the bishop

[u] Λειτουργικάς. ἱερατικάς. Hesychius.

[x] Concil. Nicen. Can. xviii. "Let the deacons contain themselves within their own bounds, and know that they are (τοῦ μεν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρέται) the bishop's servants, and inferior to the presbyters." [ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον, ὅτι ἔν τισι τόποις καὶ πόλεσι, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οἱ διακόνοι διδόασιν· ὅπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν, οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκε, τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, τοῖς προσφέρουσι διδόναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. κἀκεῖνο δὲ ἐγνωρίσθη, ὅτι ἤδη τινὲς τῶν διακόνων καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἅπτονται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα περιηρήσθω· καὶ ἐμμενέτωσαν οἱ διακόνοι τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις, εἰδότες ὅτι τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρέται εἰσὶ, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἐλάττους τυγχάνουσι· λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν μετὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, τοῦ ἐπισκόπου διδόντος αὐτοῖς, ἢ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθῆσθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐξέστω τοῖς διακόνοις· παρὰ κανόνα γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον. εἰ δέ τις μὴ θέλοι πειθαρχεῖν καὶ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὅρους, πεπαύσθω τῆς διακονίας.—Concil. tom. ii. p. 42.] Const. Apost., lib. viii. cap. 27. "The deacon doth not administer the Eucharist, but when the bishop or presbyter administers [rather "has offered"], he delivers it to the people, not as a priest, but as one who serves the priests."—[διάκονος οὐ προσφέρει· τοῦ δὲ ἐπισκόπου προσενεγκόντος ἢ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, αὐτὸς ἐπιδίδωσι τῷ λαῷ, οὐχ ὡς ἱερεὺς, ἀλλ' ὡς διακονούμενος ἱερεῦσι.—Ibid., tom. i. p. 493, C.] So in the spurious but ancient Epistle of St. Ignatius to Heron the deacon: "Do thou nothing without the bishops, for they are priests, but thou art the servant of priests. They baptize, sacrifice, ordain, absolve; but thou dost minister to them, as St. Stephen did to James and the presbyters at Jerusalem." [μηδὲν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπισκόπων πράττε· ἱερεῖς γάρ εἰσι· σὺ δὲ διάκονος τῶν ἱερέων. ἐκεῖνοι βαπτίζουσιν, ἱερουργοῦσι, χειροτονοῦσι, χειροθετοῦσι· σὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς διακονεῖς, ὡς Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.—S. Ignat. adscr. Epist. ad Heronem diaconum, § iii. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 109. Of the spuriousness of this epistle Le Clerc says; "ad ea accedunt manifestæ allusiones ad Constitutiones Apostolicas, aut potius verba inde exscripta, quæ hasce epistolas non minus spurias esse evincunt quam ipsum opus

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and presbyters to whom they were subservient[y] in the performances of holy offices, and in other affairs of the Church. As such they were the bishop's attendants[z] and subalmoners[a] to look after the necessitous, as widows and orphans and sick persons, that they should be duly supplied out of the public stock of the Church; and his messengers to carry his pastoral letters and orders to his flock, and his communicatory letters to other bishops and Churches[b]; and in Divine service to be the *ἱεροκήρυκες*[c], or criers, to forbid those who bore any grudge to come to the holy Eucharist[d], to command silence and attention when the holy offices began, and particularly, as often as they called upon them by the *oremus*, 'let us pray;' to dismiss the penitents, catechumens, and hearers, when the holy Eucharist was to begin; to prepare the altar for it[e]; to receive the offerings from the people, and carry them to the priest or bishop, who placed them upon the holy table[f]; to carry the holy cup about, and, in cases of necessity, the bread to the faithful[g]; and when the communion was

unde desumpta sunt, ut Usserius et Dallæus multis ostenderunt.—Dissertatio ii. de Epist. Ignat. § 26. ibid. p. 511.]

[y] Haberti Pontificale Ecclesiæ Græcæ [ad Partem ix. Liturg. Ordinum] Observ. iii. [Diaconum non solius episcopi, sed etiam presbyteri ministrum esse.] p. 197. [Paris. 1643. See Bingham, book ii. chap. 20. § 13.]

[z] Τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρέται εἰσὶ, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἐλάττους. Conc. Nic. Can. xviii. [quoted above p. 39. note x.]

[a] Habertus, Ibid., Observ. iv. [De reliquis extra mysteria Diaconorum officiis. Primum est ministrare mensis.] p. 200. [See Bingham, ibid., § 16, and the Apost. Const., lib. ii. c. 31, 32, and lib. iii. c. 19. there referred to.]

[b] [See Bingham, ibid., § 18.]

[c] Habertus, ibid., Observ. ii. pars altera, pp. 192, 193. [De ministerio diaconorum in tremendis mysteriis. . . . . Terrium (munus) erga populum; monendo, excitando, imperando, præcipue frequenti illa voce πρόσχωμεν, 'attendamus:' . . . . submovebant etiam eos qui mysteriis adeundis inepti erant.] See also Observ. v. p. 203.

[d] [Bingham, ibid., § 10. See Const. Apost., quoted below, note c, p. 44.]

[e] [Habertus, ibid., p. 193, quoting Hugo de S. Victor, Diaconorum officium est . . . sacrificium in altari componere, corpus et sanguinem Domini distribuere, licet non ubique hoc observetur.]

[f] [Bingham, ibid., § 5.]

[g] [It was so decided by the fourth council of Carthage, c. 38. (quoted by Bingham, book ii. chap. 20. § 7.) Diaconus, præsente presbytero, eucharistiam corporis Christi populo, si necessitas cogat, jussus eroget. The earlier rule of the Church allowed them to administer both 'the bread and the holy cup.' Nonnulli quidem, qui de altera solum specie agnoscendum velint, de calice nimirum; at de utraque censendum in veteri ecclesiæ disciplina, ex sequentibus plura declarabunt. Habertus, ibid., p. 194. He quotes St. Justin Martyr, (Apol. i. c. 67. p. 83, E.) and St. Ambrose, De Officiis, lib. i. c. 41. (Op. tom. ii. p. 55, A.) See also the passage of Hugo de S. Victor quoted above, and the passage from the Apostolical Constitutions, lib. viii. c. 27. quoted above, note x, p. 37. Of the rule of the later Church, he says, (Observ. ii. pars altera, p. 196;) Decretum vero postea apud nos, Diacono non licere præsente presbytero corpus Christi tradere. Bingham, as above, § 7, says the same.]

done, like the Athenian κήρυκες[h] at the end of their sacrifices, to dismiss the people. It was their office also to be directors and monitors to the bishop and presbyters in the performance of Divine service[i], and to attend upon the person of the bishop at home and abroad; to make part of his holy retinue, and in many things to minister to him[j]. But then, secondly, as their office was servile in these respects, so it seems to have been sacerdotal, as they were sharers in the lowest degree of the priestly office, when in virtue of it they were appointed and allowed, especially in the absence of the bishops and presbyters, to administer the most solemn and fœderal office of baptism, and offer up praises and supplications and thanksgivings and prayers in the public congregations[k]; in the former of which two offices, as I have observed, the deacon stands on God's part to admit the candidates of baptism into the Church; and in the latter on the people's part, as their orator, to put up their united prayers, and in both acts as a priest. For which reason, perhaps, it was that St. Ignatius said, "that they were not ministers of meats and drinks, but of the Church of God[l];" that is, they are not only ministers of tables, to serve at which they were first appointed, as St. Hierome observes[m], but also sacerdotal ministers, "ministers of God" and the Church, "ministers of the mysteries of Jesus Christ;" to whom, saith he in another way of speaking[n], "is committed the ministry of Jesus Christ." So the council of Eliberis[o], in the

Acts 6. 43.
2 Cor. 6. 4.
1 Cor. 4. 1.
See 2 Cor. 3. 18.

[h] Peractis vera solennibus religionis, populum dimittebant his verbis λαῶν ἄφεσις, *ex templo*, vel, *ite, missa est.*—Is. Casaub. Animadv. in Athenæi Deipnos., lib. xiv. [c. 23. Annott. p. 939. fol. 1657. tom. vii. p. 668. Schweigh. 1805.]

[i] Habertus, ibid., p. 192. [Diaconus celebrantem cum reverentia submonere debet.]

[j] Ibid., Observ. iii. [See note y, Bingham, ibid., § 18.]

[k] [Habertus, ibid. Observ. iv. 3. Tertium (munus) baptizare, extra ordinem scilicet, absente episcopo et presbytero si necessitas ingruat. Quarum ea præstare, absente episcopo et presbytero, quæ ad pascendam et regendam plebem spectant, seclusa nimirum ordinatione et sacrificio.—p. 202. See Bingham, ibid., § 9. "Deacons allowed to baptize in some places;" and § 10. "in several prayers they repeated the words before (the people) to teach them what they were to pray for." See Apost. Const. quoted below, pp. 44, 45.]

[l] [note o, p. 35.]

[m] Viduarum et mensarum ministri; Epist. ad Evagrium lxxxv. [Quid patitur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra (presbyteros) se efferat.—Epist. cxlv. (al. lxxxv.) ad Evangelum; (al. Evagrium) S. Hieron. Op., tom. i. col. 1075, A. Sciant quare diaconi constituti sint; legant Acta Apostolorum, recordentur conditionis suæ.—Ibid., col. 1077, C. The object of the epistle is to shew the inferiority of deacons to presbyters.]

[n] [See note p, p. 36.]

[o] Canon xxxii. [Apud presbyterum, siquis gravi lapsu in ruinam mortis inciderit, placuit agere pœnitentiam non debere, sed potius apud episcopum; cogente tamen infirmitate necesse est presbyterum communionem præstare

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year 362[p], decreed that in case of necessity a deacon might absolve dying penitents or excommunicates, if the bishop commanded him. And this power of reconciling penitents in imminent danger of death, when a priest cannot be had, was granted to deacons by the Church in succeeding ages, as is shewed in many instances by a late learned writer and monk of the Benedictine order[q], to whom I refer the reader. And before this, in the Church of Africa[r], deacons were allowed to receive confessions and absolve penitents, when neither the bishop nor any presbyter could be present, as is plain from the place in the margin. Upon which Rigaltius, favouring the opinion of Optatus, saith[s], *Est enim etiam in*

debere, et diaconum, si ei jusserit sacerdos, (that is, the bishop, see the note of Albaspinæus, p. 1020;) but another reading, followed by Aguirre, (Conc. Hisp., tom. ii. p. 264,) is; non est presbyterorum aut diaconorum, communionem talibus præstare debere, nisi eis jusserit episcopus.—Concil., tom. i. p. 996, A, B.]

[p] [This date is an oversight. The council is dated era 362, that is, of the era Hispanica, instituted B.C. 38, in honour of Augustus, when Spain was allotted to him in the second triumvirate. It was the first use of the word era, in this sense, which was a Spanish word for time. See Spelman's Gloss., pp. 243—245. The date era 362 corresponds to A.D. 324. This is the latest date assigned to the council; Harduin places it in 313, (Concil., tom. i. p. 247. ed. Paris. 1725); Baluz thinks it should be put later; Aguirre (Concil. Hisp., tom. ii. diss. 1. n. 18) places it in the latter part of 303; as does Colet, Concil., tom. i. p. 987.]

[q] Edm. Martene de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus, lib. i. cap. 6. [art. vii, E. Diaconi olim urgente necessitate confessiones excipiebant. . . . Id muneris non raro diaconis concessum esse fidei est indubiæ. . . . He then quotes the authorities given by Hickes, and afterwards other and still later ones, forbidding deacons to hear confessions, (as in the dioceses of London, Lincoln, and Worcester in the thirteenth century,) and concludes, His omnibus luce meridiana clarius constat, diaconos ad usque finem sæculi xiii. confessiones pœnitentium, absentibus presbyteris, urgenteque necessitate excepisse; immo citra necessitatem id attentasse.—tom. i. p. 273. Antw. 1763. The confessions which deacons were allowed to receive, in cases of necessity, were the last acts of public humiliation before reconciliation; (see Bp. Fell, quoted note t, and note L, p. 377 of the Oxford translation of Tertullian;) and the imposition of their hands gave only a readmission to communion, authorized by the bishop. See Petavius, not. ad Epiphanium, pp. 71, 233, 250, ed. Paris, 1622; and his Diatribe de Pœnitentia et reconciliatione, capp. i., ii., iv. Thesaurus Theologicus, tom. xii. Venet. 1763, as referred to in the notes to the place, p. 399. ed. Ben.]

[r] Si incommodo aliquo et infirmitatis periculo occupati fuerint, non expectata præsentia nostra, apud presbyterum quemcunque præsentem, vel si presbyter repertus non fuerit, et urgere exitus cœperit, apud diaconum quoque exomologesin facere delicti sui possint, ut manu eis in pœnitentiam imposita veniant ad Dominum cum pace.—Cyprian., Epist. xviii. ad Clerum de Lapsis, ed. Oxon. p. 40. [Epist. xii. p. 22. ed. Ben.]

[s] [Rigalt does but express the sentiment of St. Cyprian (Epist. xiv. p. 24. ed. Ben.) which he quotes; 'Item presbyteris et diaconibus non defuit sacerdotii vigor.' His note on the passage, Epist. xii. p. 25. Paris, 1666, quoted note r, continues; At diaconos pœnitentibus manum imponere sola necessitatis ratio admittit; nempe si urgeat exitus, et presbyter repertus non fuerit. On the words quoted from Epist. xiv., he says, p. 27; Operæ pretium fuerit semel observasse, vocabulis sacerdotii et sacramenti, in rebus Christianis, omnia significari quæ administrandæ disciplinæ Christianæ conveniunt, (instancing the giving of baptism and offering prayers.) Atque inde fit, ut

diaconatu sacerdotium, "there is something of priesthood in the deacon's office." But as learned a man, the annotator in the Oxford edition[t], is of opinion that the deacons did not perform these sacerdotal acts as priests, in virtue of their office, or as sharers of the priesthood, but only as deputed by the authority of the bishops, in extraordinary cases of necessity, when there were no bishops or presbyters to perform them. Habertus, in his fifth observation on the Greek Pontifical, is of this opinion[u]; and there likewise shews that anciently deacons never were permitted to preach *e cathedra,* in a solemn and sacerdotal manner; that is, as messengers or "ambassadors of Christ," by whom God did instruct them, and exhort them to repent, and who, in Christ's stead, our great High-Priest in heaven, prayed them to be reconciled to God. Sir, my undertaking doth not oblige me to arbitrate between these opinions, but only to shew that it is more consonant to the notion of priesthood to think deacons to be priests of the lowest form who had not power to offer, than to deny the more noble orders of bishops and presbyters to be truly sacerdotal; because to administer baptism and officiate in public prayers, properly speaking, seem to be sacerdotal acts in them as well as in the presbyters, though they could not administer the holy Eucharist, and by consequence it is far from being true that bishops and presbyters are not proper priests, upon supposition that the Christian religion hath

2 Cor. 5. 20.

Cyprianus etiam in diaconibus sacerdotii vigorem laudaverit. It is remarkable that Hickes does not refer to these words of St. Cyprian, which are more explicit than those of Optatus.]

[t] [Bishop Fell. Caute hic legendus est Rigaltius dum ait, 'esse in Diaconatu sacerdotium'...Quæcunque necessitas cogit etiam illa defendit, sed tantisper dum incubuerit.... Dicitur porro apud Diaconum exomologesis facta, non quasi is solus esset ejusdem conscius; pœnitentia enim vel ægrotantium, quantum fieri potuit istis sæculis, publica erat; sed quia absente presbytero, ad quem munus illud imprimis spectabat, diaconi præsentia habebatur prorsus necessaria, quotcunque e plebe adesse contingeret, .. Forma a Cypriano episcopo data fuit: conditionem nimirum sub qua lapsi in ecclesiam reciperentur is præscripsit. ... Formæ sive conditionis impletæ, Ecclesiæ nomine testes et arbitri erant diaconi et fratres laici in hanc rem acciti.—Annott. in S. Cypr. Epist., p. 40. ed. Oxon.]

[u] [The subject of the Observation is; Munus prædicandi ad diaconum, non nisi extra ordinem pertinere. Habertus says, Omnes autem inter theologos convenit, diaconum baptismi solum extraordinarium ministrum esse; igitur et ipsius quæ baptizandi officium sequitur, prædicationis. Illius, inquam, prædicationis publicæ et solennis, qualis episcoporum et presbyterorum officio continetur. Privatæ siquidem aut minus solemnes adhortationes eis plerumque commissæ sunt, publicæ extra ordinem, aut in necessitate, absente episcopo et presbytero, lege vero et more communi interdictæ; and he shews that κηρύσσειν, when applied to deacons, means 'bidding' the people to prayer, &c.—Habertus, Pontif. ubi sup. Observ. v. pp. 202, sqq. See Bingham, book ii. chap. 20. § 11.]

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neither altar nor sacrifice of any sort, as the Jewish neither now hath, nor formerly in the captivity had.

I say, 'upon supposition,' which for argument sake I am willing to grant your late writer, though in reality it hath both, as I now proceed to shew from the writings of the New Testament; and thereby prove that the ministers of Christ are so far from not being proper priests, that they are proper altar ministers, or sacrificing priests, *τὰ ἱερα ἐργαζόμενοι*, as the Apostle calls the Jewish priests.

1 Cor. 9. 13.

SECT. VI. From our Lord's words, speaking of the Christian altar.

VI. I will begin with the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel: "If thou bring thy gift (*τὸ δῶρόν σου*) unto the altar, and there remembrest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." The original word for gift is a sacrificial term of a general signification, and denotes a material sacrifice, or offering of any sort, as may be seen in the margin[x], and therefore it is to be taken here in that sense in which it is to be understood in Matthew viii. 4; "Shew thyself to the priest, and offer the gift (or oblation) that Moses commanded." So in chapter xxiii. 18; "Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing, but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, he is guilty." In this sense of the word our Lord spake to the Jews in their common language. But then it is to be observed, that those Jews were His disciples, and that this precept of reconciliation was therefore intended by Him for an ordinance of the New Testament, like many others which He gave His disciples, while He instructed them in the doctrines relating to the kingdom of God. Thus He spoke by way of anticipation of baptism and baptismal regeneration to Nicodemus[y], John iii. 3—5,

[x] Lev. i. 2, "If any of you bring an offering to the Lord, *προσαγάγῃ δῶρα τῷ Κυρίῳ*, ye shall bring your offering of the cattle, of the herd, and of the flock, *ἀπὸ τῶν κτηνῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων προσοίσετε τὰ δῶρα ὑμῶν.*" ver. 3, "If his offering be a burnt-sacrifice, *ἐὰν ὁλοκαύτωμα τὸ δῶρον αὐτοῦ.*" Chap. ii. 1, "When any will offer a meat-offering unto the Lord, his offering shall be of fine flour, *ἐὰν δὲ ψυχὴ προσφέρῃ δῶρον θυσίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ σεμίδαλις ἔσται τὸ δῶρον αὐτοῦ.* ver. 7, "If thy oblation be a meat-offering baken in a pan, *ἐὰν δὲ θυσία ἀπὸ ἐσχάρας τὸ δῶρόν σου.*" See also chap. i. 10, 14; ii. 4, 5, 13; iii. 1. [*δῶρον* is used in each place, the corresponding Hebrew word is corban, קרבן, 'what is brought, presented.']

[y] S. Cyprian. de Orat. Domin. Homo novus, renatus, et Deo per ejus gratiam restitutus, 'Pater,' primo in loco dicit, quia filius esse jam cœpit. p. 206. ed. Ben.—See Epist. lxxii. [ad Stephanum Papam. Tunc enim demum esse filii Dei possunt si sacramento utroque nascantur, cum scriptum sit, 'nisi quis

and of the holy Eucharist[z], John vi. 50—58. Many other doctrines and precepts of Christian perfection were given by way of anticipation for the Gospel state, which are to be found in His sermon on the mount, and other places of the evangelists: as that wherein He told His disciples, that their righteousness was to exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees; that of not calling our brother fool; that of not looking upon a woman with a lustful eye; that whereby He forbid divorce in other places, as well as in His sermon; that of not resisting evil; of loving our enemies; and of forgiving others their offences and trespasses against us, as a condition without which God would not forgive us ours against Him. To these we may add the special beatitudes promised to those who mourn; to the poor, meek, and humble in spirit; and to those who are reviled and persecuted for His sake. All which were given to them, as well as the precept of being reconciled before they offered at the altar, as to His disciples, and for the future Christian Church, to renew the Divine likeness and image in us, and make us partakers of the Divine perfections, by conforming our lives and our whole selves to His instructions and will. And as the primitive Church conceived this precept of reconciliation to be intended, among those I have mentioned, for a Gospel precept, so they always applied it to the Eucharist, as the Gospel sacrifice or oblation, 'not thinking (as Mr. Mede well observes[a])

Matt. 5. 20.
ver. 22.
ver. 28.
ver. 22. (c. 19. 9; Luke 16. 18.)
ver. 39.
ver. 44; c. 6. 15.
c. 5. 3—11.

renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei.'] —p. 128. ed. Ben.]

Epist. lxxiii. [ad Tubaianum. Ut qui legitimo et vero, atque unico Sanctæ Ecclesiæ baptismo ad regnum Dei regeneratione Divina præparantur, sacramento utroque nascantur, quia scriptum est, 'nisi,' &c. p. 136. ed. Ben.]

Testimoniorum adversus Judæos, lib. i. c. 12. [p. 279. ed. Ben.] lib. iii. c. 25. [p. 314. ed. Ben.] Concil. Carthag. [A.D. 256. apud S. Cypr. Op. p. 330. ed. Ben.]

[z] Ibid., [de Orat. Dom.] Ipso prædicante, et monente, 'ego sum panis vitæ, qui de cœlo descendi. Si quis ederit de meo pane, vivet in æternum. Panis autem quem ego dedero, caro mea est pro sæculi vita,' &c. [p. 209. ed. Ben.] See also Testimon. adversus Judæos, lib. i. c. 22. [p. 228. ed. Ben.] lib. iii. c. 25. [p. 314. ed. Ben.]

Tertull. de Orat. [c. 6.] *Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*, spiritualiter potius intelligamus. Christus enim panis noster est, quia vita Christus, et vita panis. 'Ego sum,' inquit, 'panis vitæ.' Et paulo supra; [Panis est sermo Dei vivi, qui descendit de cœlo. —Op., p. 131, D.]

[a] ["It is altogether improbable our Saviour would then annex a new rite to the legal sacrifices, when He was so soon after to abolish them by His sacrifice upon the cross. . . . Ergo, He intended it for an ordinance of the kingdom of God, (as the Scripture speaks,) that is, for the Church of His Gospel." —Of the name Altar, or θυσιαστήριον, anciently given to the Holy Table.—sect. ii. Mede's Works, p. 390. See vol. i. p. 5, note s.]

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that our Lord would make a new law,' or, let me add, enforce an old one, 'concerning legal sacrifices, which He was presently to abolish, but that it had reference to that oblation which was to be instituted by Him for the Gospel dispensation,' and to continue with and under it for ever. Thus, in the Apostolical Constitutions[b]; *ἐὰν προσφέρῃς τὸ δῶρόν σου, κ.τ.λ.* "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest thy brother hath ought against thee, leave thy gift there, and go thy way first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift; *δῶρον δέ ἐστιν Θεῷ ἡ ἑκάστου προσευχὴ καὶ εὐχαριστία*, For the gift that is offered to God is every one's prayer and thanksgiving." What immediately follows in chapter 54, shews that this relates to the Eucharist, *διὰ τοῦτο ὦ ἐπίσκοποι, μελλόντων ὑμῶν εἰς προσευχὴν ἀπαντᾶν*[c] *κ.τ.λ.* "Wherefore, O bishops, when you proceed to prayer after the lesson and singing of psalms, and expounding the Scriptures, let the deacon standing near you proclaim with a loud voice, 'Let no man have ought against his brother, let no dissembler come hither,' that if any persons are guilty of any thing for which they ought to ask forgiveness, they may pray unto God, and be reconciled to their brethren." In this last citation, which continues the former, the very order of the liturgy, or Eucharistical service, is described as it is mentioned in Justin the Martyr's first Apology[d], and partly set forth in the same Const. Apost., lib. viii. cap. 12 and 13[e]. And I cannot but observe that it hath the air of a true and most genuine passage, worthy of that apostolical father, who, as I

[b] Const. Apost., lib. ii. cap. 53. [Concilia, tom. i. p. 289, E. 292, A. The concluding words would be more correctly translated, "Now the prayer and thanksgiving of each is *a* gift to God;" and so our prayers come under the rule of being reconciled before offering our gifts, which properly belongs to literal oblations.]

[c] *διὰ τοῦτο ὦ ἐπίσκοποι, μελλόντων ὑμῶν εἰς προσευχὴν ἀπαντᾶν, [μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς διδασκαλίαν, ὁ διάκονος ἑστὼς πλήσιον ὑμῶν μετὰ ὑψηλῆς φωνῆς λεγέτω· μή τις κατά τινος· μή τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει· ἵνα ἐὰν ἐυρεθῇ ἐν τισὶν ἀντιλογία, συνειδήσει κρουσθέντες δεηθῶσι τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ διαλλαγῶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.*—Ibid., c. 54. p. 292, D. This passage is not, as the words following in the text would imply, immediately after the former.]

[d] *τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἄγρους μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμησέως ποιεῖται· ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν· καὶ ὡς προέφημεν, παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἄρτος προφέρεται, κ.τ.λ.*—S. Justin. M., Apol. i. [c. 67. Op., p. 83, D.] The quotation is continued (in referring to c. 65. p. 82, quoted below), sect. vii.]

[e] [Ibid., pp. 473—485, quoted below, sect. x.]

have more than once noted, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, § xliv., calls bishops *προσενέγκοντες τὰ δῶρα*, "offerers of the gifts[f]." These gifts of bread and wine, which the people brought and the priests offered, they frequently called *ἅγια δῶρα*, to distinguish them from the other oblations, as of the first-fruits of corn and grapes, which were also presented to God upon the altar. But to return to St. Clement, he virtually applies this text to the Eucharistical sacrifice, Apost. Constit., lib. ii. cap. 57[g], where the order of the liturgy is more fully described than in the fifty-third and fifty-fourth chapters; "After prayer," saith he, "let some of the deacons attend only to the oblation of the Eucharist, ministering to the body of the Lord with fear: let others look after the people and make them keep silence; but let the deacon that assists the bishop say, *μή τις κατά τινος*, 'let no man have ought against his brother, let no dissembler come here.' Then let the men salute the men, and the women the women with a holy kiss, but not treacherously, like Judas, who betrayed the Lord with a kiss. After this, let the deacon pray for the universal Church and the whole world. Then let the bishop give the 'peace' to the people, and bless them, as Moses commanded the priests to bless the people in these words: 'The Lord bless thee and keep thee,' &c. Then let the bishop pray, and say, 'O Lord, save Thy people, and bless Thine inheritance which Thou

Numb. 6. 24.

[f] [S. Clem. R. Epist. ad Cor. i. c. xliv. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 173. On the authorship of the Apostolical Constitutions, see Cotelerius, ibid., p. 195.]

[g] [*οἱ δὲ διάκονοι μετὰ τὴν προσευχὴν οἱ μὲν τῇ προσφορᾷ τῆς εὐχαριστίας σχολαζέτωσαν, ὑπηρετούμενοι τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου σώματι μετὰ φόβου· οἱ δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους διασκοπέτωσαν, καὶ ἡσυχίαν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιέτωσαν· λεγέτω δὲ ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ ὀρχιερεῖ διάκονος τῷ λαῷ· μή τις κατά τινος· μή τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει· εἶτα καὶ ἀσπαζέσθωσαν ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἀλλήλας αἱ γύναικες, τὸ ἐν κυρίῳ φίλημα· ἀλλὰ μή τις δολίως, ὡς Ἰούδας τὸν Κύριον φιλήματι παρέδωκε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσευχέσθω ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κοσμου . . . καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εὐχόμενος τῷ λαῷ εἰρήνην, εὐλογείτω τοῦτον· ὡς καὶ Μωσῆς ἐνετείλατο ἱερεῦσιν εὐλογεῖν τὸν λαὸν, τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν· εὐλογήσαι σε Κύριος καὶ φυλάξαι σε· ἐπιφάναι Κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπί σε, καὶ δῷη σοι εἰρήνην· ἐπευχέσθω οὖν καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ λεγέτω· σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου, Κύριε, καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, ἣν ἐκτήσω, καὶ περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· ἣν ἐκάλεσας βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γινέσθω ἡ θυσία, ἐστῶτος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ προσευχομένου ἡσύχως· καὶ ὅταν ἀνευεχθῇ, μεταλαμβανέτω ἑκάστη τάξις καθ' ἑαυτὴν τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος ἐν τάξει, μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας, ὡς βασιλέως προσερχόμενοι σώματι· καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες κατακεκαλυμμέναι τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὡς ἁρμόζει γυναικῶν τάξει, προσερχέσθωσαν· φυλαττέσθωσαν δὲ αἱ θύραι· μή τις ἄπιστος εἰσέλθοι καὶ ἀμύητος.*—Const. Apost., lib. ii. c. 57. Concil., tom. i. p. 297, C, D, E.]

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hast purchased, ἣν περιεποιήσω, as a peculiar people, with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and called a royal priesthood and a holy nation.' After this γενέσθω ἡ θυσία, let the sacrifice be done, the people standing, and praying silently; καὶ ὁτὰν ἀνενεχθῇ, and when the oblation is finished, let every order by itself receive the Lord's body and precious blood, orderly, with reverence and fear, as coming to the body of a king; and let the women come as it becomes them, with covered heads, (or veils,) and let the doors be kept, that no infidel or uninitiated person enter."

To the same Eucharistical oblation is this text applied by Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 34. *Igitur ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo*[h], &c. "Therefore this oblation of the Church, which the Lord (by His prophet Malachi[i]) commanded to be offered through all the world, is accounted a pure sacrifice with God, and is accepted by Him; not that He needs any sacrifice from us, but because he that offers is himself honoured in what he offers, if his offering is accepted: for honour and affection is shewed to a king by a gift (*per munus*); which our Lord being willing that we should offer in all simplicity and innocency, commanded, saying; 'when thou bringest thy gift unto the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave thy gift before the altar, and go and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.'" This father also alludes to this text at the latter end of this chapter, in these words: *sicut et ideo nos offerre vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione*[k]. And so much for the sense of this text, according to the disciple of St. John[l].

The next father who useth this text, is Tertullian, *de Patientia*, cap. 12.[m] *Nemo convulsus animum in fratrem suum,*

[h] [Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium reputatum est apud Deum, et acceptum ei est: non quod indigeat a nobis sacrificium, sed quoniam is qui offert, glorificatur ipse in eo quod offert, si acceptetur munus ejus. Per munus enim erga regem, et honos, et affectio ostenditur: quod in omni simplicitate et innocentia Dominus volens vos offerre, prædicavit dicens 'cum igitur offers munus tuum ad altare,' &c.—S. Iren. adv. Hæreses, c. 18. § 1. p. 250. ed. Ben.]

[i] Id. ibid., cap. 33. [ed. Grab. cap. 17. p. 249. ed. Ben. The passage is quoted below, p. 57, see note r.]

[k] [The reading of the Benedictine edition is, sic et ideo nos quoque, &c. —Ibid., § 6. p. 252.]

[l] [Hickes calls St. Irenæus the disciple of St. John elsewhere, probably as being the disciple of St. Polycarp, who was the disciple of St. John. See the Fragm. Epistolæ ad Florinum, S. Iren. Op., pp. 339, 340.]

[m] [Tertulliani De Præsc. Hær. c. 12. Op., p. 147, A.]

munus apud altare perficiet, nisi prius reconciliando fratri reversus ad patientiam fuerit. "No man who hath a rancorous mind against his brother, shall offer his gift at the altar, unless he returns to patience, and is first reconciled to his brother." In this allusion to the text, the father must take the word gift, and altar, in the literal sense, for which I have produced it; I mean, for the Eucharistical offering at the holy table, which was the sense of the Church in his time, as may be proved from his writings[n]. But without citing any of them here, it is evident from his phrase *munus perficere;* which is a sacrificial expression borrowed from the Greek writers, both sacred and profane, among whom ἱερὸν τελεῖν, θυσίαν τελεῖν, and τελεῖν[o] put by itself, signifies *rem sacram facere,* 'to offer sacrifice,' and so *munus perficere* must sig-

[n] [See below, sect. vii. p. 57.]

[o] See Julius Pollux, lib. i. [cap. 1. segm. 35. tom. i. p. 13, D. περὶ μυστηρίων, τελούντων καὶ τελουμένων· εἴη δὲ ἂν τῆς αὐτῆς ἰδέας καὶ τάδε, μυστήρια, τελεταί . . . μυσταγωγοί, τελεσταί . . . μυεῖν . . . τελεῖν, ὁ δὲ μυηθεὶς, τετελεσμένος, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐνάντιος . . . ἀτέλεστος, . . . τὰ δὲ μυστήρια τελεταί, καὶ τέλη μυστικὰ, κ. τ. λ.] Budæus's Comment. Græcæ Linguæ. [p. 622. τελῶ 'initio' significat et 'res divinas facio' . . . Inde τελετὴ 'expiatio,' et 'cæremonia,' et 'sacerdotium' . . . Augustinus libro decimo de civitate Dei hoc verbo consecrationem significari dixit [cap. ix. Op., tom. vii. p. 245, G.] . . . Synesius altaris sacrificium τελετὴν ἀπόρρητον vocare solet, quasi arcanam et mysticam cæremoniam . . . τελεῖν agere et celebrare significat et rem sacram facere.]-Constantini Lexicon in verb. [p. 749. τελῶ 'initio' . . . 'ago' et 'celebro,' et 'rem sacram facio,' ἄγω, ut τελεῖν τὰ παναθήναια.] Hen. Steph. Thesaur. Græcæ Linguæ. [p. 9236. τελέω, ago, perago, celebro, de rebus sacris potissimum: ut θυσίας τελέσαι, ap. Appian.] So S. Chrysost. Hom. lxxxii. (al. lxxxiii.) in cap. xxvi. S. Matth. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀπέθανεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τίνος σύμβολα τὰ τελούμενα; [Op., tom. vii. p. 783, C.] si vero mortuus non est Christus, cujus symbola hæ oblationes; 'if Christ died not, of what (or whom) are the oblations, the symbols or signs?' Which makes me think, that τετέλεσται, the last word which our Lord spake as He expired upon the cross, relates in its sacrificial sense to His Passion; as the grand sacrifice of our redemption, where it was finished, and our redemption thereby accomplished. The word is so used by Cabasilas of the holy Eucharist, [Nicolai Cabasilæ Archiep. Thessalon. (A.D. 1350.) Liturgiæ Expositio, cap. 27; where he is speaking of the words of consecration, and the prayer for the conversion of the elements] τούτων δὲ εἰρημένων τὸ πᾶν τῆς ἱερουργίας ἤνυσται, καὶ τετέλεσται.—[Biblioth. Patr., tom. ii. p. 233, E. Paris. 1624.] And from this signification of the verb τελεῖν, and the verbal noun τελετὴ for a sacrifice or oblation, the prayer of oblation is called τελεστικὴ εὐχή.—[Id. ibid., B.] And the latter Greeks call the Holy Spirit, which the ancient Church in all places prayed unto God to send down upon oblations, τελεταρχικὸν, καὶ ἁγιαστικὸν πνεῦμα, as B. Samonas in his disceptation with Achmed a Mahometan Saracen; in which, as all the latter Greeks after the second council of Nice, but more especially after the tenth century, he went most absurdly to prove, that the bread and wine by consecration was made the true and real body and blood of Christ. [The title of the work is, Beati Samonæ Gazæ civitatis Archiepiscopi (circ. A.D. 1072) disceptatio cum Achmed Saraceno, perspicue docens, panem ac vinum utrumque per sacerdotem consecratum, verum esse et integrum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi. The words quoted occur, § 3. Biblioth. Patr. Gallandii, tom. xiv. p. 226, E.]

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nify to offer the Eucharistical gift, or oblation, as he calls it, *de Præscript. Hær.* cap. 40[p]; where speaking of Mithra, the Persian goddess, who aped the mysteries of the Christian religion, "*tingit,* saith he, she baptizes, *celebrat et panis oblationem,* and hath a sacrifice of bread." So *de Oratione,* cap. 10[q]. *Ne prius ascendamus ad Dei altare, quam si quid discordiæ vel offensæ cum fratribus contraxerimus, resolvamus.* "Let us not come unto God's altar, before we have removed all differences, or offences we had contracted with our brethren." What he calls *altare Dei* here, he, who uses *ara* and *altare* promiscuously, which other Latin fathers distinguish, he, I say, calls *aram Dei* in cap. 14[r]. *Similiter et stationum diebus, non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum, quod statio solvenda sit accepto corpore Domini. Ergo devotum Deo obsequium Eucharistia resolvit? An magis Deo obligat? Nonne solennior erit statio tua si et ad aram Dei steteris.*

The next father, who applies this text to the Christian sacrifice, is St. Cyprian. Saith he in his tract of Church unity[s], *Ad sacrificium cum dissentione venientem revocat ab altari, et jubet prius concordare cum fratre, tunc cum pace redeuntem munus offerre, quia nec ad Cain munera respexit Deus. Neque enim pacatum Deum habere poterat, qui cum fratre pacem per zeli discordiam non habebat.* "Him that comes to the sacrifice with dissension (our Lord) repulses from the altar, and commands him first to agree with his brother, and then returning in peace to offer his gift, because God had no respect to the offering of Cain," &c. After citing so many testimonies out of this father for the Eucharistical oblation[t], I conceive it needless to prove what he meant by *sacrificium* and *munus offerre* in this place, where he compares the offering of unreconciled Christians at the holy communion, and the offering of Cain together. There is more to the same purpose in his treatise of the Lord's prayer on the fifth petition[u], *sic nec sacrificium Deus recipit dissidentis, et ab altari re-*

[p] [Tertull. de Præsc. Hær. c. 40. Op. p. 216, D. The passage is quoted at length, sect. x.]

[q] [Id. de Orat. c. 10. Op. p. 133, B. 'ascendimus,' apparently a misprint, is the reading of the Paris edition of 1675.]

[r] [Id. ibid., p. 135, A. On the words *ara* and *altare,* see Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. p. 122, note a.]

[s] [S. Cypr. de Unitate Ecclesiæ, Op., p. 198. ed. Ben.]

[t] [Prefat. Disc., vol. i. pp. 94, sqq.]

[u] [S. Cypr. de Oratione Dominica, Op., p. 211.]

vertentem prius fratri reconciliari jubet, ut pacificis precibus et Deus possit esse pacatus. Sacrificium Deo majus est pax nostra, et fraterna concordia [*et de unitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata.*] *Neque enim in sacrificiis quæ Abel et Cain primi obtulerunt, munera eorum Deus, sed corda intuebatur* [*ut ille placeret in munere qui placebat in corde.*] *Abel pacificus et justus dum Deo sacrificat innocenter, docuit et cæteros, quando ad altare munus offerunt sic venire* [*cum Dei timore, cum simplice corde, cum lege justitiæ, cum concordiæ pace.*] Here again is a comparison of sacrifice to sacrifice, altar to altar, and gift to gift; and Abel set forth as an example to us, when we offer our gifts at the altar, *venire cum Dei timore, cum simplici corde, cum lege justitiæ, cum concordiæ pace.* So at the latter end of his tract *De Zelo, et Livore*[x]. *Dimittentur tibi debita, quando ipse dimiseris: accipientur sacrificia tua, cum pacificus ad Deum veneris:* "thy sins shall be forgiven, when thou dost forgive, and thy sacrifices shall be accepted, when thou comest to God in peace."

Eusebius, *de Vita Constantini*, lib. iv. cap. 41, speaking of the great synod, which the emperor caused to assemble at Tyre for composing some dissensions which had arisen in the Church, "He thought it not lawful," saith he[y], "for those who had dissensions in their minds against one another to come to the holy worship (of the Eucharist) *μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ παρεῖναι λατρείαν*[z], because the law of God commanded, that those who had differences should not offer the gifts, before they had returned to mutual friendship, and were united in peace." And what Eusebius thought of the holy Eucharist may be seen in cap. 45.[a] of the same book, and *De Laudibus Constantini*, cap. 16.[b]

[x] [Id., de Zelo et Livore, Op., p. 261.]

[y] [*μὴ γὰρ ἐξεῖναι τὰς γνώμας διηρημένους ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ παρεῖναι λατρείαν· θείου νόμου διαγορεύοντος μὴ πρότερον τὰ δῶρα προσφέρειν τοὺς ἐν διαφορᾷ τυγχάνοντας, ἢ φιλίαν ἀσπασαμένους, καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρηνικῶς διαθέντας.* — Euseb. de Vita Const. iv. 41. Hist. Eccl., tom. i. p. 648.]

[z] Suicerus in Thesaur. Eccl. "*λατρεία* stricte Eucharistiæ celebrationem denotat." [tom. ii. p. 218.]

[a] [*οἱ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργοὶ, εὐχαῖς ἅμα καὶ διαλέξεσι τὴν ἑορτὴν κατεκόσμουν· οἱ μὲν . . . . οἱ δὲ μὴ διὰ τούτων χωρεῖν οἷοί τε,] θυσίαις ἀναίμοις καὶ μυστικαῖς ἱερουργίαις τὸ θεῖον ἱλάσκοντο, [ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, αὐτοῦ τε βασιλέως . . . ἱκετηρίους εὐχὰς τῷ Θεῷ προσαναφέροντες.* — Id. ibid., c. 45. p. 651.]

[b] *ἀναίμους καὶ λογικὰς θυσίας τὰς δι' εὐχῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτου θεολογίας τοῖς αὐτοῦ θιασώταις, τίς ἐπιτελεῖν παρέδωκεν ἄλλος, ἢ μόνος ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτήρ; διὸ ἐπὶ τῆς καθ' ὅλης ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης, θυσιαστήρια συνέστη, ἐκκλησιῶν τε ἀφιερώματα, νοερῶν τε καὶ λογικῶν θυσιῶν ἱεροπρεπεῖς λειτουργίαι, μόνῳ τῷ παμβασιλεῖ Θεῷ πρὸς ἁπάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν*

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To these testimonies I shall add that of Cyril of Jerusalem, as I have cited it in my preface to the Second Collection of Controversial Letters[c], p. liv. "The *μή τις κατά τινος*, and the holy kiss of peace were founded on this text, as requiring a new qualification for the sacrifice of the holy Eucharist, according to this holy father[d], *εἶτα βοᾷ ὁ διάκονος· ἀλλήλους ἀπολάβετε, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπαζώμεθα, κ.τ.λ.* "Then the deacon cries aloud, 'embrace one another, and let us kiss one another:' but do not think this kiss to be like to those which are commonly used in other salutations; for it is not such: but this kiss reconciles souls, and is a pledge of amnesty and forgiveness, a sign that there is a commixture of souls, and a perfect obliterature of all injuries; and for this reason it was that Christ said, 'if thou bringest thy gift unto the altar,' &c. Wherefore this kiss is reconciliatory, and consequently holy, as St. Paul said, 'Salute you one another with a holy kiss.'"

[Matt. 5. 23.]

[Rom. 16. 16.]

The next author who took the bread and wine to be the gifts or offerings of this text in a proper and literal sense, is St. Chrysostom, in his commentary upon the place[e]; *διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπε μετὰ τὸ προσενεγκεῖν, ἢ πρὶν ἢ προσενεγκεῖν· ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δώρου κειμένου καὶ τῆς θυσίας ἀρχὴν ἐχούσης πέμπει διαλλαγησόμενον τῷ ἀδελφῷ*: "For which reason He did not say, 'after thou hast offered,' or 'before thou offerest,' but 'when the gift is laid (upon the altar),' and the sacrifice ready to begin, then He sends the offerer to be reconciled to his brother." . . . *ὁ γὰρ κελευσθεὶς μὴ πρότερον προσενεγκεῖν, ἕως ἂν καταλλαγῇ, κἂν μὴ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπην, διὰ γοῦν τὸ μὴ κεῖσθαι ἀτέλεστον, ἐπειχθήσεται δραμεῖν πρὸς τὸν λελυπημένον, καὶ καταλῦσαι τὴν ἔχθραν*[f]

ἀναπεμπόμεναι· τὰς δὲ δι' αἱμάτων καὶ λύθρων, καπνοῦ τε προσεπιτελουμένας θυσίας, τάς τε ὠμὰς ἐκείνας, καὶ μανιώδεις ἀνδροκτασίας τε, καὶ ἀνθρωποθυσίας, τίς ἀφανεῖ τε καὶ ἀοράτῳ δυνάμει, σβεσθῆναι, καὶ μηκέτι ὑπάρχειν παρεσκεύασεν; ὡς μαρτυρεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆς γε τῆς Ἑλλήνων ἱστορίας.—[Euseb. de Laudibus Constantini, ibid., p. 768.]

[c] [See Additions to Third Edition, vol. i. p. 1. note c.]

[d] [*εἶτα βοᾷ ὁ διάκονος· ἀλλήλους ἀπολάβετε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπαζώμεθα· μὴ ὑπολάβῃς τὸ φίλημα ἐκεῖνο σύνηθες εἶναι τοῖς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς γενομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν κοινῶν φίλων· οὐκ ἔστι τοίνυν τοιοῦτο τὸ φίλημα· ἀνακίρνησι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀλλήλαις, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀμνησικακίαν αὐταῖς μνηστεύεται· σημεῖον τοίνυν ἐστὶ τὸ φίλημα τοῦ ἀνακραθῆναι τὰς ψυχάς, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξορίζειν μνησικακίαν· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Χριστὸς ἔλεγεν· ἐὰν προσφέρῃς, κ.τ.λ. οὐκοῦν τὸ φίλημα διαλλαγή ἐστι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἅγιον; ὥς που ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἐβόα λέγων· ἀσπάζεσθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ.*—S. Cyril. Hierosol. Catech. Mystag. v. § 3. p. 326, A, B.]

[e] S. Chrys. Hom. xvi. in S. Matth., cap. 5. § 9. [Op., tom. vii. p. 216, D. The Latin is from the version of Anianus, published in Erasmus' and Morell's editions.]

[f] [Id. ibid., pp. 216, E. 217, A.]

"For he that is commanded not to offer before he is reconciled, though not to gain the love of his brother, yet at least that his sacrifice may be rightly offered, he is enjoined to run to his offended brother, and put an end to the enmity which is between them" . . . *οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἀφίησιν οὐδὲ μικρὸν ὑπερτίθεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ τῆς θυσίας πληρωθείσης ῥᾳθυμότερος ὁ τοιοῦτος γένηται, ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας ἀναβαλλόμενος*[g]: "So Christ does not allow (the offerer) the least delay, lest the sacrifice being ended, he should become backward in his duty by putting it off from day to day." *εἰπὼν γάρ· ἄφες τὸ δῶρόν σου, οὐκ ἔστη μέχρι τούτου· ἀλλ' ἐπήγαγεν· ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου πάλιν εἰς φρίκην αὐτὸν ἐμβαλών· καὶ, ἄπελθε· καὶ οὐκ ἁπλῶς εἶπε, ἄπελθε, ἀλλὰ προσέθηκε, πρῶτον, καὶ τότε ἐλθὼν πρόσφερε τὸ δῶρόν σου· διὰ πάντων τούτων δηλῶν, ὅτι οὐ δέχεται τοὺς ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντας αὕτη ἡ τράπεζα· ἀκουέτωσαν οἱ μεμυημένοι, ὅσοι μετὰ ἔχθρας προσέρχονται· ἀκουέτωσαν καὶ οἱ ἀμύητοι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔχει τι κοινὸν ὁ λόγος· προσάγουσι γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ δῶρον καὶ θυσίαν, εὐχὴν λέγω καὶ ἐλεημοσύνην· ὅτι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο θυσία* (*quia enim et hæc sacrificii instar obtineant*), *ἄκουσον τί φησιν ὁ προφήτης· θυσία αἰνέσεως δοξάσει με· καὶ πάλιν· θύσον τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως· ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἑσπερινή· ὥστε κἂν εὐχὴν μετὰ τοιαύτης γνώμης προσάγῃς βέλτιον ἀφεῖναι τὴν εὐχὴν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ τότε τὴν εὐχὴν προσφέρειν*[h]: "For having said, 'leave thy gift,' He did not stop there, but added, 'before the altar,' giving him an impression of horror from the place, 'and go thy way;' nor does He only say, 'go thy way,' but adds, 'first, and then come and offer thy gift;' giving us to understand by all this, that this table does not receive such as are at enmity with each other. Let those hear this, who being initiated into (these) holy mysteries approach (the altar) with enmity, and let those also hear who are not yet initiated; for this text has some relation also to them: for they also bring a gift, and a sacrifice, I mean prayer and alms; for these are a sacrifice also; hear what the Prophet saith; 'the sacrifice of praise honoureth Me;' and again; 'offer unto God the sacrifice of

[g] [Id. ibid., § 10. p. 218, A.]

[h] [Id. ibid., § 10. p. 217, A, B.]

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praise;' and, 'the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.'" Here the father distinguishes between the sacrifice of the baptized and unbaptized Christians; between the sacrifice of the altar, and the sacrifice of those who were not yet qualified to come to the altar; between the mere oral sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and the real sacrifice or oblation of the bread and wine, with praise and thanksgiving; between sacrifice in the most eminent proper sense, for an external material sacrifice presented unto God at the altar, and sacrifice only in the less proper, and analogical sense, for praise, and thanksgiving, and alms, as it is in our, and all other translations of the last place cited by the father: "Let my prayer be set forth before Thee as the incense, and the lifting up of the hands as the evening sacrifice." These words were spoken by King David, when he was in exile from Jerusalem and the temple, where morning and evening sacrifices were offered, instead of which he begs of God, that He would be pleased to accept of his prayers, that like the daily sacrifices, they might come up for a memorial unto Him.

Ps. 142. 2.

To these let me add the testimonies of Hierome and Augustine, the former of whom in his commentary of Matt. v. writes thus[i]: *Non dixit, si tu*, &c. "He doth not say, if thou hast anything against thy brother, but if thy brother hath any thing against thee, that a greater necessity of being reconciled to him may be imposed upon thee. For as long as we are not able to pacify him, I know not if we can warrantably offer our gifts to God." The latter in his sixteenth Sermon *De Verbis Domini* writes thus[k]; *Si obtuleris munus tuum ad altare*, &c. "God is not angry with thee for deferring to present thy gift, for He desireth thee more than thy gift; for if having an evil mind against thy brother, thou shalt come with thy gift to God, He will answer thee; What hast thou brought

[i] [Non dixit, si tu habes aliquid adversus fratrem tuum, sed si frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te, ut durior reconciliationis tibi imponatur necessitas. Quamdiu illum placare non possumus, nescio an consequenter munera nostra offeramus Deo. — S. Hieron. Comm. in Matt., lib. i. cap. 5. Op., tom. vii. col. 27, B, C.]

[k] [Si obtuleris munus tuum ad altare, et ibi recordatus fueris, quia frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te; relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare. Non irascitur Deus, quia differs imponere munus tuum: te quærit Deus magis quam munus tuum. Nam si malum animum gerens adversus fratrem tuum, adveneris cum munere ad

to Me to thy own destruction? Thou offerest thy gift when thou thyself art not a fit offering to God. Christ values thee more, whom He hath redeemed with His blood, than what thou foundest in thy storehouse. Therefore leave thy gift before the altar, and go, and be first reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. See how soon the danger of hell is taken away: not reconciled, thou art in danger of hell, but when thou art reconciled thou securely offerest thy gift at the altar." Here St. Augustine takes the text in the literal sense. So likewise *De Sermone Domini in Monte,* he understands it literally[1]; "if the offended brother be present; but if he be absent, as perhaps beyond the sea," then he thinks in that case it may be taken in a spiritual sense for any spiritual gift, as prayer, or praise, and for the spiritual altar of the heart, which is in the inner temple of the body, as it is written, "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are," and "that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith."

SECT. VII. Argument from the words of the Institution.

VII. The next scriptural proof which I shall produce in order for the Eucharistical oblation of the bread and wine, is taken from the words of the institution, Matt. xxvi. 26, Mark xiv. 22, Luke xxii. 19, recited by the Apostle in these words: "The Lord Jesus in the same night that He was betrayed, took bread, and when He had given thanks He brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is My body which is broken for you; this do in remembrance of Me. After the same manner also He took the cup, when He [had] supped, saying, This [1 Cor. 11. 23—25.]

Deum tuum, respondet tibi, tu peristi, mihi quid adtulisti? offers munus tuum, et tu non es munus Dei. Plus quærit Christus quem redemit sanguine suo, quam quod tu invenisti in horreo tuo. Ergo relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare, et vade, prius reconciliari fratri tuo, et sic veniens offeres munus tuum. Ecce illo reatus gehennæ quam cito solutus est. Nondum reconciliatus, eras gehennæ reus: reconciliatus, securus offers munus tuum ad altare.—S. Aug. Serm. lxxxii. (al. de Verb. Domini, xvi.) Op., tom. v. pp. 441, G. 442, A, B.]

[1 [St. Augustine's words are; Si accipiatur ad literam fortassis aliquis credat ita fieri oportere, si præsens frater sit: non enim diutius differri potest, cum munus tuum relinquere ante altare jubearis] si ergo de absente, et, quod fieri potest, etiam trans mare constituto aliquid tale veniat in mentem, absurdum est credere ante altare munus relinquendum, quod post terras et maria pererrata offeras Deo. [Et ideo prorsus intro ad spiritalia refugere cogimur, ut hoc quod dictum est sine absurditate possit intelligi. Altari itaque spiritaliter in interiore Dei templo ipsam fidem accipere possumus.... cum tale aliquid oblaturi sumus in corde nostro, id est, in interiore Dei templo; 'templum enim Dei sanctum est,' inquit, 'quod estis vos' (1 Cor. iii. 17): et, in interiore homine habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus vestris (Eph. iii. 17.)—S. Aug. De Serm. Dom. in Monte, lib. i. § 27. Op., tom. iii. pars ii. p. 176, A, B, D.]

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cup is the New Testament in My blood; this do ye, as oft as you drink it, in remembrance of Me." That the ancients believed that our Lord made an oblation of the bread and wine at His institution of this Sacrament, "and commanded His disciples so to do," is past all doubt from the sixty-third epistle of St. Cyprian to Cæcilius, against an evil custom introduced in some places to offer nothing but water, without wine, at the holy Eucharist. *Quanquam sciam frater charissime*[m], &c., "Although, most dear brother, (saith he,) I know that most of the bishops set over the Churches of the Lord, by Divine mercy through the whole world, do keep the rule of evangelical truth, and of our Lord's command, nor do swerve at all by a mere human and new institution, from what Christ our Master commanded to be done, and did Himself: nevertheless, because some through ignorance or simplicity, in consecrating the cup of our Lord, and distributing it to the people, do not do what Jesus Christ our Lord and God, the author and institutor of this sacrifice, did and commanded to be done, I thought it necessary to write unto you of this matter, that if any is withheld in this error, he may by the light of truth return unto the original tradition of our Lord." *Admonitos autem nos scias*, &c., "But know that we are commanded in offering the cup to observe the ordinance of our Lord, and to do no other thing than what He first did, (that is to say,) that the cup, which is offered in remembrance of Him, be a mixture of water and wine." *Nam quis magis sacerdos Dei summi*, &c., "For who is more a priest of the Most High God, than our Lord Jesus Christ? who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and the very same sacrifice that Melchi-

[m] [Quanquam sciam, frater carissime, episcopos plurimos, Ecclesiis Dominicis in toto mundo divina dignatione præpositos, evangelicæ veritatis ac dominicæ traditionis tenere rationem, nec ab eo quod Christus magister et præcepit et gessit humana et novella institutione decedere, tamen quoniam quidam vel ignoranter vel simpliciter in calice dominico sanctificando et plebi ministrando, non hoc faciunt quod Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, sacrificii hujus auctor et doctor fecit et docuit, religiosum pariter ac necessarium duxi has ad vos literas facere, ut si quis in isto errore adhuc tenetur, veritatis luce perspecta ad radicem atque originem traditionis dominicæ revertatur. . . . Admonitos autem nos scias ut in calice offerendo dominica traditio servetur, neque aliud fiat a nobis quam quod pro nobis Dominus prior fecerit, ut calix qui in commemorationem ejus offertur mixtus vino offeratur.—p. 101. ed. Ben. . . . Nam quis magis sacerdos Dei summi quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit, et obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedech obtulerat, id est, panem et vinum, suum scilicet corpus et sanguinem. . . . Ut ergo in Genesi per

sedec offered, that is, bread and wine." *Ut ergo in Genesi*, &c., "Therefore [that] in Genesis the high-priest Melchisedec might duly bless Abraham, the representation of the sacrifice of Christ by bread and wine was to precede, which our Lord verified and fulfilled when He offered bread and a cup of wine and water, which was the plenitude and verity of that prefiguration." *Sed et per Solomonem*, &c., "Nay, the Holy Ghost, by Solomon, did not only foreshew the figure of the sacrifice of our Lord, to wit, *immolatæ hostiæ et panis et vini*, the oblation of bread and wine, but also made mention of the altar and of the Apostles. 'Wisdom, saith he, hath builded her house; she hath hewn out her seven pillars, she hath killed her beasts, she hath mingled her wine, she hath also furnished her table.'" *Qua in parte*, &c., "where we find that it was a mixed cup which our Lord offered, and that it was wine which He called His blood." *Nam si in sacrificio, quod Christus obtulerit*, &c., "For if none but Christ is to be followed in administering the sacrifice which Christ offered, then it is our duty to obey and do what Christ did and commanded to be done." *Nam si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus sacerdos*, &c., "For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is the High-Priest of God the Father, and first offered Himself a sacrifice to the Father, and commanded that this should be done in remembrance of Him, doth not he who doth as Christ did, truly act as a priest in the place of Christ, *sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur;* and then offer a true and perfect sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, when he offers in the same manner which he may

Melchisedech sacerdotem benedictio circa Abraham posset rite celebrari, præcedit ante imago sacrificii Christi, in pane et vino scilicet constituta; quam rem perficiens et adimplens Dominus, panem et calicem mixtum vino obtulit, et qui est plenitudo veritatis veritatem præfiguratæ imaginis adimplevit. Sed et per Solomonem Spiritus Sanctus typum Dominici sacrificii ante præmonstrans immolatæ hostiæ et panis et vini, sed et altaris et Apostolorum faciens mentionem, 'sapientia,' inquit, (Prov. ix. 1, 2.) 'ædificavit sibi domum, et subdidit columnas septem, mactavit suas hostias, miscuit in cratera vinum suum et paravit mensam suam.'—p. 105, ed. Ben. . . . Qua in parte invenimus calicem mixtum fuisse quem Dominus obtulit et vinum fuisse quod sanguinem suum dixit.—pp. 106, 107. ed. Ben. . . . Nam si in sacrificio quod Christus obtulit non nisi Christus sequendus est, utique id nos obaudire et facere oportet quod Christus fecit, et quod faciendum esse mandavit.—p. 108. ed. Ben. . . Nam si Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris, et sacrificium Patri se ipsum primus obtulit, et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit: utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur, et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic in-

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perceive Christ Himself offered?" *Post cœnam mixtum calicem obtulit Dominus;* "after supper our Lord offered a mixed cup." *Et quia passionis ejus mentionem,* &c., "And because we commemorate His passion in all our sacrifices (*passio est enim Domini,* for the passion of our Lord is the sacrifice we offer[n]) we ought to do nothing but what He did." *Religioni igitur nostræ congruit,* &c., "Wherefore, dear brother, it is very agreeable to our religion, and to the fear we have of God, and to our order and priestly function, that in mixing and offering the cup we strictly observe the ordinance of our Lord, and by His authority correct the errors of others; that when He shall come in His glorious majesty from heaven, He may find us holding what He taught, observing what He commanded, and doing what He did." Here is a noble, ample, and plain literal proof from the testimony of this father, and of the whole Church of his time, that our Lord, at the institution of the holy Eucharist, offered up the bread and cup to His Father, and commanded His disciples in the ministration of the same Sacrament to do as He had done. So in the Eucharistical office, *Const. Apost.,* lib. viii. cap. 12[o], *μεμνημένοι τοίνυν, κ.τ.λ.,* "Being mindful, therefore, of His passion," &c. *προσφέρομεν, κ.τ.λ.,* "We offer unto Thee, our King and God, according to His commandment, this bread and this cup." The same may be proved from the testimony of Irenæus, who flourished in the second century, above fourscore years before St. Cyprian. This father, speaking of the holy Eucharist, lib. iv. cap. 32, writes thus[p]: *Sed et suis*

cipiat offerre, secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse. . . Post cœnam mixtum calicem obtulit Dominus . . . et quia passionis ejus mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus (passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus) nihil aliud quam quod ille fecit facere debemus.—p. 109. ed. Ben. Religioni igitur nostræ congruit et timori et ipsi loco atque officio sacerdotii nostri, frater carissime, in dominico calice miscendo et offerendo custodire traditionis Dominicæ veritatem, et quod prius apud quosdam videtur erratum Domino monente corrigere; ut cum in claritate sua et majestate cœlesti venire cœperit, inveniat nos tenere quod monuit, observare quod docuit, facere quod fecit.—S. Cyprian. Epist. lxiii. ad Cæcilium, p. 110. ed. Ben.]

[n] Illius *ἀνάμνησις.* Luc. xxii. 91; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. [Fell's note in locum, p. 156. ed. Oxon.]

[o] [*μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἐπανόδου καὶ τῆς μελλούσης αὐτοῦ δευτέρας παρουσίας, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, προσφέρομέν σοι, τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν, τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ.*—Concil., tom. i. p. 481, A.]

[p] Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium primitias Deo offerre [ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint, eum qui ex creatura panis est accepit

discipulis dans consilium[q] *primitias Deo offerre*, &c., "But also authorizing His disciples to offer to God the first-fruits of His creatures, He took the creature of bread, and gave thanks, saying, This is My body. And in like manner He delivered the creature of wine in the cup to be His blood; *et Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem*, &c., and instituted the new sacrifice of the New Testament, which the Church receiving from the Apostles, offers to God throughout the whole world; which offering was foretold by the prophet Malachi[r], *Non est mihi voluntas in vobis*, &c., 'I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts,'" &c. So chap. 34. *Igitur ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo* [*purum sacrificium reputatur apud Deum, et est acceptum ei*[s].] "Therefore this oblation of the Church, which the

et gratias egit, dicens, hoc est meum corpus. Et calicem similiter, qui est ex ea creatura quæ est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est,] et Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem, [quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens in universo mundo offert Deo; de quo in duodecim Prophetis Malachias sic præsignavit;] 'non est mihi voluntas in vobis, [dicit Dominus omnipotens, et sacrificium non accipiam de manibus vestris. Quoniam ab ortu solis usque ad occasum nomen meum clarificatur inter gentes, et in omni loco incensum offertur nomini meo et sacrificium purum.'—S. Iren., cont. Hær., c. 17. (32. ed. Oxon.) § 5. p. 249. ed. Ben.]

[q] The phrase occurs in the Latin version, [Vulgate] 1 Cor. vii. 25. *Consilium autem do, tanquam misericordiam consecutus a Domino;* in the Greek γνώμην δὲ δίδωμι. So 2 Cor. viii. 10; *et consilium in hoc do;* in the Greek, καὶ γνώμην ἐν τούτῳ δίδωμι.

[r] Cap. i. 10, 11. Dr. Grabe, not. ad loc. p. 323. (ed. Oxon.) 'Locum hunc prophetæ de sacrificio corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia, ante Irenæum interpretati sunt Clemens Romanus, c. 31. [Patr. Apost, tom. i. p. 431, C.] Const. Apost., lib. vii. cap. 31. [apud Concil., tom. i. p. 432, C.] Martialis Epist. ad Burdegalenses, cap. 3. [S. Martialis apostoli, confessoris et episcopi Lemovicensis ad Burdegalenses Epist., cap. 3. Biblioth. Vett. Patrum, tom. ii. p. 106, B. Lugd. 1677.] Justin. M. in Dialogo. [§ 28. p. 126, D. § 41. pp. 137, E. 138, A. § 117. p. 210, A, B.] (sed priores duo [scil. Const. Apost. et Mart. Epist.] supposititii sunt). Postea vero Tertullianus, lib. iii. contra Marcionem, [c. 22. p. 410.] Cyprianus, lib. i. [Testimoniorum] adv. Judæos. cap. 10. [p. 280.] Chrysos. Ps. xcv. [opus spurium; tom. v. p. 630, C, D. vid. autem adv. Judæos, v. tom. i. § 12. pp. 647, D, C. 648, A.] August. de Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 35. [tom. vii. p. 517, F. ibid.,] lib. xix. c. 23. [p. 569, F.] contra adversarium Legis, lib. i. c. 20. [tom. viii. p. 571, A, B.] Euseb., lib. i. de Dem. Evang. cap. ult. [p. 40, A.] S. Joan. Damascen. [de Fide Orthodoxa, lib. iv. c. 13. Op., tom. i. p. 272. Paris. 1712.] Petrus cognomento Venerabilis, lib. i. contra Petrobusianos [Biblioth. Patr., tom. xii. pars ii. p. 221, C, D. Colon. 1618.] et lib. ii. contra Judæos, cap. 3. [ibid., p. 171, F.] Imo et qui Christo nomen non dederat, Rabbi Samuel, Parastasi veri Messiæ ad Rabbi Isaac magistrum synagogæ Subiulmetæ in Regno Marrochiano, cap. 20. et 22. [Rabbi Samuelis Marrochiani de adventu Messiæ, quem Judæi tamen expectant. Biblioth. Patr., tom. iv. pp. 267, 270. Paris. 1589.] ut impietas sit plusquam Judaica huic interpretationi repugnare.' [Fenard. Horum et aliorum auctorum verba recitavit Coccius Thesauri Catholici lib. vi. Artic. 6. ac præcipua etiam Medus in ante laudato Tractatu (on the Christian Sacrifice, ch. iii. Works, p. 358.) tanquam commentario in hunc Malachiæ locum scripto. Mede's Treatise is a discourse on this text of Malachi.]

[s] [Id., c. 18. § 1. p. 250. ed. Ben.]

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Lord appointed to be offered throughout the whole world, is looked upon by God as a pure sacrifice, and is accepted by Him." *Non quod indigeat a nobis sacrificium*[t]; "Not that He needs any sacrifice from us, but because he that offers it is honoured in that which he offers, if his gift be accepted: for by gifts we shew the affection and honour we have for the emperor; and our Lord, commanding us to offer in all simplicity and innocence, charged us, saying, 'When thou bringest thy gift to the altar,'" &c. So at the latter end of the same chapter, *Sicut igitur non his indigens*[u]; "Therefore as He does not need these oblations, but would have them performed by us for our own sakes, that we might not be without fruit; so the Word Himself hath given His people this command for making these oblations, though He has no need of them, but that they should learn to serve God; and therefore He would have us offer our gifts at His altar frequently, and without ceasing. Therefore there is an altar and temple in heaven whither our prayers and oblations are directed, as St. John says in the Apocalypse, 'and the temple and tabernacle of God was opened[x];' for saith he, chap. xxi. 3, 'Behold the tabernacle of God, in which He dwells with men.'"

It is plain from these testimonies how the primitive Church understood the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper, and what was their sense of them, which is very agreeable to the signification of the word ποιεῖν, which in profane, as well as sacred writers, signifies 'to offer;' as in that phrase of Herodotus concerning the Persians[y], ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγου οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι· "without one of the Magi it is not lawful for them to offer sacrifice." In the precedent chapter[z] he uses θυσίας ἕρδειν in the same sense: οἱ δὲ νο-

[t] [See above p. 46, note h.]

[u] Sicut igitur non his indigens [vult tamen a nobis propter nos fieri, ne simus infructuosi: ita id ipsum Verbum dedit populo præceptum faciendarum oblationum, quamvis non indigeret eis, ut discerent Deo servire. Sic et ideo nos quoque offerre vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione. Est ergo altare in cœlis; (illuc enim preces nostræ et oblationes diriguntur), et templum; quemadmodum Joannes in Apocalypsi ait; 'et apertum est templum Dei;' et tabernaculum; 'ecce enim, inquit, tabernaculum Dei, in quo habitabit cum hominibus.'—Id. ibid., c. 17; § 6. p. 252. ed. Ben.]

[x] [Rather, "and the temple of God was opened, and a tabernacle; for," &c.]

[y] Herod., lib. i. c. 132. [See lib. ix. c. 19. ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρὰ, κ. τ. λ. These instances however do not establish Hickes' assertion.]

[z] Ibid., lib. i. c. 131.

ῥέζουσι Διὶ μὲν, ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν οὐρέων ἀναβαίνοντες, θυσίας ἔρδειν· "they have a custom to offer sacrifices to Jove upon the tops of the highest mountains." From whence it is evident, even from human writers, that ποιεῖν, as well as ἔρδειν, is a sacrificial term[a]. But more especially it is so used in the Septuagint translation, which all learned men know is followed by the writers of the New Testament, even where they recite the words and speeches of our blessed Saviour. In that translation of the Old Testament ποιεῖν signifies the same as ἱεροποιεῖν or ἱερουργεῖν, 'to offer or sacrifice,' as עשה does in the Hebrew, and *facere* in the vulgar translation. So Exod. xxix. 36; καὶ τὸ μοσχάριον [τῆς ἁμαρτίας] ποιήσεις, κ. τ. λ. "And thou shalt offer every day a bullock for a sin-offering;" *Et vitulum pro peccato offeres.* Ver. 38. καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν, ἃ ποιήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου· "Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar;" *Hoc est quod facies in altari*[b]. And ver. 39; τὸν ἀμνὸν τὸν ἕνα ποιήσεις τὸ

[a] [It does not appear that the use of ποιεῖν absolutely, as that of ἔρδειν and ῥέζειν, is classical: its use in this sense by the LXX, as representing literally the Hebrew עשה, is uniform.]

[b] ["Jo. Saubertus de Sacrificiis Veterum Collectanea; cap. 1. pp. 10, 11. (Lugd. Bat. 1699.) Facere autem simpliciter hoc loco significat ποιεῖν sive πράσσειν, *agere, peragere:* quanquam apud veteres nuda hæc vox sæpe etiam pro *sacrificare* sumitur. Plautus in Rud. 3. iv. 4. 'Tun' legirupionem hic tecum dis facere postulas?' Strobilus apud eundem: 'Mulsi congialem plenam faciam tibi fideliam. Id adeo tibi faciam?' Aul. 4. ii. 15. Leonida apud eundem; 'Jam nunc secunda mihi facis.' As in 2. iv. 89. Varro, de Re Rust., lib. i. c. 1. proverbium adducit: 'Dii facientes adjuvant.' Laberius, (Fragm. l. 40. ap. Corpus Vett. Poet. Lat. p. 1518. Lond. 1713.) 'Bidentes propter viam facere.' A. Gellius (quoting a sacred formula from Fabius Pictor), 'Vestalem facere pro populo Romano.' Lib. i. c. 12. Virg. 'Cum faciam vitula pro frugibus.' Ecl. iii. 77. Juven. 'Pro populo faciens.' Sat. ix. 117. Ovidius,

——Nos faciamus ad annum
Pastorum dominæ grandia liba Pali.
lib. iv. Fast. 775.

Atque ita *facere* vel idem erit quod *reddere*, sive quæ Deus postulavit, sive χαριστήρια, i. e. pro benefactis gratum animum, sive pro peccatis piaculares, quo sensu extat faciendi 175. ff. de V. S. (Andr. Alciati de Verb. Sign. lex 175. p. 515. Franc. 1582.) vel idem, quod *dare*, aut *solvere*.—Id., l. 218. ff. eod. (lex 218. ibid., p. 593.) Confer etiam Alciatum Lex. Plaut. voc. Facere, et Brissonium in Form., lib. i. p. 18. Inde quidem *pontificis* nomen deducere laborant a *posse* et *facere*, i. e. sacrificare. Apud Græcos similia verba sunt ἔρδειν ac ῥέζειν, i. e. et *facere* et *sacrificare*. Hom. Odyss., ix. 553. Theocr. Idyll., xvi. 26, xxvii. 63. Scholiasta Theocriti doctissimus Zacharias Calliergus ad Idyl. β. quod inscribitur φαρμακεύτρια, (l. 3.) τὸ ἔρδειν καὶ τὸ ῥέζειν ἔλεγον ἐπὶ τῶν σφαγίων· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ καίειν ἁπλῶς, καὶ ἐν πυρὶ τιθέναι τε, κάθο λέγεται ἐνταῦθα. Eodem intellectu tam apud sacros quam profanos auctores aliquando reperiri voces ποιεῖν καὶ δρᾶν aliquot exemplis evincit magnus Bosius præceptor atque patronus meus. Exercit. de Pont. Max., c. 1. § 6." (apud Grævii Thes. Antiq. Rom., tom. v. p. 234. He asserts that ποιεῖν and δρᾶν are so used by profane writers, but does not give any instances.)—Additional note from the Supplement of 1715, No. xi. p. 10, corrected from Hickes' MS.; see advertisement to vol. i.; the words in parentheses have been added by the editor.]

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πρωΐ, καὶ τὸν ἀμνὸν τὸν δεύτερον ποιήσεις τὸ δειλινόν· "The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning, and the other lamb thou shalt offer at even." And ver. 41; καὶ τὸν ἀμνὸν τὸν δεύτερον ποιήσεις τὸ δειλινόν· "And the other lamb thou shalt offer at even;" *Alterum verò agnum offeres ad vesperam.* So Exod. x. 25; καὶ εἶπε Μωϋσῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ δώσεις ἡμῖν ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυσίας, ἃ ποιήσομεν Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν· "And Moses said, thou must give us also sacrifices and burnt-offerings, which we may sacrifice unto the Lord our God;" *Ait Moyses, hostias quoque et holocausta dabis nobis, quæ offeramus Domino Deo nostro.* So Levit. iv. 20; καὶ ποιήσει τὸν μόσχον, ὃν τρόπον ἐποίησε τὸν μόσχον τὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας, οὕτω ποιηθήσεται: *et faciet vitulum quemadmodum fecerat vitulum qui peccati: sic fiet*[c]. In English thus: "And he shall offer the bullock as he offered the bullock for a sin-offering; so shall it be offered." Where our English translation uses the word 'do' in a sacrificial sense[d]. Castalio in his classical Latin renders it thus: *Tauro facito item uti faciet tauro piaculari.* Levit. vi. 22; ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ χριστὸς ὁ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ποιήσει αὐτήν· "And the priest of his sons that is anointed in his stead shall offer it;" *Offeret autem eam,* &c. Levit. ix. 7; καὶ εἶπε Μωϋσῆς τῷ Ἀᾳρὼν, πρόσελθε πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ποίησον τὸ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας σου, καὶ τὸ ὁλοκαύτωμά σου, καὶ ἐξίλασαι περὶ σεαυτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου, καὶ ποίησον τὰ δῶρα τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ ἐξίλασαι περὶ αὐτῶν, καθάπερ ἐνετείλατο Κύριος τῷ Μωϋσῇ· "And Moses said unto Aaron, Go unto the altar, and offer thy sin-offering, and thy burnt-offering, and make an atonement for thyself and for the people: and offer the offering of the people, and make an atonement for them, as the Lord commanded:" *Et dixit ad Aaron, accede ad altare, et immola pro peccato tuo, offer holocaustum, et deprecare pro te et pro populo; cumque mactaveris hostiam populi, ora pro eo, sicut præcepit Dominus.* So verse 16; καὶ προσήνεγκε τὸ ὁλοκαύτωμα, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ, ὡς καθήκει: "And he brought the burnt-offering, and offered it according to the manner." And verse 22; καὶ κατέβη

[c] [The Latin given here is the translation of the LXX in Walton's Polyglott, tom. i. p. 418.]

[d] [Vulg. *Sic faciens et de hoc vitulo, quomodo fecit et prius.* Eng. Vers, "And he shall do with the bullock as he did with the bullock for a sin offering."]

ποιήσας τὸ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, κ. τ. λ., "And came down from offering the sin-offering;" *Completis hostiis pro peccato, &c., descendit.* So chapter xiv. 19; καὶ ποιήσει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, κ. τ. λ., "And the priest shall offer the sin-offering;" *Et faciet sacrificium pro peccato.* And ver. 30; καὶ ποιήσει μίαν ἀπὸ τῶν τρυγόνων, κ. τ. λ., "And he shall offer the one of the turtle doves;" *Et turturem offeret.* Chap. xvii. 4; ὥστε ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ εἰς ὁλοκαύτωμα, κ. τ. λ., "to offer an offering," &c., *obtulerit oblationem.* And ver. 9; μὴ ἐνέγκῃ ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ τῷ Κυρίῳ· "and brings it not, &c., ... to offer it unto the Lord;" *non adduxerit eam, ut offeratur Domino.* Chap. xxiii. 12; καὶ ποιήσετε . . . πρόβατον ἄμωμον ἐνιαύσιον, κ. τ. λ., "And ye shall offer . . . an he lamb without blemish of the first year," &c.; *Cædetur agnus immaculatus anniculus,* &c. Deut. xvi. 1; φύλαξαι τὸν μῆνα τῶν νέων, καὶ ποιήσεις τὸ πάσχα Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ σου· "Observe the month of Abib, and keep the passover unto the Lord thy God," that is, "sacrifice the passover," as in the next verse. So the Latin; *Observa mensem novarum frugum, ut facias phase Domino tuo.* Which place Mr. Ainsworth glosses thus: "'Thou shalt do or make,' that is, 'celebrate' the feast of the passover, or 'sacrifice' the passover[e]." So 1 Kings viii. 63; ἐποίησεν ἔκει τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν, κ. τ. λ., "There he offered burnt-offerings;" *Fecit quippe holocaustum ibi.* And chap. xviii. 23; καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω τὸν βοῦν τὸν ἄλλον: in our language; "And I will offer the other bullock;" as in the Latin; *Et ego faciam bovem alterum;* or as Castalio; *Alterum ego immolabo.* So ver. 25; ἐκλέξασθε ἑαυτοῖς τὸν μόσχον τὸν ἕνα, καὶ ποιήσατε πρῶτοι, κ. τ. λ.; in English; "Choose you one bullock for yourselves, and offer it first;" as in the Latin; *Eligite vobis bovem unum et facite primi.* And ver. 26; καὶ ἔλαβον τὸν μόσχον καὶ ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐπεκαλοῦντο, κ.τ.λ.; in English; "And they took the bullock, and offered it, and called upon the name of Baal;" as the Latin; *Qui cum tulissent bovem . . . fecerunt et invocabant nomen Baal.* Though our translation in these three places renders it by the word 'dress,' that is, 'prepare' the sacrifice. So ver. 29; μετάστητε

[e] [Annotations upon the five bookes of Moses, the booke of the Psalmes, and the Song of Songs; by Henry Ainsworth. London, 1639. Annotations on Deuteronomy, p. 61.]

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ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω τὸ ὁλοκαύτωμά μου· *Discedite a modo, et ego faciam holocaustum meum.* Which passage is wanting in the Hebrew, and therefore in ours and the vulgar translations. So 2 Kings x. 21; καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ἰοὺ, "and Jehu sent through all Israel," λέγων, . . . ὅτι θυσίαν μεγάλην ποιῶ, "for I have a great sacrifice to offer." Which expression is also wanting both in the original and in our translation, and in the vulgar. So ver. 24; καὶ εἰσῆλθε τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὰ θύματα καὶ τὰ ὁλοκαυτώματα· "And when they went in to offer sacrifices and burnt-offerings;" *Ingressi sunt igitur ut facerent victimas et holocausta.* So ver. 25; καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς συνετέλεσε ποιῶν τὴν ὁλοκάυτωσιν· "And it came to pass as soon as he had made an end of offering the burnt-offerings;" *Factum est autem cum completum esset holocaustum.* So 2 Chron. xxx. 1; καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Ἐζεκίας, κ. τ. λ. . . . ἐλθεῖν εἰς οἶκον Κυρίου εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ποιῆσαι τὸ φασὲκ τῷ Κυρίῳ Θεῷ Ἰσραήλ· "And Hezekiah sent, &c., that they should come to the house of the Lord at Jerusalem to keep (that is to offer) the passover unto the Lord God of Israel:" as in the Latin, *Ut venirent . . . et facerent phase Domino Deo Israel.* And ver. 2; καὶ ἐβουλεύσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς, . . . ποιῆσαι τὸ φασὲκ τῷ μηνὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ· "For the king had taken counsel (or decreed) to keep (or offer) the passover in the second month;" *Decreverunt ut facerent phase mense secundo.* Chap. xxxv. 1; καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰοσίας τὸ φασὲκ τῷ Κυρίῳ· "Moreover Josiah kept (or offered) a passover unto the Lord;" *Fecit autem Josias . . . phase Domino.* And Ezra vi. 19; [Ἐσδρὰς β. LXX.] καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἐποικεσίας τὸ πάσχα· "And the children of the captivity kept the passover;" *Fecerunt autem filii Israel transmigrationis pascha,* &c. So Numb. ix. 2; καὶ ποιείτωσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ πάσχα καθ' ὥραν αὐτοῦ· "Let the children of Israel also keep the passover at its appointed season;" *Faciant filii Israel phase in tempore suo.* So Joshua v. 10. [ver. 9, LXX.] καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ πάσχα. "And the children of Israel kept the passover; *Filii Israel . . . fecerunt phase.* So 2 Kings xxiii. 21; καὶ ἐνετείλατο ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . λέγων, ποιήσατε πάσχα τῷ Κυρίῳ Θεῷ ἡμῶν· "And the king commanded, . . . saying, Keep the passover unto the Lord your God:" *Et præcepit . . .*

dicens, facite phase Domino Deo vestro. See the same phrase concerning the sacrifice of the passover, 2 Chron. xxxv. 17—19, and in 1 Esdras i. 6; *καὶ ποιήσατε τὸ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Κυρίου·* "Keep (offer) the passover according to the commandment of the Lord." Here I must not omit Psalm lxvi. 15, where "I will offer unto Thee burnt-offerings," is in the Hebrew, "I will do;" which the LXXII render by *ἀνοίσω*, just as in Exod. xxix. 36, above cited, what is in our translation, "Thou shalt offer every day a bullock for a sin offering," is in the Hebrew תעשה, in the Greek *ποιήσεις*, and in the Latin *facies*[f], "Thou shalt do every day a bullock," &c. And Mr. Ainsworth writes thus upon the place[g]; "'Make,' to wit, ready for sacrifice, that is, kill, sprinkle the blood, offer," &c. So on ver. 38[h], וזה אשר תעשה על־המזבח, *καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ ποιήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου· Hoc est quod facies in altari;* "This is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar." So on Exod. x. 25, cited also above, saith he; "'Do' sacrifice," or 'offer.' The word sacrifice here understood, is elsewhere expressed, as in 1 Kings xii. 27. And when the word 'do,' or 'make' is joined with sacrifices, as in this place, it signifies to 'offer;' as Levit. ix. 7, 22, and xvi. 9; Exod. xxix. 36, 39, 41, 42.[i]"

To these testimonies out of the Old Testament, to shew that 'do' signifies 'offer,' I think fit to add one more out of a Jewish Hellenistical writer, Baruch i. 10; *καὶ εἶπαν, ἰδοὺ ἀπεστείλαμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀργύριον . . . καὶ ποιήσατε μάννα, καὶ ἀνοίσατε ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν·* "And they said, Behold we have sent you money . . . and prepare, (i. e. offer) ye manna[k], and offer upon the altar of the Lord our God;" *Ecce misimus ad vos pecunias . . . et*

[f] [*Facies* occurs in Munster's version (Biblia Hebraica, Latina planeque nova Sebast. Munsteri Versione. Basileæ, 1534—1546.) and in Montanus'; the Vulgate has *offeres.*]

[g] [Ainsworth's Annotations, &c. on Exod. ibid., p. 124.]

[h] ["Make or do, that is, offer unto God."—Ainsworth, ibid.]

[i] [Ibid., p. 32.]

[k] "Corruptly for mincha, that is, a meat-offering," [Marg. Eng. Vers.]

Badvellus. Omnia exemplaria Græca legunt manna, sed puto cum Beza legendum esse Mincha. [ab Hebræo מנח, aut מנחה, quod sacrificium munus oblationemque significat.—Critici Sacri, tom. v. pars ii. in Baruch, p. 1.]

Grotius. Legendum in Græco non *manna* sed *manaa*, ita enim מנחה (de qua Lev. ii.) vertunt veteris Testamenti interpretes. Idem error et alibi in libros irrepsit, ut diximus ad Marc. ix. 49. [ibid., p. 4. The places he there refers to are Jerem. xvii. 26; xlviii. 5: and hence the word *μάννα* is found in this sense in Suidas, tom. ii. p. 97.]

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facite manna, et offerte pro peccato ad aram Domini nostri. The verb ποιεῖν, as I have elsewhere observed[1], is used for 'to offer' in the New Testament, as Heb. xi. 28; πίστει πεποίηκε τὸ πάσχα, καὶ τὴν πρόσχυσιν τοῦ αἵματος· "'Through faith he kept the passover, and the sprinkling of blood," otherwise, "through faith he offered the passover, and the blood of sprinkling," *sanguinem effusum.* For in the Hellenistical style, the "sprinkling of blood," and the 'blood of sprinkling,' or 'effusion,' is the same thing. *Fide celebravit pascha et sanguinis effusionem,* Vulg., that is, *sanguinem effusum.* So 1 Tim. ii. 1, ποιεῖσθαι may very well be rendered 'offered.' "I exhort therefore that first of all prayers, &c., be offered for all men;" as it is in the Syriac version[m].

The verb ποιεῖν is also used in the Hellenistical sense, to signify 'offer,' in the Greek writers of the Church, particularly where they have occasion to speak of the holy Eucharist. We find it so used in St. Clement's first Epistle to the Corinthians, § xl.[n]; οἱ τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν, "those who offer their oblations in the appointed times, are accepted and blessed." In the same sense Justin Martyr useth the word in his first Apology[o]; ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπει· καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται, κ. τ. λ., "Then the bread and the cup of water and wine is brought to the bishop, who receiving them, sends up praise and glory to the Father of all things through the name of the Son and Holy Spirit, and offers up a very large thanksgiving to God for deeming us worthy of these His creatures," &c. So in his Dialogue with Trypho[p]; καὶ ἡ τῆς σεμιδάλεως δὲ προσφορὰ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔλεγον, ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαριζομένων ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας προσφέρεσθαι παραδοθεῖσα, τύπος ἦν τοῦ

[1] [In the Preface to the second edition of Controversial Letters, pp. lxxvii, lxxviii. London, 1710.]

[m] ܒܥܝ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܪܝ ܐܒܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܡܕܡܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܬܩܪܒܘܢ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܘ ܕܢܣܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܘ ܕܢܣܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ Obsecro te igitur, ut ante omnia deprecationem offeras Deo, &c.—Biblia Polyglotta, Walton, tom. v. p. 822.]

[n] [S. Clem. R. Epist. i. c. 40. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 170.]

[o] [S. Justin. M. Apol. i. c. 65. Op., p. 82, D.]

[p] Id. [Dial. cum Tryph. Jud., c. 41. ibid., p. 137, D. Hickes read δὴ instead of καὶ: hence his translation.]

ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους οὗ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ τῶν καθαιρομένων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ποιεῖν. "Sirs, truly, I said, that the oblation of the flour commanded to be offered for those who are cleansed from the leprosy, was a type of the Eucharistical bread, which Jesus Christ our Lord commanded us to offer in remembrance of His passion, which He suffered for those whose souls are cleansed from all iniquity." So afterwards in the same Dialogue[p]: ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐαρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτός φημι. ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὃ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ[q] μέμνηται: "And indeed, that prayers and thanksgivings made by those that are worthy, are the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices to God, I also affirm. But these only the Christians have been taught to offer, in the thankful remembrance we make to God for our dry and wet food, in which also a commemoration is made of the passion, which God (the Son) of God suffered by Himself." So in the epistle which Cornelius, bishop of Rome, wrote to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, concerning the wicked practice of Novatian, who, when he administered the Sacrament to his followers, made them swear[r] by the body and blood of Christ that they would never forsake him, nor return to Cornelius, he begins the narrative in these words; ποιήσας γὰρ τὰς προσφορὰς, καὶ διανέμων ἑκάστῳ τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἐπιδιδοὺς τοῦτο, ὀμνύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ἀνθρώπους ἀναγκάζει.... "The oblation being offered, he, dividing to every communi-

Lev. 14. 10.

p [Id. ibid., c. 117. p. 210, B.]

q Forsan legendum ὁ υἱὸς, vel ὁ Θεὸς υἱός. [Manifesti librariorum errores facile tolluntur; in promptu est enim legendum ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὃ πεπονθε δι' αὐτοὺς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται. Retinendum μέμνηται existimat Cl. Thirlbeius. Annott. ad locum ap. ed. Ben.]

r [The letter is given by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist., lib. vi. c. 43. (See Eccl. Hist., tom. i. p. 310.) The narrative of this particular enormity begins with the words in the text; the passage continues, (p. 315,) κατέχων ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χέρσι τὰς τοῦ λαβόντος καὶ μὴ ἀφεὶς ἔστ' ἂν ὀμνύοντες εἴπωσι ταῦτα· τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνου χρήσομαι λόγοις· ὄμοσόν μοι κατὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μηδέποτέ με καταλιπεῖν, καὶ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς Κορνήλιον. καὶ ὁ ἄθλιος ἄνθρωπος οὐ πρότερον γέγεται, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτῷ καταράσαιτο· καὶ] ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἀμὴν, οὐκέτι ἀνήξω πρὸς Κορνήλιον λέγει.

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cant his part, at the delivery thereof compels the wretched people to swear, instead of blessing and praising God, (viz. by saying Amen.)" So St. Chrysostom upon the words of the institution[s], St. Matt. xxvi. Hom. lxxxii. (al. lxxxiii.) § 1; *καὶ πάλιν λέγει τοῦ θανάτου τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· καί φησι, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν· εἶδες πῶς ἐξάγει τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἐθῶν καὶ ἀφίστησι; καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἐποιεῖτέ, φησιν, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θαυμάτων· οὕτω καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ἐμήν· ἐκεῖνο ἐξεχύθη εἰς σωτηρίαν τῶν πρωτοτόκων· τοῦτο εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης*: "And afterwards He declares the cause of His death; 'which is shed for many for the remission of sins,' and saith, *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε*, 'do' (or offer) 'this in remembrance of Me.' You see how He weans and draws them from the Jewish rites: for, says He, as *ἐκεῖνο ἐποιεῖτε*, ye offered that in remembrance of the miraculous deliverance from Egypt, so offer this in remembrance of Me: that (blood) was shed for the preservation of the first-born, this for the remission of the sins of the whole world." I think I may justify this translation, because this father does afterwards bring in our Saviour speaking thus[t]: "For this reason I have greatly desired to eat this passover (*τὸ πάσχα τοῦτο*) with you, that is, to deliver unto you new rites, and a new passover (*τὰ καινὰ πράγματα καὶ πάσχα δοῦναι*,) whereby to render you spiritual." And this translation also agrees very well with what the same father says on the words of the institution, Hom. xxvii. in 1 Cor. xi.[u], where he twice calls the Eucharist a sacrifice, as he called it the passover before.

From this sacrificial use of the verb *ποιεῖν* in the Hebrew, or Hellenistical sense 'to offer,' we have in Irenæus[x] this expression, *dedit præceptum faciendarum oblationum*, which in all likelihood was *ἐντολὴν τοῦ ποιῆσαι θυσίας παρέδωκεν*,

[s] [S. Chrysost. Hom. in S. Matt. lxxxii. § 2. Op., tom. vii. p. 782, D, E.]

[t] [*διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐπεθύμησά, φησι, τὸ πάσχα τοῦτο φαγεῖν, τουτέστι παραδοῦναι ὑμῖν τὰ καινὰ πράγματα καὶ πάσχα δοῦναι καθ' ὃ μέλλω πνευματικοὺς ποιεῖν.*—Ibid., p. 783, A.]

[u] [*καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς κειμένοι τῆς στιβάδος, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λαμβάνοντες τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, κ. τ. λ. . . . τί δέ ποτε; ὅτι ἐξέχεεν αὐτὸ, καὶ σφαγὴν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀπέφηνεν, οὐκέτι θυσίαν.*—Id. Hom. xxvii. in 1 Cor. xi. § 4. Op., tom. x. p. 247, A, B.]

[x] S. Iren. adv. Hær., lib. iv. cap. 34. [ed. Oxon. c. 18. § 6. p. 251. ed. Ben. See the whole passage quoted above, p. 58 note u.]

or ἐνετείλατο ποιεῖν θυσίας: and in Tertullian, who Græcised much in his writings, we find *oblationes facimus*, in that famous passage[y], so egregiously abused and perverted by the writers of the Church of Rome, to justify their way of praying and offering for the dead, *oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus.* Mr. Poole, on the words *hoc facite*, Luke xxii. 19[z], acknowledges that the Hebrew verb עשה signifies to 'offer,' but by a gross mistake denies that the LXX ever rendered it by ποιεῖν, or that *facere* with an accusative case is so used in the Latin: which I have shewed is not true of the vulgar Latin Bible, nor by consequence of the writers of the Latin Church, who cite that translation, or otherwise Hellenize in their writings. He might have remembered *missam facere*, which is a phrase of the Latin Church for offering the Eucharist, at least as old as the latter end of the fourth century[a].

In this sacrificial signification of ποιεῖν, προσκομιδὴν ποιεῖν in St. Gregory's Liturgy signifies 'to offer the oblations[b],' and in St. Chrysostom's office of the holy Sacrament, where the deacon saith to the priest[c] καιρὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι τῷ Κυρίῳ, "it is time to offer, or sacrifice to the Lord." Upon which the learned editor hath this note[d]. *Diaconus tribus digitis stolam tenens, et altare indicans, divinum et tremendum sacrificii ministerium ut sacerdos aggrediatur admonet: et Domini verbis,* &c. . . . *Præterea faciendi verbum ad sacrificia pertinet. Hinc Varro, lib. vi. de Lingua Latina,* [c. iii. § 16.] '*agnam*[e] *Jovi*

[y] Tertull., de Corona, cap. 3. [Op., p. 102, A.]

[z] [Poole's words are; Quis unquam legit apud Græcos σῶμα ποιεῖν, pro 'corpus sacrificare;' nec Latini dicunt, facere victimam, sed facere victimâ, subaudi sacra. Heb. עשה quidem interdum valet, 'offerre;' quod tamen LXX nunquam per ποιεῖν, sed ἀναφέρειν vertunt.—Synopsis Criticorum, tom. iv. p. 1102. Ultraj. 1684. The statement as respects the LXX is manifestly incorrect: the first clause was probably intended to refer to the classical usage.]

[a] [As in the quotation from St. Ambrose, in the next page. For other instances see Card. Bona de Rebus Liturgicis, lib. i. iii. § 1. pp. 17, sqq.]

[b] [εἶτα ποιεῖ τὴν προσκομιδήν. S. Gregorii Missa, Bibl. Patrum, tom. ii. p. 127, A. Paris, 1624. This Liturgy is a translation of that of St. Gregory II. into Greek, by Georgius Codinus, the Byzantine writer, towards the close of the fifteenth century, first published by Morell, Paris, 1595.]

[c] [S. Chrysost. Liturg. Euchologium, Goar, p. 64.] In the Liturgy extant in the fourth vol. of his works, [ed. Morell. Paris, 1636.] it is θύσον. [Of this edition, which is from a copy of late date and little value, see below, p. 128, note b.]

[d] [Goar. Annott. in Miss. S. Joan. Chrys. n. 58. ibid., p. 122.]

[e] This is an error: for it is, 'Flamen Dialis agnâ Jovi facit.' And so in Virgil 'facere vitulâ,' and the places are so cited by Brisson. de Formulis, p. 18. But the Latins say, 'facere rem divinam,' and, 'sacra facere.'

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facere,' et similiter Virgilius[f], *'facere vitulum pro frugibus:' rursusque idem Varro*[g], *pontificis nomen tradit ex eo deductum, quod potens sit facere, id est sacrificare. Nec ignota est Hebræis, addit Pineda in Job*[h], *hæc loquendi ratio: ubi enim in* Psalm. lxvi.[i] *legimus, 'offeram tibi boves cum hircis,' Hebræa litera habet 'faciam tibi boves cum hircis.' Et pariter* Exod. xxix.[j] *ubi habemus, 'vitulum pro peccato offeres,' legit iterum Hebræa 'facies:' et eodem faciendi verbo utitur Christus in hujus sacrificii institutione, dicens, 'hoc facite in mei memoriam;' et de altaris sacro ministerio loquens Ambrosius*[k], *'missam,' inquit* (Epist. xxxiii.) *'facere cœpi.' Καιρὸς ergo τοῦ ποιῆσαι τῷ Κυρίῳ . . . . . et pari ratione admonet diaconus Latinus sacerdotem; 'Immola Deo sacrificium laudis.'*

Ps. 50. 14.

According to this sacrificial signification of the verb *ποιεῖν facere*, and in particular from the signification of it, 'to offer,' in the Paschal service, we may justly observe, that the words *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, hoc facite*, either relate to the whole action and ministration of the holy Eucharist, as הוא in the Hebrew, and *τοῦτο* in the Greek, relate to the whole service of the passover, Exod. xii. 27[l], and then it proves the celebration of the Lord's Supper (in which the oblation of the bread and cup to God the Father was a principal part) to be *ἱεροποιΐα*, or *ἱερουργία*, 'a sacrificial service:' or else they relate more especially to the bread and wine; and then by a natural and easy interpretation they may be translated thus: "Take, eat, this is My body; offer this in remembrance of Me:" and "This is My blood . . . . offer this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of Me." Either of these senses of *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, hoc facite*, gives us a good account of the reason why the ancient fathers, treating of this mystery, affirm it to be "the oblation of the Church, which Christ appointed to be offered," as I have already shewed, particularly out of Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 34[m], whither I refer the reader.

[f] [Virgil. Bucol. iii. 77.]

[g] [Pontifices, ut Scævola Quintus Pont. Max. dicebat, a posse et facere, ut potifices; ego a ponte arbitror, &c. —Varro, lib. v. c. 15. § 83.]

[h] [Joannis de Pineda Comment. in Job libri xiii. in cap. i. ver. 5. num. 27. tom. i. p. 51. Colon. 1600. Pineda's words are, Sacris Scriptoribus familiaris etiam significatio.]

[i] [v. 15. Vulg. lxv. 14.]

[j] [v. 36. See above, p. 59.]

[k] [S. Ambros. Epist. xx. (al. xxxiii.) ad Marcellinam, § 4. Op., tom. ii. p. 853, B.]

[l] ["It is the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover." Hebr. זבח־פסח הוא ליהוה LXX. *θυσία τὸ πάσχα τοῦτο Κυρίῳ.*]

[m] [c. 18. p. 250. ed. Ben. See p. 46.]

CHAP. II. SECT. VIII.

Places of the New Testament which imply that the Christian religion has an altar.

VIII. The next places of the New Testament from which I shall prove that the Christian religion hath a sacrifice are those which imply or express that it hath an altar. For if it hath a sacrifice, or oblation, as I have shewed, then it must have an altar at which to offer that oblation; and if it have an altar, as I am going to shew, then it must have an oblation to be offered at or upon it, and then by consequence the ministers of the Gospel must be altar-ministers, as well as offering priests. I will begin with that text, 1 Cor. ix. 13, "Do ye not know that they who minister about holy things live of the things of the temple, and they who wait at the altar are partakers with the altar?" The words in the original for "minister about holy things" are *ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι*, "those who exercise the priestly offices," saith the Arabic[n], or "the offerers of sacrifices," as the Æthiopic[o] version hath it; and for "those who wait at the altar," *οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσεδρεύοντες*, literally, *qui assident altari*, "those whose office is to attend at the altar." In the Latin version[p], *nescitis quoniam qui in sacrario operantur quæ de sacrario sunt edunt, et qui altari deserviunt cum altari participant.* "Know you not that they who minister in the temple eat of the things of the temple, and they who serve at the altar partake with the altar." This text is applied by Irenæus to the Christian ministers in these words[q]: *Sacerdotes autem sunt omnes Domini apostoli, qui neque agros neque domos hæreditant hic, sed semper altari et Deo serviunt;* where I doubt not the original words were *οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ θεῷ προσεδρεύοντες*, and the learned Dr. Grabe puts this note of Feuardentius[r] upon the place: "It is easy to see from hence, that from the times of Christ His apostles and martyrs, and thereafter, the Christians had

[n] [الذين يعملون الاعمال الكهنوتية *qui exercent munera sacerdotalia.* Vers. Arab. Bibl. Sacr. Polyglott. Walton, tom. v. p. 701. London, 1657.]

[o] [መሠዋዕትኒ ፡ ሠዋዕቲ ፡ literally 'sacrificing sacrifices;' but in Walton's translation, *sacrificium offerentes.* Vers. Æthiop. ibid.]

[p] [The Vulgate is here meant.]

[q] S. Iren. adv. Hæres., lib. iv. c. 20. [ed. Grabe; c. viii. § 3. p. 237. ed. Ben.]

[r] [Feuardentius' note, as quoted by Grabe, p. 336, is: Vel hinc profecto apertum est videre Christianos a temporibus Christi, Apostolorum, martyrum, et deinceps, sua in templis altaria servasse, quibus Deo sacrificium incruentum corporis et sanguinis Christi in perpetuam mortis ejus recordationem offerrent: quod etiam hujus libri cap. 34. (c. 18. ed. Ben. see above, p. 46, note h.) confirmat noster Irenæus in his Christi verbis: 'cum offers munus tuum ad altare,' &c. Feuard.]

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altars in their temples, at which they offered the unbloody sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, in perpetual memory of His death. Which Irenæus also confirms in the thirty-fourth chapter of the same book, by these words of Christ: 'When thou bringest thy gift unto the altar.'" This place is also applied by St. Cyprian[s] in the first epistle to the priests and deacons, and the people of Furni, a city of Africa so called, in this passage: [*Cum*] *jampridem in concilio episcoporum statutum sit, ne quis de clericis et Dei ministris tutorem vel curatorem testamento suo constituat, quando singuli Divino sacerdotio honorati et in clerico ministerio constituti, non nisi altari et sacrificiis deservire, et precibus atque orationibus vacare debeant:* "It was long since decreed in a council of bishops, that no man should appoint a clergyman and minister of God for tutor or curator of his last will and testament, because all that are dignified with the Divine priesthood (that is all priests), and (deacons) constituted in the clerical ministration, ought not to wait but at the altar and oblations, and devote themselves to prayer." Here this holy father plainly alludes to *altari deserviunt* in the text, as he also alludes to *τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι*, they who minister about holy things, in the other expressions which follow; *qui divinis rebus et spiritalibus occupati; qui operationibus divinis insistunt; ab altari et sacrificiis non recedant.* All which shew that he thought evangelical priests to be as proper ministers about holy things, and waiters at God's altar in a proper sense, as the Levitical clergy under the law.

I should from hence return to Matt. v. 23; "When thou bringest thy gift to the altar," &c.; but having said enough upon that place, I proceed to Heb. xiii. 10, where the Apostle saith expressly, "We have an altar whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle." In the original whereof is *ἐξ οὗ*, which may be rendered in a literal and proper sense *ex*

[s] [S. Cypr. Ep. lxvi. (Ep. i. ed. Oxon.) ad Clerum et Plebem Furnis consistentem, p. 114. ed. Ben. The passages next referred to are; Molestiis et laqueis sæcularibus obligari non debent, qui divinis rebus et spiritalibus occupati, ab ecclesia recedere, et ad terrenos et sæculares actus vacare non possunt..... Again, speaking of the provision for the Levites in the Mosaic law: quod totum fiebat de auctoritate et dispositione Divina, ut qui operationibus Divinis insistebant, in nulla re avocarentur, nec cogitare aut agere sæcularia cogerentur. Quæ nunc ratio et forma in clero tenetur, ut qui in Ecclesia Domini ordinatione clerica promoventur . . . ab altari non recedant, sed die ac nocte cælestibus rebus et spiritalibus serviant.—Ibid.]

quo or *de quo*[t], 'of which,' or 'from which they have no right to eat;' as the excellent author of The Propitiatory Oblation in the Holy Eucharist hath rightly observed[u]. But because the generality of learned men have taken altar here in the metonymical sense for the altar-offering, as the Latin translation and ours take "temple," 1 Cor. ix. 13, for the holy provision of the temple[x], I am therefore content to take it in the same sense, which will not in the least abate the force of my argument from the place, because if altar there be put for the sacrifice or oblation of the altar, that metonymical use of the word proves the first and proper sense of it as much as the use of *τράπεζα* in Greek, and *mensa* in the Latin tongue, for the meat or entertainment upon the table, proves it to be a table in the primary, proper, literal sense.

But perhaps, Sir, your late writer will say, the Apostle doth not mean a proper material altar, upon which offerings were made, and then eaten, but an improper metaphorical

[t] Tena in locum. Quare inepte Lutherani, et Beza [ut fugiant hunc locum quo probatur Christianos habere sacrificium missæ, quod supra altare celebratur (de quo edere possunt boni Christiani)] fingunt Paulum hic agere de sacrificio orationum, laudum vel gratiarum actionum: quia, præterquam quod ad hæc non necessario altare erigitur, cum possint sine illo fieri, hic Paulus agit de sacrificio manducabili, quod supra altaris mensa Christianis ponitur . . . Sacrificium vero orationum et laudum non est manducabile; [ex quo fit neque de altari crucis hic loqui Paulum, quia Christus ibi se obtulit cruenta et propria specie, non realiter comedendus, sed spiritualiter:] cum ergo hic de altari et mensa realis et propriæ manducationis sit sermo, ut Judaicis escis nostra esca contraponeretur, consequens est de altari Eucharistiæ loqui, quæ est vera esca realiter et sacramentaliter manducabilis.—[Commentaria et Disputationes in Epistolam D. Pauli ad Hebræos, auctore Ludovico Tena, cap. 13. Diff. vii. p. 708. Lond. 1661.] His whole exposition of the place is most excellent, and worthy to be read, excepting that he misapplies the Eucharistical sacrifices to the popish sacrifice of the mass.

[u] [In this work (The Propitiatory Oblation in the Holy Eucharist truly stated and defended, &c. London, 1710,) which is a defence of Hickes against Dr. Hancock, the author (John Johnson, see vol. i. p. 2. note p) maintains (p. 48), that "by the altar here mentioned (Heb. xiii. 10) the Apostle means the communion-table." "And in this (he proceeds) I differ from Dr. Hickes, as well as Dr. Hancock, for I can see no reason for what they here assert, that the altar is put for the sacrifice. The preposition *ἐξ* or *ἐκ* may signify 'at,' or 'off from;' it does not necessarily imply that the altar was the thing eaten, or that the altar was that which they used as a table or trencher in eating; it is sufficient, that what they ate was brought or taken from the altar; and therefore it is an ellipsis, rather than a metonymy, and may thus be supplied, 'We have an altar, from which they have no right to (take or) eat the sacrifice, who serve the tabernacle. . . . To eat 'of' or 'from' the altar is to be a guest at the altar; so they who minister about holy things are said to eat from the temple, 1 Cor. ix. 13, (Gr. *ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσθίουσιν*,) that is, the provision and gifts which they have from the temple."]

[x] [Our version, "live of *the things of* the temple," and the Vulgate, *quæ de sacrario sunt edunt*," supply these explanatory words to the original *ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ζῶσιν*.]

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altar, by way of allusion and similitude; and so, Sir, if he pleases he may say the Apostle meant only an improper metaphorical high-priest, where he says in the same Epistle, "we have a great High-Priest that is passed into the heavens;" "we have not an High-Priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities;" "we have such an High-Priest, who is set on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens." The phrase is the same[y], ἔχομεν θυσιαστήριον, and τοιοῦτον ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα, and οὐ γὰρ ἔχόμεν ἀρχιερέα μὴ δυνάμενον συμπαθῆσαι, &c. *'Habemus altare,' 'talem habemus pontificem,' 'non enim habemus pontificem, qui non possit compati infirmitatibus nostris.'* And since the High-Priest we have, is a more proper High-Priest than the Jewish high-priest, who was but His shadow[z], it would be very arbitrary in him to assert that the altar we are said to have is not a proper altar, especially considering that the Jerusalem altar[a], for the reason hereafter given, is several times called

[Heb. 4. 14, 15.]

[chap. 8. 1.]

[y] Heb. xiii. 10. *Habemus altare ex quo edendi non habent potestatem, qui tabernaculo deserviunt.* Extra Judæorum itaque templum in ecclesia erat θυσιαστήριον, altare, et per consequens etiam θυσία, sacrificium, non solum rationale laudis et precum, sed et materiale panis et vini, quod verbo edendi clare significat Apostolus.—Dr. Ernest. Grabe on Iren. lib. iv. cap. 34. [p. 324. ed. Oxon. 1702.]

[z] ["Which serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things."—Heb. viii. 5. "The law having a shadow of good things to come."—Ibid., x. 1.]

[a] "There is no more difference between a table and an altar, than between another cup and a chalice, or an house and a church, or a feast and a sacrifice." —Mede of the name Altar, sect. ii. [Mede's words are, "An altar is not every table, or a table for a common feast, but an holy table; and an holy table is an altar. . . . For in times past (when men perhaps were as wise as we are now) it was thought fit and decent that things set apart unto God and sacred should be distinguished not only in use but in name also from things common. For what is a temple or church but an house? yet distinguished in name from other houses. What is a sacrifice but a feast? yet distinguished in name from other feasts."—Works, p. 387.]

So among the Gentiles, as well as among the Jews, consecrated or dedicated tables were used for altars, as Macrobius shews upon this verse of Virgil,

In mensam læti libant divosque precantur.—[Æn. viii. 279.]

in answer to this objection of Evangelus, 'Cum non in mensam, sed in aram secundum morem libare debuerint.' . . . Ego autem, quod mihi magistra lectione compertum est, publicabo. In Papiriano enim jure, evidenter relatum est aræ vicem præstare posse mensam dicatam. 'Ut in templo,' inquit, 'Junonis Populoniæ augusta mensa est. Namque in fanis alia vasorum sunt, et sacræ supellectilis, alia ornamentorum. Quæ vasorum sunt, instrumenti instar habent, quibus sacrificia conficiuntur. Quarum rerum principem locum obtinet mensa, in qua epulæ, libationes, et stipes reponuntur. Ornamenta vero sunt clypei, coronæ, et ejusmodi donaria. Neque enim donaria dedicantur eo tempore, quo delubra sacrantur. At vero mensa, arulæque eodem die quo ædes ipsæ dedicari solent. Unde mensa hoc ritu dedicata in templo aræ usum, et religionem obtinet pulvinaris.' Ergo apud Evandrum quidem fit justa libatio; quippe apud eam mensam, quæ cum ara maxima, more utique religionis, fuerat dedicata, et in luco sacrato, et

the table of the Lord; in Malach. i. 7, 12; and Ezekiel xli. 22; xliv. 16[b]; as the offerings upon it are called His food[c], which He consumed by fire. And that the altar we are said to have is such an altar, of which[d], that is, of the sacrifices of which, neither the priests, who were ministers of the tabernacle, nor their people had any right to eat, but the Christian ministers and people have, the Apostle proves by an argument taken from their own law. For if they could not eat of the sacrifices of atonement[e] and expiation, which prefigured the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, how could they partake at the Christian altar of the Christian sacrifice, which was the mystical flesh and blood of Christ, by which the sacrifice of Himself upon the cross was represented according to His own institution under the new law, as it was under the old by the sacrifices of expiation, whose bodies were burnt without the camp? "We have an altar," saith he, "that is, an altar-sacrifice, whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle. For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high-priest for sin, are burnt without

inter ipsa sacra, in quibus epulabantur. —Lib. iii. cap. 11. p. 289.

To this let me add what Servius saith on this verse; Quæritur sane, cur in mensam, et non in aram libaverint? Sed apud antiquos inter vasorum suppellectilem, etiam mensam cum aris mos erat consecrari, quo die templum consecrabatur: unde bene ait 'in mensam læti libant,' quam constabat cum ara maxima dedicatam. So De la Cerda, "'In mensam læti libant,' videlicet, effusa aliqua parte vini e patera in mensam. Ex eodem more in Æn. i. 736, dixit, 'in mensam laticum libavit honorem.' Et Silius Italicus, xi. 301.

Ante omnes ductor honori
Nominis Augusto libat carchesia ritu.
Cætera quem sequitur, Bacchique ex more liquorem
Irrorat mensis turba.

Sed quæ ratio hujus moris? Quia veteribus mensa pro ara fuit [et sacrum quiddam] . . . Vid. Scaliger. in Festum [De Verb. Sign., lib. xi. 'Mensæ in ædibus sacris ararum vicem obtinebant.'] et Lipsium (lib. iii. Antiq. Lect. c. 6.) Oppugnat posterior, imo ridet Macrobium (Sat., lib. iii. cap. 11), interpretantem Virgilium, secus ac par est." [Virgil. Op., cum notis J. L. De la Cerda, tom. ii. p. 192. Lugd. 1612. Lipsius said the table was not regarded as an altar, and that the libation was made on any thing, pro re nata.]

[b] [The texts are quoted p. 76. note m.]

[c] Lev. iii. 11, 16. ["It is the food of the offering made by fire."] In the original לחם אשה, and על־הכלות. Vulg. *In pabulum ignis, et oblationis Domini; in alimoniam ignis et suavissimi odoris.* Vide Munsterum, Fagium, et Clarium in locum.—[Crit. Sacr. tom. ii. pp. 30—32. Munster's words are, Id quod supra vocatur sacrificium ignitum in odorem suavitatis, hic vocatur panis et cibus suavis, igne decoctus, et quo Deus delectatur. Fagius and Clarius use almost the same expressions.] Castalio; *Jovæ dapem rei divinæ.*

[d] Tena. Nomine enim altaris per figuram metonymiam intelligitur sacrificium super altare positum. [ubi supra, p. 707.]

[e] Lev. vi. 30. ["And no sin offering whereof any of the blood is brought into the tabernacle of the congregation to reconcile withal in the holy place, shall be eaten; it shall be burnt in the fire."] iv. 7—12; xvi. 27.

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the camp; wherefore Jesus also, that He might sanctify the people with His own blood, suffered without the city gate; and His suffering there signifies the exclusion of all legal eaters from partaking of Him, who, as a sin-offering, was carried without the camp." Here is altar answering to altar, and sacrifice to sacrifice; the sacrifice, which was a figure of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross before His suffering, to that which is the figure of it after. And therefore the Syrian Churches read this place as proper in the ordination of their priests[f]. And what St. Chrysostom saith upon the place can relate to nothing but the Eucharistical oblation of the elements, and the participation of them, as will appear from this version of them, *οὐχ οἷα τὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ, κ.τ.λ.*[g] "The rites, or religious observances among us," saith he, "are not such as the Jewish were, insomuch that it is not lawful for the high-priest to partake of them. Wherefore, because he had said do not observe *μὴ παρατηρεῖτε*, like one who overthrows his own sayings, he turns about in this manner: What, and do not we observe (meats), saith he? Yes, we observe them more exactly, not communicating of them to the priests themselves." If this commentary on the text, "we have an altar," &c., relates not to the communion-table, and literal and oral eating of the Eucharistical bread at it, I must confess I do not rightly understand it: the original words *μετέχειν αὐτῶν* and *μεταδιδόντες αὐτῶν* are communion phrases. But upon supposition that they relate not at all to the oral eating at the communion-board, it is no argument against that sense of the text, because this father speaks of it in the common sense of the Church as of the Christian altar, and of the oblation and

[f] [Hickes' statement seems to be derived from Tena, (ubi supra, p. 708,) who speaks of the 'consuetudo ecclesiarum Syriæ, quæ in ordinatione sacerdotum hoc loco utuntur.' Tena appears to refer to the use of these words in the prayer at the imposition of hands in the ordination of priests by the Nestorian Syrians: Elige illos ad sacerdotium Domine, Deus fortis, ut ... corde puro conscientiaque bona inserviant altari tuo sancto, offerentes tibi oblationes orationum et sacrificia confessionum in Ecclesia tua sancta, &c.—Asseman. Codex Lit. Eccl. Univ., lib. viii. pars vi. p. 39. Of this prayer Asseman says, (notes, p. 45,) Iisdem fere verbis precatur pontifex in Euchologio Græcorum, Maronitarum, Jacobitarum et Coptarum.]

[g] [*οὐκ οἷα τὰ Ἰουδαϊκά, φησι, τοιαῦτα τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὡς μηδὲ ἀρχιερεῖ θέμις εἶναι μετέχειν αὐτῶν· ὥστε ἐπειδὴ εἶπε, μὴ παρατηρεῖτε, ἐδόκει δὲ τοῦτο καταβάλλοντος εἶναι τὰ ἴδια, πάλιν αὐτὸ περιστρέφει· μὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ παρατηροῦμέν, φησι; καὶ παρατηροῦμεν, καὶ σφοδρότερον, οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μεταδιδόντες αὐτῶν.*—S. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebræos, Hom. xxxiii. § 2. Op., tom. xii. p. 304, A, B.]

participation of the bread and wine as of a sacrifice, in numerous places of his works; as I have shewed in this book, and might shew it from many more; as that in Hom. viii. *de Pœnit. et* Hom. xxviii. *in* 1 *Cor.*, *μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος τῆς ἱερᾶς ἅπτου τραπέζας καὶ τῆς ἁγίας μέτεχε θυσίας*[h]. Theodoret, Theophylact[i], and Oecumenius[k], all understand it in a literal sense of a proper altar, and the summary of all their commentaries upon the place amounts to thus much; that "after the Apostle had told the Hebrews that they had been fed with meats of carnal sacrifices and offerings, which had not profited them, then, lest they should think the Christian worship contemptible for want of such observances, he tells them that the Christians have an altar, and a sacrifice, but of another kind, of which their priests were not worthy to

[h] [Id. de Pœnit. Hom. vi. (viii. ed. Morell.) § 5. tom. ii. p. 326, B. The other passage referred to is; *δεῖ τὸν προσιόντα, πάντα ἐξαντλήσαντα ταῦτα, οὕτω τῆς καθαρᾶς ἐκείνης ἅπτεσθαι θυσίας.* —Id. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. Hom. xxviii. § 1. tom. x. p. 250, D.]

[i] [The words of Theophylact are; on v. 9; *κάλον γὰρ χάριτι βεβαιοῦσθαι τὴν καρδίαν, οὐ βρώμασιν ἐν οἷς οὐκ ὠφελήθησαν οἱ περιπατήσαντες . . . τῇ χάριτι, τουτέστι τῇ πίστει βεβαιοῦσθαι δεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ πληροφορεῖσθαι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀκάθαρτον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῷ πιστεύοντι καθαρά· πίστεως οὖν δεῖ, οὐ βρωμάτων παρατηρήσεως· οἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βρώμασι περιπατήσαντες, τουτέστι, τῇ τῶν βρωμάτων παρατηρήσει στοιχήσαντες διαπαντὸς, οὐδὲν εἰς ψυχὴν ὠφελήθησαν, ὡς τῆς πίστεως ἔξω ὄντες, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ἀνωφελεῖ δουλεύοντες· καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ, τὶ ὠφελοῦντο ἀπὸ τῆς παρατηρήσεώς, φησιν, ὅπου γε οὕτως ἦσαν μιαροὶ, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μετέχειν τῶν θυσιῶν;* v. 10. *ἔχομεν θυσιαστήριον, κ. τ. λ. . . ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ δεῖ παρατηρεῖσθαι βρώματα, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ εὐκαταφρόνητα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα διὰ τὸ ἀπαρατήρητον· φησὶν, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν παρατήρησιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ βρώμασι τοιούτοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, ἤτοι τῇ ἀναιμάκτῳ θυσίᾳ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σώματος· ταύτης γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς νομικοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι μεταλαβεῖν ἔξεστιν, ἕως ἂν λατρεύωσι τῇ σκηνῇ, τουτέστι, τοῖς νομικοῖς τύποις, τοῖς παρυδικοῖς, τοῖς καταλυομένοις (τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ σκηνὴ) ἢ τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, ὥσπερ τῶν νομικῶν θυσιῶν οὗ μετεῖχον οἱ λαοὶ, ὡς ἀνάξιοι.*—Theophylact. Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr., cap. xiii. Op., tom. ii. pp. 758, C. 759, A.]

[k] [Œcumenius says; *ἐν τῇ πίστει οὖν τῇ διὰ χάριτος Θεοῦ ἐνεργουμένῃ δεῖ βεβαιοῦσθαι τὴν καρδίαν, οὐ μὴν βεβαιοῦσθαι πρὸς παρατήρησιν βρωμάτων· οἱ γὰρ εἰς τὰς παρατηρήσεις ταύτας περιπατοῦντες, τουτέστιν, οἱ ταῦτα φυλάττοντες, οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὠφελήθησαν· αἰνίττεται δέ τινας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθει Ἰουδαικῷ παρατηρουμένους τὰ βρώματα. ἔχομεν θυσιαστήριον. ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ χρὴ παρατηρεῖσθαι βρώματα, ἵνα μὴ νομίσωσιν εὐκαταφρόνητα εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα τῷ εἶναι ἀπαρατήρητα, φησὶ, μὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν παρατηρήσεις; ἀλλ' οὐ βρωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἡμῶν· τῶν γὰρ ἐκεῖ κειμένων οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἔξεστι μετασχεῖν· οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ τῇ σκηνῇ, οἷον τῷ τύπῳ καὶ τῇ σκιᾷ, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθείᾳ δουλεύοντες. ἐξ οὗ φαγεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν. οὐχ οἷά, φησι, τὰ Ἰουδαικὰ, τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὡς μηδὲ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ θέμις εἶναι μετασχεῖν αὐτῶν. . . .* Then after speaking of our Lord suffering without the camp, and His blood being shed to purge the sins of the world, he adds, that as the priests took in the blood of the sin-offerings to the altar, *τοῦτο δὴ οὖν τὸ αἷμα διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως εἰσφέρεται παρ' ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θυσιαστήριον. διὸ οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου φαγεῖν.*— Œcumenii in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xxi. Comment. in Nov. Test., tom. ii. pp. 431, D. 432, A, sqq.]

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partake, because they served the tabernacle, and not the truth, of which that was the type and shadow." Particularly, saith Theodoret[l], "we have an altar much more excellent than that old one under the law, for that was but the shadow of this. That was an altar for sacrifices void of reason, but this is an altar for a spiritual and Divine sacrifice, of which none of the Jewish priests could partake, unless they were first converted to faith in our Lord." For the farther explication of which it is to be observed, that as the great altar at the temple of Jerusalem was so called with respect to the sacrifices which were offered there, but, with respect to the consumption of them upon it by fire, was called also the Lord's table[m]; so the Lord's table in Christian Churches was considered in a double respect, first with relation to the offering of the bread and wine upon it, and secondly with relation to the consumption, or participation of them in the sacrificial feast at it; and as in the latter respect the Apostle called it the Lord's table, so in the former it is an altar, and therefore the Apostle, by a usual metonymy of the altar for the sacrifice of the altar, said, "we have an altar whereof they have no right to eat, who serve at the tabernacle." So in different respects it was called by both names in ecclesiastical writers[n]. As in Synesius[o]; "I will cleave to the holy pillars which support Thy sacred table, ... the unbloody altar." So Gregory Nyssen[p]; *θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον,*

[l] [*ἔχομεν θυσιαστήριον, κ. τ. λ. τοῦτό, φησι, τοῦ παλαιοῦ πολλῷ τιμιώτερον. ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τούτου σκιά. ἐκεῖνο δέχεται τὰς ἀλόγους θυσίας· τοῦτο δὲ τὴν λογικήν τε καὶ θείαν· οὗ δὴ χάριν οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων τῶν ἱερέων ταύτης μεταλαγχάνει, εἰ μὴ πρότερον τὴν εἰς τὸν Κύριον δέξηται πίστιν.*—Theodoret. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xiii. ver. 10. Opera, tom. iii. p. 460, B, C.]

[m] Ezek. xli. 22. "The altar of wood was three cubits high . . . and He said unto me, This is the table that is before the Lord." xliv. 16. "They shall enter into My sanctuary, and they shall come near to My table to minister unto Me, and they shall keep My charge." Mal. i. 7. "Ye say the table of the Lord is contemptible." Ver. 12. "The table of the Lord is polluted, and the fruits thereof, even His meat, is contemptible."

[n] [Many other instances will be found in Bingham, book viii. chap. vi. § 11, 12.]

[o] In Catastasi. *προσφύσομαι τῶν κιόνων τῶν ἱερῶν, [αἳ τὴν ἄσυλον ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνεχουσι τράπεζαν· ἐκεῖ καὶ ζῶν καθεδοῦμαι καὶ ἀποθανὼν κείσομαι. λειτουργὸς εἰμι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἴσως ἀπολειτουργῆσαί με δεῖ· οὐ μὴν ὅγε Θεὸς περιόψεται τὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἀναίμακτον ἱερέως αἵματι μιαινόμενον.*—Synesii Episcopi Cyrenensis. Op., p. 303, B, C. Paris. 1631. These are the concluding words of the Catastasis, an address delivered by Synesius on the occasion of the expected irruption of the barbarians into the Pentapolis, A.D. 431.]

[p] Oratio de Baptismo Christi. [*ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον, ὦ παρεστήκαμεν, λίθος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κοινὸς, οὐδὲν διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων πλακῶν, αἳ τοὺς τοίχους ἡμῶν, οἰκοδο-*

κ. τ. λ. "This holy altar at which we stand is by nature a common stone, but after it is consecrated to the worship of God, and receives the blessing, it becomes an holy table, an unpollutable altar, not to be touched by every one, but only by the priests, and such priests as fear God." So Socrates, lib. i. cap. 37, telling how Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, retired into the church of St. Irene to pray[q], saith, "that having made himself to be locked up alone in the church of Irene, he went to the altar and prostrating himself under the holy table, he continued many nights and days together, praying unto God with tears." So in the *Disputatio contra Arium in Concilio Nicæno,* ascribed to Athanasius[r], p. 122. ed. Par. 1627; *προτεθεικὼς τράπεζαν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄρτον οὐράνιον, καὶ ἄφθαρτον,* "having set forth the table, that is the holy altar, and the heavenly and incorruptible bread thereupon." An altar therefore it is according to the ancients, as well as a table; an altar with respect to the oblations, and a table with respect to the eating or participation of them, as among the heathens, who according to the verse of Virgil, and Macrobius' comment on it in the margin before, not only ate their altar-offerings at their holy tables, but often offered upon them; especially their meat and drink-offerings, upon which they feasted with their priests in honour of their gods.

Indeed they used them so often as altars to offer on, as well as tables to eat at, that learned men are of opinion they looked upon them as altars, as is to be seen in the margin[s].

μοῦσι, καὶ καλλωπίζουσι τὰ ἐδάφη· ἐπειδὴ δὲ καθιερώθη τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐδέξατο, ἐστὶ τράπεζα ἅγια, θυσιαστήριον ἄχραντον, οὐκέτι παρὰ πάντων ψηλαφώμενον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ τούτων εὐλαβουμένων.—S. Greg. Nyss. Op., tom. iii. pp. 369, D. 370, A. The last words seem rather to mean "only by the priests, and by them with reverence."]

[q] [Socrates is speaking of the course taken by Alexander when pressed to receive Arius to communion. *ἐν ταυτῇ τοίνυν τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ καθεστὼς, χαίρειν πολλὰ φράσας τῇ διαλεκτικῇ, προσφεύγει Θεῷ, καὶ νηστείαις μὲν συνεχέσιν ἐσχόλαζε· καὶ τοῦ προσεύχεσθαι οὐδένα τρόπον παρέλειπε· καὶ . . . . ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ᾗ ἐπώνυμον Εἰρήνη, μόνον ἑαυτὸν κατακλειστὸν ποιήσας, καὶ εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσελθὼν, ὑπὸ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ στόμα ἐκτείνας, εὔχεται δακρύων.*—Socrat. Eccl. Hist., tom. ii. p. 73.]

[r] [Opus spurium; ap. S. Athanas. Op., tom. iii. p. 213, B. ed. Ben.]

[s] Martini Lexicon in *libo.* Turnebus [Adversaria], lib. xi. 7. illud Plauti, 'de poculo paululum hoc tibi dabo [haud] lubenter' explicans ait; 'de poculo pleno, quod erat potatura, paululum Veneri libat, i. e. in honorem Veneris effundit; Sic enim libare solebant, quod vel in aram faciebant, vel in mensam, quæ loco aræ erat,' &c. et lib. xxiv. c. 40. 'Quid est in mensam libare? nempe religionis causa, de patera, priusquam bibas, in mensam, quæ

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I have observed this to shew that the same thing in different respects may be both a table and an altar. For as a table is that at which we eat; so an altar is that at, or upon which we offer, and therefore an altar in the old Teutonic language is called Hunsel-staths[t], 'the place of offering.' So the rocks in the Mediterranean sea between Sardinia and Africa, upon which the Romans and Carthaginians sacrificed, when they solemnized their mutual league[u], were ever after called altars by the Latins, as Virgil tells us in these verses:

Tres Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet:
Saxa vocant Itali mediis quæ in fluctibus ARAS,
Dorsum immane mari summo[x]—

And so the rock upon which Manoah offered unto the Lord, Judges xiii. 19, is called the altar in ver. 20, *τὸ θυσιαστήριον*[y] in the Greek version, which I have observed to shew with what propriety of speech the holy communion table hath been called the altar from the Apostles' time to the Reformation. It is so called four times in the epistles of the holy martyr St. Ignatius, who was St. John's disciple[z], first in his Epistle to the Ephesians, where he saith[a], *μηδεὶς πλανάσθω, ἐὰν μή τις ᾖ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ·* "Let no man deceive himself, unless a man be within the altar he is deprived of the bread of God." From whence it is plain, that by the altar[b] he meant the Lord's table upon which the bread was offered. So in his Epistle to the Magnesians[c]; "Being come together into the same place, have one common-prayer, one supplication, one hope in charity, and

opinione veterum sacra erat, et tanquam quædam ara, aliquid de vino effundere,' &c.

[t] [The word HUNSAL·ASTALFS altare, Evang. Gothic., Matt. v. 23; Luc. i. 11. is compounded of HUNGALE HUNGAL victima, sacrificium; and GTALFS locus; Lye's Dictionarium Saxon. et Gotho-Latin. See note g, p. 18. and note o, p. 91.]

[u] [So Servius and Hortensius in locum; and Turnebus, Adversaria, lib. xxvi. c. 23.]

[x] Virg. Æn., lib. i. 107—110.

[y] *ἐπάνω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.* [Vers. LXX. Jud. xiii. 19.]

[z] [See above, note l, p. 46.]

[a] [S. Ignat. Ep. ad Eph., c. 5. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 13.]

[b] "These words of Ignatius," saith Mr. Mede, "directly imply, that the altar was the place, as of the bread of God, so of the public prayers of the Church. So that he that was not within the altar, (that is, who should be divided therefrom,) had no benefit of either."—Christian Sacrifice, book ii. cap. v. [Works, p. 364.]

[c] [*ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχή, μία δέησις, εἷς νοῦς, μία ἐλπὶς, ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἀμώμῳ· . . . εἷς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, οὗ ἄμεινον οὐδέν ἐστιν· πάντες οὖν ὡς εἰς (ἕνα) ναὸν συντρέχετε Θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς ἐπὶ ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀφ' ἑνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα.*—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Magn., c. 7. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 19.]

in pure joy. (For) there is one (that is, but one) Lord Jesus Christ, than whom nothing is more excellent. Wherefore come ye all together (*ὡς εἰς ναὸν*) as unto one temple of God, as to one altar, as to one Jesus Christ, who proceeded from the Father." Here as *ναὸς*, 'temple,' is taken literally, so *θυσιαστήριον*, 'altar,' is to be understood. So in his Epistle to the Philadelphians[d], "Wherefore let it be your study to partake all of the same Eucharist. For there is but one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup for the unity of His blood; one altar, as also there is one bishop (i. e. but one bishop) with his presbyters and deacons, my fellow servants, that whatsoever you do, you may do it according to the will of God." From this place we may learn first what is the sacrifice of this one altar, viz., the holy Eucharist; and who are the priests that offer up this sacrifice; the bishops and presbyters, as sacerdotal ministers, and the deacons as subservient inferior ministers, according to their office before described[e]. So in his Epistle to the Trallesians[f], "Continue inseparable from Jesus Christ our God, and from your bishop, and from the commands of the Apostles. For he that is within the altar is pure; but he that is without, that is, who doth any thing without the bishop and presbyters and deacons, is not pure in his conscience." Indeed this phrase of being within, and without the altar, is a figure or metonymy, by which altar is put for the communion of the altar. But then, as the Eucharistical cup, when it is so used for the wine in the cup, supposes the cup to be a real material cup: so the Christian altar, when it is put for the communion of the altar, where the priests and the faithful people partake together of the holy feast, it signifies a real material altar, at which they ministered, and these received. I need not say more to shew how the ancient Christians took the Lord's table to be a proper material altar, and that it is implied to

[d] [*σπουδάζετε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ· ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἷς ἐπίσκοπος, ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ διακόνοις τοῖς συνδούλοις μου· ἵνα ὅ ἐὰν πράσσητε, κατὰ Θεὸν πράσσητε.*—Id. Ep. ad Philadelph., c. 4. ibid., p. 30.]

[e] [See above, sect. v. pp. 37, 38.]

[f] [*τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν . . . οὖσιν ἀχωρίστοις Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων τῶν ἀποστόλων. ὁ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιάστηρίου ὢν, καθαρός ἐστιν· τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνου πράσσοντι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρός ἐστιν τῇ συνειδήσει.*—Id., Ep. ad Trall., c. 7. ibid., p. 23.]

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be such in those words of our Lord, "If thou bringest thy gift unto the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave thy gift before the altar, and go, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." "The ancient Christians (saith Mr. Mede[g]) took this to be an evangelical constitution, wherein our Saviour implied, by way of anticipation, that He would leave some rite to His Church[h] instead of, and after the manner of the sacrifices of the law, which should begin with an oblation, as they did[i]; and that to require this proper, and peculiar qualification in the offerer, to be at peace, and without enmity with his brother." . . . "Hence also they may seem to have learned to call bread and wine (in respect of this oblation) *ἅγια δῶρα*, 'the holy gifts,' from the word our Saviour here useth," &c.

I hope I have now made it appear in this paragraph that the communion-table, in respect of its different uses, is an altar as well as a table: an altar upon which the elements are presented, and offered up by the minister to God the Father, and a table at which after they are consecrated into the symbols of Christ's dead body and blood, they are consumed by the offerers in the holy sacrificial banquet. This I have done to obviate a common modern objection[k] that the holy table cannot be an altar, because it is a table; an objection which will as well prove that the same man cannot be a preceptor, as well as a father to his child; or that the same machine, as among the Nomades, Scythians, old Germans, and other Hamaxobians, cannot be both a waggon for carriage, and a dwelling-house; or lastly, to give a scriptural, and more reverential instance, that our Saviour could not be both sacrifice and priest: and that the communion-table was not a mere table, but an altar too, is also plain from

[g] Mede, Of the name Altar, sect. ii. [Works, p. 390.]

[h] S. Cypr. Epist. lxiii. ad Cæcilium, Christus hujus sacrificii auctor, et doctor [p. 104. ed. Ben.]—Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 34. Igitur Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium, et acceptum est ei.—[c. 18. § 1. p. 250. ed. Ben. See the whole passage above, p. 46.]

[i] Non genus oblationum reprobatum est; oblationes enim et illic, oblationes autem et hic. Sacrificia in populo, sacrificia et in ecclesia, sed species immutata est tantum [quippe cum jam non a servo, sed a liberis offeratur.—Id. ibid., § 2. p. 250. This and the preceding note are added by Hickes.]

[k] [Dr. Hancock is particularly referred to. See below, note u, p. 83.]

the distinction in the Greek Church, between the πρόθεσις and the θυσιαστήριον[1], the former of which they accounted only as a table, to which the offerings were brought, but the latter they esteemed as an altar, because the bread and wine were there presented to God the Father, and then consecrated into the body and blood of Christ.

SECT. IX. The Sacrifice offered upon the Christian Altar; from the parallel in 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

IX. Having shewed from one place of the New Testament, that the ministers of Christ are proper altar-ministers, because they minister at a proper altar; I now proceed to shew from another place, 1 Cor. x. 20, 21, that they offer sacrifice, and by consequence that they are proper offering or sacrificing priests. These are the words; "But the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God, and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and the table of devils." For the devils had their tables for their sacrificial feasts, as well as the true God, as is plain from the testimony of St. Chrysostom in his Homily on St. Lucian the Martyr, whom they tempted by famishing of him to eat of the things offered to the idol-gods. "But, (saith he[m],) in that extremity of hunger, the fear of God withheld the martyr's hands, and made him forget nature: for while he beheld that polluted and execrable table, he remembered the other tremendous table, which was full of the Spirit, and was so inflamed that he chose to endure and suffer all things, rather than taste of those unhallowed meats." So in his twenty-fourth Homily on 1 Cor. x. the same father expressly takes notice of the tables at which the heathens ate of their idol-sacrifices[n]:

[1] [See Prefatory Discourse, pp. 129, 130, and notes.] Goar in his notes in Ordines sacri Ministerii; Euchologium, p. 16; πρόθεσις, quam perperam Genebrardus *altare* interpretatur, cum rectius *propositio*, seu propositionis mensa dici queat, quæ non sacrificio, sed pani tantum offerendo dicata sit . . . τράπεζα itaque solummodo est πρόθεσις, non θυσιαστήριον. In Miss. S. Chrysost., ibid., p. 116. Illud certum est, πρόθεσιν esse mensam, in qua sacra dona προτίθενται, primo immolanda proponuntur.

[m] [καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μέγα ἔνδοθεν ἐμβοῶντος καὶ τῶν προκειμένων κελεύοντος ἐφάπτεσθαι, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ φόβος τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέστελλε, καὶ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῆς ἐπιλαθέσθαι παρεσκεύαζε· καὶ τράπεζαν ὁρῶν μιαρὰν καὶ ἐναγῆ, τραπέζης ἐμνήσθη ἑτέρας τῆς φρικώδους καὶ πνεύματος γεμούσης, καὶ οὕτως ἐπυροῦτο, ὡς ἑλέσθαι πάντα ὑποστῆναι καὶ παθεῖν, ἢ τῶν μιαρῶν ἐκείνων ἀπογεύσασθαι ἐδεσμάτων.—S. Chrysost. Hom. in S. Lucian. Martyr., § 2. Op., tom. ii. p. 527, D.]

[n] [πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐναντία ποιεῖτέ, φησιν, ὦ Κορίνθιοι, εὐλογοῦντες μὲν τὸν Θεὸν, ὅτι τῶν εἰδώλων ὑμᾶς ἀπήλλαξε, πάλιν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνων τρέχοντες τραπέζας.—Id., in Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. § 1. Op., tom. x. p. 212, E.]

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"How then ye Corinthians can ye do such contrary things, as to bless God, who hath delivered you from idols, and yet run again unto their tables?" And again[o]; "Art thou not then ashamed, when these damned and slavish people prepare a table, to run and partake of what is set thereon?" So Isaiah lxv. 11, 12, the idolatrous part of the Jews are charged with preparing two tables, one to Gad, and the other to Meni: "But ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget My holy mountain, that prepare a table for Gad, and that furnish a drink-offering unto Meni." It is, in the LXX, ἑτοιμάζοντες τῷ δαιμονίῳ τράπεζαν, "that prepare a table to the devil," and is so cited by Justin Martyr *Dialog. cum Tryphone*[p]. It is plain from Scripture, that the sacrifices were eaten at the place where they were offered. Thus Numb. xxv. 2; the Amorites called the Israelites unto the "sacrifices of their gods, and the people did eat, and bowed down to their gods." So Exod. xviii. 12, "Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for God, and Aaron and all the elders of Israel came to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God." So in 1 Sam. xvi.; Jesse and his sons were called by Samuel to the sacrifice, ver. 5; and in the eleventh verse, when Jesse told him his youngest son was not there, he said, "Send and fetch him, for we will not sit down[q] till he come hither." Now at what were they to sit down, or according to the original, "about" what were they to sit? I suppose at, or about a table. It is also plain from the story of Cleobis and Biton in Herodotus[r], that sacrifices among the heathens were eaten before the idol, or at the place where they were offered to him; for it was in the temple of Juno, where her image was, that the mother of those two brethren, and the rest of the Argives, "sacrificed and feasted." Which occasioned Drusius to write on these words, "and they lay themselves down by

[Marg. of Eng. Ver.]

See Exod. 32. 5, 6; 1 Sam. 9. 12, 13; Gen. 31. 54.

[o] [πῶς οὖν οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ... ὅταν θῶσι τράπεζαν οἱ κατάδικοι οὗτοι, τρέχων ἐκεῖ καὶ μετέχων τῶν προκειμένων.—Ibid., § 3. p. 215, B.]

[p] [ἑτοιμάζοντες τοῖς δαιμονίοις τράπεζαν.—S. Just. M. Dial. cum Tryph., c. 135. p. 227, D.]

[q] Munster in locum. *Discumbemus.* Hoc dicitur, quod post sacrificia pacificorum edebantur consecrata. Habet proprie Hebraismus *circumdabimus*, quoniam sedebant in corona ad mensam.—[Crit. Sacr., tom. ii. p. 899.]

[r] [ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· ... στᾶσα ἄντιον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὔχετο ... μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν, ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ, κ. τ. λ.—Herodot., lib. i. c. 31.]

every altar," as followeth[s]; *Veteres intra ipsum templum solebant solennia sacrificiorum convivia agitare, ut apparet ex historia, quam refert Herodotus de Cleobe, et Bitone, et ex Aristophane in Pluto* [660, sqq.] 1 Cor. viii. 10, *εἰδωλεῖον quibusdam est idolorum templum, aliis ipsa mensa in qua epulæ celebrabantur;* so Livelius upon the place[t], *Inclinant se;*] *Alludit ad veterem discumbendi morem, quo epulantes ad mensam non ut nos hodie sederunt, sed accubuerunt, reclinata supera parte corporis in cubitum sinistrum, &c. . . . . Juxta omnia altaria in domo deorum suorum;*] *Idololatræ in idoleis suis coram idolis conviventes accumbebant;* 1 Cor. viii. 10, '*Si quis te viderit in idoleo accumbere, conscientia infirmi instruetur ad comedendum ea quæ sunt idolis mactata.*' Ibid. x. 21, '*Non potestis poculum Domini bibere, et poculum dæmoniorum.*' Horat. Od. xxxvii. lib. i.

Nunc est bibendu, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus: Nunc Saliaribus
Ornare pulvinar deorum
Tempus erat dapibus, sodales.

So certain it is, as a late writer may observe[u], that the heathens had tables at which they ate of the sacrifices of their gods, that the learned translator[x] of Homer's Iliads into Latin verse renders

——— τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα
δαίνυντ'———

in the sacrifices which the Grecians offered at the altars of Apollo[y] and Jupiter[z];

[s] [Drusii Annot. in Amos ii. 18. apud Crit. Sacr., tom. iv. p. 247.]

[t] [Livelii Annot., ibid., pp. 252, 253.]

[u] Dr. Hancock. [In his Answer to some things contained in Dr. Hickes' Christian Priesthood asserted. London, 1709. See Account of Additions, &c. vol. i. p. 2. note g. Dr. Hancock, p. 12, sqq. opposes Hickes' view (see above, p. 72, note a), as if he had said that "there is no difference between a table and an altar;" for his words are (p. 13), "So no doubt there is a considerable difference between an altar and an holy table; the altar was the place whereon sacrifices were solemnly offered up to God, and the holy tables were the places whereon the sacrificial feasts were made. Nor has the Doctor proved, nor ever can prove, that the altars were places to eat at, nor the tables places to offer upon."]

[x] Helius Eobanus Hessus. [The work referred to is a translation of the Iliad into Latin hexameters, with this title, Homeri Iliados libri xxiv, nuper Latino carmine elegantissimo redditi, Helio Eobano Hesso interprete. Basileæ, 1540.]

[y] Iliad., lib. i. 467.

[z] Ibid., lib. ii. 430.

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——Mensas dapibus præstantibus augent[a].
——Lautisque agitant convivia mensis[b].

And their custom of eating their sacrificial feast in their temples, or in places so called from their sacrifices, is plain from such passages in the prince of poets as these which follow:

——Hoc illis curia templum,
Hæ sacris sedes epulis: hic ariete cæso
Perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis[c].

Nunc pateras libate Jovi, precibusque vocate
Anchisen genitorem, et vina reponite mensis[d].

——— Ocyus omnes
In mensam læti libant, divosque precantur[e].

These tables, on which they ate their sacrificial banquets, were in the same place where they offered them, at or near the images or altars of their gods, as appears from the sacrifice just now mentioned which the Grecians offered to Apollo;

ἑκατόμβην βῆσαν ἑκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι.
τὴν μὲν ἐπεῖτ' ἐπὶ βωμὸν ἄγων[f].

To which let me add these verses in Virgil speaking of Iarbas:

Dicitur ante aras media inter numina divum
Multa Jovem manibus supplex orasse supinis.
'Jupiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
Gens epulata toris Lenæum[g] *libat honorem*[h].'

Jamque dies epulata novem gens omnis, et aris
Factus honos[i]*——*

Brissonius[k] shews that as they were wont in their prayers to touch or embrace the altars and images of their gods: so they used in their addresses to them to touch the tables:

[a] [Hessus, p. 23.]
[b] [Ibid., p. 50.]
[c] Æn. vii. 174—6.
[d] Ibid., v. 133.
[e] Ibid., viii. 278.
[f] [Iliad, i. 438, 440.]
[g] Lenæum libare honorem, est vini primitias in mensam sive aram Jovis infundere.
[h] Æn., iv. 204.
[i] Æn. v. 762.
[k] De Form., lib. i. p. 40. [eos qui orabant, aras tangere et amplecti solitos, Macrob. Sat. lib. iii. c. 2. tradit, et adductis Virgilii lib. iv. 219 et xii. 201 Æneidos versibus confirmat. Vide Plaut. Rud. iii. 3. 33. Hor., lib. iii. Od. 23. 17.]

Similiterque in mensa, in qua bene precari moris fuit Livius ait, precantes mensam tangebant. Ovid. *lib.* 1. *Amor. Eleg.* iv. 27.

Tange manu mensam, tangunt quo more precantes.

Lastly, that the Greeks had tables in their temples appears from what Tully saith of the Sicilian tyrant and great derider of the gods, Dionysius[1]: *Jam mensas argenteas de omnibus delubris jussit auferri, in quibus quod more veteris Græciæ inscriptum esset 'Bonorum Deorum,' uti se eorum bonitati velle dicebat.*

I have observed all this of tables in the temples, or places of idol-worship, to shew how exact the analogy or parallel of the Apostle is between eating at the Lord's table and the table of devils; and I need not observe, that to drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons or devils, and to be partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils, are metonymical expressions, which properly signify to drink of the wine offered to the Lord, and of the wine offered to devils, and to be partakers of the sacrifices of the Lord's table or altar, and of the sacrifices of the tables or of the altars of devils. Such is the phrase in the preceding chapter, "They who wait at the altar are partakers with the altar," i. e. They who wait at the altar are partakers of the sacrifices with the altar. According to this observation, the words of the Apostle may be paraphrased thus: "But in answer to the objection that an idol is nothing, you ought to understand, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice to idols they indeed sacrifice to devils, and not to God, and they who eat of the things sacrificed to them have communion with those devils, and I would not, my brethren, that you should have fellowship with devils; for by the common notion of communion, in which the worshippers of demons in images and the worshippers of God agree, ye cannot with consistency drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils, ye cannot be partakers or communicants at the Lord's table and at the tables of devils, i. e. ye cannot hold communion, ye cannot be in covenant with them both." The argument which the Apostle here uses against the Christians' eating of the sacrifices at the

1 Cor. 10. 21.

1 Cor. 9. 13. See ch. 10. 18.

ch. 10. 19, 21.

[1] De Natura Deorum, lib. iii. c. 34.

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tables or at the altars of devils, is founded on this common principle, received by the Jewish and Gentile world, that the eating or partaking at the table, or from the altar of any reputed god, of the things sacrificed to him, was in its nature and common construction an act of communion with that god, and therefore by this common notion of religious fellowship or communion, Christians could not consistently with their religion eat at the Lord's table and at the table of devils, or communicate with devils and with Him who came to destroy the works of the devil, and all the religious worship of devils in the Gentile world. This observation helps to set the parallel which the Apostle draws betwixt altar-communion with God and devils in a clear light. For first, oblations or sacrifices were offered to both: to the former, only upon the holy-table-altar, but to the latter both upon their altars and their tables[m]; secondly, it is plain those oblations to both were eaten by the offerers at tables; and thirdly, that the cup was offered at the Lord's table, as well as at the table of devils; and by consequence in the fourth place, that they were *θῦται*, or 'sacrificing ministers,' as Pollux calls priests[n], who offered upon the Lord's table, as idolatrous priests did upon the altars or tables of the devils, and thence and there feasted their people in the name of their false gods. I say, the whole parallel between eating and drinking at the table of the Lord and the table of devils, supposes that they ate and drank of things which had been offered, and by consequence, that the ministers of the Lord's table, upon which the bread and wine were first solemnly offered and then consumed in the sacrificial banquet, are sacrificing priests: such as in the ninth chapter and thirteenth verse of this Epistle, the Apostle speaking of Jewish priests, calls *τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι, τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσεδρεύοντες*· *sacra operantes*[o], or *sacra procurantes*[p], *altari deservientes*[q], or *altari operam dantes*[r], 'ministers about holy things' pertaining to God, 'waiters at the

[m] Brissonius de Form., lib. i. p. 82. Illud compertum habeo, in mensa et inter scyphos et pocula, ubi libare diis dapes, et bene precari moris fuisse Livius, lib. xix., scribit, jactari consuevisse vocem hanc bene. . . . Hoc certe ita perspicue demonstrat Plautus, [Persa, v. 1. 22.]

[n] Lib. i. cap. i. segm. 14. [See note i, p. 20.]

[o] [Qui sacra operantur.—Erasmus, Crit. Sacr., tom. vii. p. 1067.]

[p] [Qui sacra procurant.—Castalio.]

[q] [Qui altari deserviunt.—Vulg.]

[r] [Qui aræ operam dant.—Castalio.]

altar,' without whom there could have been no sacrifice or offerings, or any partaking of the offerings at the holy table, in which the act of communion doth consist.

Hence as I have shewed, and shall shew again, in the time of the Apostles the bread and wine in the holy Eucharist came to be called *δῶρα* and *προσφοραὶ*, 'gifts' and 'offerings,' and the ministers of the Gospel *προσεδρεύοντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ*, 'waiters at the altar,' and *προσενέγκοντες τὰ δῶρα*, 'offerers,' or 'sacrificers;' their ministration at the Lord's table being the most special and excellent part of their priestly function, in which making the bread and wine an holy and acceptable sacrifice to God by solemn oblation and prayer[s], they thereby make intercession and atonement for their own sins and the sins of the people, as by a most solemn rite of supplication, according to the nature and use of sacrifices, by which God is atoned and His mercy and favour procured.

I say, according to this parallel of the Apostle between the communion with the true God and that of devils, bread and wine, the holy Eucharist, were called gifts and offerings, and the ministers of the Gospel offerers and sacrificers, in the age of the Apostles, as appears from two or three passages in St. Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, who was fellow-labourer with the Apostles, and must have understood their meaning. Saith he, cap. 40[t], "Seeing then these things are very evident, it is our duty, who have looked into the depths of Divine knowledge, to do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord hath commanded us to do. Especially that we perform our offerings and ministrations (*προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας*) to God at the times appointed for them; for these He hath commanded to be done, not unseasonably and disorderly, but at certain appointed times and hours. Wherefore He hath ordained, by His sovereign authority,

[s] See the prayer of consecration in the Apostolical Constitutions, lib. viii. cap. 12. [apud Concil., tom. i. pp. 481, 483, quoted below, p. 123, sqq.] and in the Communion-Office of the Scottish Common-Prayer Book. [Appendix, No. ii.]

[t] [*προδήλων οὖν ἡμῖν ὄντων τούτων, καὶ ἐγκέκυφότες εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς θείας γνωσέως, πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν, ὅσα ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. κατὰ καίρους τεταγμένους τάς τε προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἰκῇ ἢ ἀτάκτως (ἐκέλευσεν) γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ ὥραις. ποῦ τε καὶ διὰ τίνων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι θέλει, αὐτὸς ὥρισεν τῇ ὑπερτάτῃ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει· ἵν' ὁσίως πάντα γινόμενα ἐν εὐδο-*

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both where and by whom they are to be performed, that so all things being done without fault, to all well-pleasing, they may be acceptable to His will. They therefore who make their offerings (*οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν*) at the appointed seasons, they are blessed and accepted, for being obedient to the orders of the Lord, they offend not." The same order is to be observed by those who minister unto Him in Divine service[u]. "For the chief priest hath proper offices assigned to him, and to the priests is their proper station appointed, and to the Levites belong their proper ministrations, and the layman is confined within the bounds of what is commanded to laymen." So chapter 44. saith he[x]; "We cannot think that those may be justly thrown out of their ministry who were either appointed by the Apostles, or afterwards by eminent men, with the testimony and approbation of the whole Church, and have with all humility and innocency ministered to the flock of Christ in peace and without self-interest, and for a long time have been approved by all: such, we think, cannot be justly thrown out of their ministry. For it would be an heinous sin in us if we should cast out those from their episcopal charge, *τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενέγκοντας τὰ δῶρα*[y], who without blame or

κήσει, εὐπρόσδεκτα εἴη τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ· οἱ οὖν τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν, εὐπρόσδεκτοί τε καὶ μακάριοι· τοῖς γὰρ νομίμοις τοῦ δεσπότου ἀκολουθοῦντες οὐ διαμαρτάνουσιν.—S. Clem. R., Epist. i. c. 40. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 170.]

[u] [*τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λευίταις ἰδίαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται· ὁ λαικὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαικοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται.*—Ibid.]

[x] [*τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης, καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπτως τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης, ἡσύχως καὶ ἀβαναύσως, μεμαρτυρημένους τε πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων, τούτους οὐ δικαίως νομίζομεν ἀποβαλέσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας· ἁμαρτία γὰρ οὐ μικρὰ ἡμῖν ἔσται, ἐὰν τοὺς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ὁσίως προσενέγκοντας τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποβάλωμεν.*—Ibid., c. 44. p. 173.]

[y] See Cotelerius' note on the place. [Sacerdotes dona seu munera Deo offerunt, preces fidelium, sacrificia incruenta, sanctam Eucharistiam.—Tertull. cont. Marc., iv. 9. (Op., p. 420.) ... Sic apud Maximum ad cap. iii. Cœlestis Hierarchiæ, 'Sacerdotum est *τὸ δῶρον προσκομίζειν.*'—(S. Dion. Areop. Op., tom. ii. p. 13, A.) Vide hic in Const. Apost. ii. 59. (Conc., tom. i. p. 301, A.) viii. 5. 12, 13. (ibid., pp. 461, D. 481, A. 484, B.) et in Ignatio ad Smyrn. c. 7. (Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 36.) Origenes, Hom. xiii. in Exodum, (Op., tom. ii. p. 176, F.) 'Cum suscipitis corpus Domini cum omni cautela et veneratione, servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, ne consecrati muneris aliquid dilabatur.'—Dionysius de Eccl. Hierarch., iii. 3. *τὰς δωρεὰς τῶν θεουργιῶν.*—(Op., tom. i. p. 188, B.) Greg. Nyssen. sub finem Orationis xi. contra Eunomium, *τὴν μυστικὴν δωροφορίαν,* &c.—(Op., tom. ii. p. 704, A.)] Bishop Fell on cap. 40. 'Hinc sæpius in hac epistola *τῆς προσφορᾶς* mentio; ubi etiam episcopi describuntur hoc charactere et elogio, quod sint *προσενέγκοντες τὰ δῶρα.*'—S. Clem. R. Epist. Annott. in p. 92. Oxon. 1669. The

default offer up the holy gifts." We find the like passage in the Apostolical Constitutions[z], in the prayer of consecration of a bishop: *δὸς . . ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόνδε, κ. τ. λ.*, "give unto this Thy servant chosen by Thee to be a bishop to feed Thy holy flock, and to do the part of an high-priest in ministering night and day to Thee, (*ἀμέμπτως,*) without blame; and making atonement in Thy presence . . . . *καὶ προσφέρειν σοι τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας,* and to offer up unto Thee [the] gifts (or oblations) of Thy holy Church;" and St. Cyprian hath the same phrase in the next marginal note, which I desire the reader to observe. In translating *τὰ δῶρα,* I have added the word 'holy,' because the bread and wine in the Eucharist were called not only *δῶρα*[a], but *ἅγια δῶρα* by the ancients; and I must also observe, that as [Heb. 7. 8.] the Apostle describes the priests under the law by one of their properties, which was to take tithes, so St. Clement here, whose name the Apostle tells us was written in the [Phil. 4. 3.] book of life, calls the presbyters of Corinth 'offerers of the gifts' in the holy Eucharist, because it was part of their proper office, and the most solemn part of it[b], to offer them up to God, as is evident from the authorities cited in the

note is also given in Cotelerius' Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 170.]

[z] Lib. viii. cap. v. [*δὸς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, καρδιογνώστα Θεὲ, ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόνδε, ὃν ἐξελέξω εἰς ἐπίσκοπον, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἁγίαν σου ποίμνην, καὶ ἀρχιερατεύειν σοι, ἀμέμπτως λειτουργοῦντα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· καὶ ἐξιλασκόμενόν σου τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωζομένων, καὶ προσφέρειν σοι τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας.*—Apud Concil., tom. i. p. 462, D.]

[a] Isaac Casaubon, Exercitationes Sedecim ad Annales Baronii Exercit. xvi. sect. li. [p. 507. Genev. 1655.] In Liturgiis antiquis, et apud patres *τὰ δῶρα,* vel *τὰ ἅγια δῶρα* appellantur oblationes panis, et vini ad sacram communionem in Ecclesia veteri solitæ offerri. . . . Propterea in Græcorum monumentis *τὰ ἅγια δῶρα,* vel *τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα,* aut simpliciter *τὰ δῶρα* vel *τὰ ἅγια* pro ipso Christi corpore mystico accipiuntur; vel propter jam factam consecrationem, vel propter futuram, &c.

[b] S. Cyprian Epist. [iv. (v. ed. Oxon.) ad Presbyteros et Diaconos, p. 9. ed. Ben.] ita ut presbyteri, qui illic apud confessores offerunt &c. Epist. [lxviii. (lxvii. ed. Oxon.) ad Clerum et Plebem in Hispania, p. 118, ed. Ben.] Quæ ante oculos habentes, et sollicite ac religiose considerantes, in ordinationibus sacerdotum non nisi immaculatos et integros antistites eligere debemus, qui sancte, et digne sacrificia Deo offerentes, audiri in precibus possint, quas faciunt pro plebis dominicæ incolumitate.

In Homilia Pontificis consecrantis in ordinatione Episcopi apud Habertum, p. 367. *εἶτα τὰς χεῖρας [ἀνατείνεις τῷ Θεῷ; εἶτα δῶρα προσάξεις; εἶτα ὑπερεύξῃ τοῦ λαοῦ;]* "Then shall you hold up your hands unto God? after that shall you offer the gifts? and then pray for the people?" [This homily is a part of that of St. Gregory Nazianzen, in consecratione Eulalii, Orat. xii. (al. xxx.) Op., tom. i. p. 254, C. The words just given, with those preceding them, are quoted in the Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. p. 89, note u.]

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margin. I must also observe, that the phrase *προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα*, 'to offer up gifts,' is a sacrificial expression used by St. Paul of the Levitical priesthood, Heb. viii. 3, 4; "For every high-priest is ordained, *εἰς τὸ προσφέρειν δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας*, to offer gifts and sacrifices. For if He were on earth He should not be a priest, seeing that there are priests, *ὄντων τῶν ἱερέων προσφερόντων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὰ δῶρα*, that offer gifts according to the law." See also Heb. x. 11, 12; ix. 9; xi. 4. And therefore since St. Clement not only calls the holy Eucharist 'an offering,' but the ministers of it 'offerers of the holy gifts,' which is a proper sacrificial phrase, it must needs follow that the Lord's table hath its proper sacrifice or oblation, of which the faithful Christians are partakers; and that they who are appointed to minister at it, the bishops and presbyters, are proper sacrificing priests. Sir, I am discharged from proceeding any farther here by the labours of the learned Mede[c], in his Christian Sacrifice[d], where, after explaining and defining the nature of the Christian sacrifice[e], he first shews, "that the holy Eucharist is an oblation[f]:" secondly, "that it is an oblation of thanksgiving and prayer[g]:" thirdly, "that it is an oblation through Jesus Christ, commemorated in the creatures of bread and wine[h]:" fourthly, "that the commemoration of Christ, according to the style of the ancient Church, is also a sacrifice[i]:" fifthly,

[c] See also Bishop Beveridge's Codex Canon. Eccles. Prim., lib. ii. cap. 10. in his excellent notes, sect. 3, 4. [pp. 206—298. Beveridge is engaged in meeting an objection to the antiquity of the Apostolical canons, grounded on their use of the words *θυσιαστήριον* for the Lord's table, and *θυσία* and *προσφορὰ* for the holy Eucharist. He says, Hæc et hujusmodi nomina de istis rebus usitata in antiquissimis Ecclesiæ monumentis passim invenimus; and after quoting Cyprian, Tertullian, and Ignatius, adds; Constat itaque mysticam mensam ab istis Apostolorum temporibus vocatam fuisse *θυσιαστήριον*, non autem *βωμόν*. He then explains how the primitive Christians came to say they had no *βωμοὶ*, or 'aræ.' Again; Hæc ipsa sacra actio sive Eucharistiæ celebratio *θυσία* et *προσφορὰ*, 'sacrificium' et 'oblatio' sæpe appellatur. He instances Tertullian and Irenæus, and proceeds; Sacra Eucharistia est convivium quoddam fœderale (qualia etiam antiqua fuerunt sacrificia) inter Deum et homines. Homines enim primo offerunt panem et vinum Deo, quas creaturas sibi oblatas et in symbola magni per Christum sacrificii consecratas, Deus iterum hominibus impertit; quo pacto ipsi per fidem de magno Christi sacrificio revera participant. Ac proinde magnum hoc mysterium nullo alio vocabulo aptius pleniusve exprimi potest, quam istis *θυσία*, *προσφορὰ*, 'sacrificium,' 'oblatio,' et similibus. He adds instances of the usage from Justin Martyr and St. Clement of Rome.]

[d] [The Christian Sacrifice, a discourse on Mal. i. 11, published after Mede's death; in 1648.]

[e] [c. 2. Works, p. 356; c. 3. p. 357.]

[f] [Ibid., c. 4. p. 360.]

[g] [Ibid., c. 5. p. 362.]

[h] [Ibid., c. 6. p. 365.]

[i] [Ibid., c. 7. p. 369.]

"that the body and blood of Christ in this mystical service was made of bread and wine, which had been first offered to God to acknowledge[k] Him the Lord of the creature[l]:" sixthly, "that this sacrifice was placed in commemoration only of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross, and not in a real offering of His body and blood anew[m]." To him, Sir, and to Dr. Grabe, in his learned Annotations on the thirty-third and thirty-fourth chapters of the fourth book of Irenæus[n], at present I refer your late writer for proof that the holy Eucharist is a real sacrifice, as our ancestors called it[o], and by consequence, that bishops and presbyters are proper sacrificing priests. Nay, for his present satisfaction, before I proceed to farther authorities, I refer him to the learned Bishop Bull, in his answer to the bishop of Meaux, from p. 246 to p. 252[p]; and to the authority of our first Reformers in the

[k] [Hickes has substituted 'acknowledge' for 'agnize,' the word used by Mede.]

[l] [Ibid., c. 8. p. 372.]

[m] [Mede's words are, "That Christ is offered in the Eucharist commemoratively only, and not otherwise . . . In this sacrifice [Christ is] no otherwise offered than by way of commemoration only of His sacrifice once offered upon the cross . . . not hypostatically . . . (for so He was but once offered), but commemoratively only."—Ibid., c. 9. p. 376.]

[n] [The notes referred to are on the words, per Jesum Christum offert Ecclesia, &c. (c. 17. § 6. p. 249. ed. Ben.) and, Igitur Ecclesiæ oblatio, &c. (c. 18. § 1. p. 250, ed. Ben.) quoted p. 46; parts of these notes are quoted p. 57, note r, 72, note y. Grabe here brings together numerous passages from the fathers, expressing the doctrine. He explains 'purum sacrificium' (Mal. i. 11) after Mede; respectu Christi, cujus immaculatum corpus et mundissimus sanguis mystice in sacro altari repræsentantur; and interpreting Matt. v. 23, 24. of the Eucharist, he says, altare et sacrificium Ecclesiæ jamjam instituendum præcipue respexisse videtur; and Heb. xiii. 10, In Ecclesia erat θυσία sacrificium, non solum rationale laudis et precum, sed et materiale panis et vini, quod verbo 'edendi' clare significat Apostolus. On the words, 'sacrificia in populo, sacrificia et in Ecclesia,' quoted p. 80. note i, he says, (Feuardentius) bene observat Irenæum hoc loco non loqui de sacrificiis spiritualibus cordis contriti, orationis, laudis, gratiarum actione, et beneficentiæ, quæ omni ætate et legi communia fuerunt; sed de nova Novi Testamenti eaque externa oblatione, quam legalibus externis opponit Irenæus.]

[o] The word by which our Saxon ancestors called the holy Eucharist, in conformity to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, was hupel, or hupl, 'husel,' which came from the ancient Gothic, or rather old German word Hunsel or Hunsl, which signifies 'a sacrifice,' by leaving out n, as in the Saxon words muð, 'mouth,' cuð, 'known,' and tuð, 'tooth,' from the old Teutonic munthš, tunthš, tunthš, or tunthuš. [So Lye, Dictionar. Saxonicum et Gothico-Latinum, ed. 2, 1772.] See the eighth page of the preface to my Saxon Grammar, in the first of the two books entituled, Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Libri duo, &c. [Oxon. 1705; that is, his Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus; where there is a discussion on the language of Ulphila's Gospels, (see above, note g, p. 18), which Hickes maintains to be the old German language. N.B. The pages of the preface are not numbered.]

[p] [The work referred to is "The Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in relation to Ecclesiastical Government, and the Rule of Faith and Form of Divine Worship; in answer to the

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liturgy printed in the second year of King Edward VI.[q], which is in Sion College Library; or what is to this purpose in Hammond l'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices[r], where, not to mention the Scottish Liturgy[s], he will find that our Reformers called the Lord's table "the altar[t]," and the holy Eucharist "a sacrifice," as well as the minister a "priest." Sir, I hope your late writer will admit the composers of the liturgies above mentioned, as well as the other writers I have cited, to be a part of the Protestant communion; and therefore he spoke too liberally, when he said that "the whole Protestant communion deny" bishops to be proper priests[u], and that he was mistaken when he said that he "spoke in the language of the Church" in denying them to be priests in the proper sense. I may also add, that this text in 1 Cor. x. 20, 21, may also allude to the custom the Gentiles had of sacrificing to their gods of hospitality at their own feasts upon their own tables, as may be seen in Virgil's description of Queen Dido's entertainment of Æneas and his Trojans, Æn. lib. i. 700—736.

Dixit, et in mensam laticum libavit honorem.

By such offerings they used their tables as altars, and

Bishop of Meaux's (Bossuet's) queries," (sent to Mr. Nelson on the publication of Bull's Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.) London, 1705. See Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 329, &c. Bull's words are; "It is true the Eucharist is frequently called by the ancient fathers προσφορὰ, θυσία, 'an oblation,' 'a sacrifice.' But it is to be remembered that they say also it is θυσία λογικὴ καὶ ἀναίμακτος, 'a reasonable sacrifice,' 'a sacrifice without blood.'" (See Const. Apost., vi. 23. Conc., tom. i. p. 404, A.) . . . . "They held the Eucharist to be a commemorative sacrifice, and so do we. This is the constant language of the ancient Liturgies. 'We offer by way of commemoration,' (μεμνημένοι προσφέρομεν), according to our Saviour's words, when He ordained this holy rite, 'Do this in commemoration of Me.' In the Eucharist then, Christ is offered, ... but commemoratively only: and this commemoration is made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering, or putting ourselves in mind of Him. For every sacrifice is directed to God, and the oblation therein made, whatsoever it be, hath Him for its object, and not man. In the holy Eucharist therefore, we set before God the bread and wine, as 'figures or images of the precious blood of Christ shed for us, and of His precious body,' [τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σώματος τὰ ἀντίτυπα], (they are the very words of the Clementine Liturgy, [Const. Apost., vii. 26. p. 428, D]) and plead to God the merit of His Son's sacrifice once offered on the cross for us sinners, and in this sacrament represented, beseeching Him for the sake thereof to bestow His heavenly blessings on us."—Bull's Works, vol. ii. pp. 251, 252. Oxford, 1827.]

[q] [Appendix, No. i. See note f, p. 3.]

[r] [Chapter 5. p. 155, Oxford, 1846.]

[s] [Appendix, No. ii. See above, p. 3.]

[t] [See Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. pp. 126, sqq.]

[u] [See above, p. 2.]

made them the tables of devils, and it was as unlawful for Christians to go to such feasts, when invited to them, as to the sacrificial feasts in their *delubra* or εἰδωλεῖα, upon mountains, in groves, or in temples[x], where I have shewed they had consecrated tables to eat their idolatrous offerings upon.

SECT. X. From the Ministration of the Christian Sacrifice; alluded to Rom. xv. 16.

X. From this I proceed to another place of the New Testament, to shew that it is a sacrifice, viz., Rom. xv. 15, 16[y]; where, alluding to the ministration of the Christian sacrifice, in which at the oblation of the bread and wine the priest[z],

[x] Macrob. Saturn., lib. iii. cap. 11. [See above, note a, p. 72.]

[y] Dr. Grabe in his notes on Justin Martyr, p. 127. [Grabe is commenting on the prayers mentioned by Justin M., Apol. i. c. 67. ed. Ben. He says that a prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the elements was universal in the most ancient Liturgies; and is reckoned by St. Basil (de Spiritu Sancto, c. 27, quoted in the note following) among the unwritten apostolic traditions. Tunc vero ad hæc ipsa Apostolus allusisse omnino mihi videtur, quando Rom. xv. 16, translatis ad sacrificium improprie dictum verbis Liturgicis scribit; εἰς τὸ εἶναί με, κ. τ. λ.]

[z] S. Basil. de Spiritu S., cap. 27. "Some of the ordinances and institutions observed in the Church we have taught us in express words of Scripture. and some we have received as delivered in secret by tradition from the Apostles: both which are of like use unto godliness; nor doth any man speak against these, who is the least conversant in ecclesiastical constitutions. For if we attempt to lay aside the unwritten customs and usages of the Church, as not being of great moment, we do not know what harm we shall all do the Gospel by our imprudence: in all probability we shall thereby reduce the preaching of it to an empty name. Of this sort of unwritten usages (that I may instance first in the chief and most common of them) let me ask, who taught us in writing to sign those with the sign of the cross who believe in the name of Christ our Lord? What Scripture hath taught us, when we pray, to turn towards the east? Or which of the holy penmen left us in writing the words of invocation in the consecration of the Eucharistical bread and cup of blessing?" [τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δ' ἔκ τε τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παρεδεξάμεθα· ἅπερ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν. καὶ τούτοις οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, οὐκοῦν ὅς τίς γε κατὰ μικρὸν γοῦν θεσμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πεπείραται. εἰ γὰρ ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν τὰ ἄγραφα τῶν ἐθῶν ὡς μὴ μεγάλην ἔχοντα τὴν δύναμιν παραιτεῖσθαι, λάθοιμεν ἂν εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια ζημιοῦντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιϊστῶντες τὸ κήρυγμα. οἷον (ἵνα τοῦ πρώτου καὶ κοινοτάτου πρῶτον μνησθῶ) τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἠλπικότας κατασημαίνεσθαι, τίς ὁ διὰ γράμματος διδάξας; τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τετράφθαι κατὰ τὴν προσευχήν, ποῖον ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς γράμμα; τὰ τ' ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν.—S. Basil. Op., tom. iii. pp. 54, D, E. 55, A.] So St. Chrysost., lib. vi. de Sacerdotio. "It behoves the priest to excel those for whom he makes intercession, in all things, as much as a governor should excel those who are subject to him. And tell me, I beseech you, in what rank shall we place him, and what degree of purity and piety we may expect from him, whose office it is to invocate the Holy Ghost, and offer up the tremendous sacrifice, and frequently to take in his hands the common Lord of all? What kind of hands ought those to be, which administer such things, and what tongue ought that to be, which utters such words? And whose soul ought to be more pure, and holy, than his, who receives so great a Spirit? At that time the angels stand round about the priest, and the whole order of the heavenly powers make their acclamations, and the place about the altar is filled with

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as I shall shew, prayed unto God to send down His Holy Spirit upon them, he said, ver. 15, 16, "Nevertheless, brethren, I have written the more boldly to you in some sort, as putting you in mind of the grace that is given to me of God, that I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost." The words in the original for "the offering up of the Gentiles" are *προσφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν*, "the offering of the Gentiles," as the Eucharist is called by Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Trypho, in these words, p. 260[a]; *περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας*[b], *κ.τ.λ.* "But as to the sacri-

a choir of angels in honour of Him who lies thereupon." [δεῖ δὲ πάντων αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖται, τοσοῦτο διαφέρειν ἐν ἅπασιν, ὅσον τὸν προεστῶτα τῶν προστατευομένων εἰκός. ὅτ' ἂν δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καλῇ, καὶ τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ἐπιτελῇ θυσίαν, καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων συνεχῶς ἐφάπτηται δεσπότου, ποῦ τάξομεν αὐτὸν, εἰπέ μοι; πόσην δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπαιτήσομεν καθαρότητα καὶ πόσην εὐλάβειαν; ἐννόησον γὰρ, ὁποίας τὰς ταῦτα διακονουμένας χεῖρας εἶναι χρὴ, ὁποίαν τὴν γλῶτταν τὴν ἐκεῖνα προχέουσαν τὰ ῥήματα, τίνος δὲ οὐ καθαρωτέραν καὶ ἁγιωτέραν τὴν τοσοῦτο πνεῦμα ὑποδεξαμένην ψυχήν; πότε καὶ ἄγγελοι παρεστήκασι τῷ ἱερεῖ, καὶ οὐρανίων δυνάμεων ἅπαν τάγμα βοᾷ· καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον πληροῦται τόπος, εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ κειμένου.—S. Chrysost. Op., tom. i. p. 424, B. C.] So in his third book of the Priesthood: "Pass then from the Jewish sacrifices to ours, and you shall see them not only wonderful, but surpassing all admiration; for here is the priest, who doth not bring down fire, but the Holy Spirit from heaven, making earnest supplication, not that a flame should fall down from heaven, and consume the offering, but that the Spirit (ἡ χάρις) may descend upon the sacrifice, and by it inflame the souls of all (who partake thereof) and make them purer than silver refined in the fire. And therefore who but a very madman, and out of his wits, can despise this most tremendous mystery." [μετάβηθι τοίνυν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ νῦν τελούμενα, καὶ οὐ θαυμαστὰ ὄψει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ἔκπληξιν ὑπερβαίνοντα. ἕστηκε γὰρ ὁ ἱερεὺς, οὐ πῦρ καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· καὶ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται, οὐχ ἵνα τις λαμπὰς ἄνωθεν ἀφθεῖσα καταναλώσῃ τὰ προκείμενα, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἡ χάρις ἐπιπεσοῦσα τῇ θυσίᾳ, δι' ἐκείνης τὰς ἁπάντων ἀνάψῃ ψυχὰς, καὶ ἀργυρίου λαμπροτέρας ἀποδείξῃ πεπυρωμένου. ταύτης οὖν τῆς φρικωδεστάτης τελετῆς, τίς μὴ σφόδρα μαινόμενος μηδὲ ἐξεστηκὼς, ὑπερφρονήσαι δυνήσεται. Id. ibid., p. 383, A.] So Isidor. Origines, lib. vi. Sacrificium dictum quasi sacrum factum: [quia prece mystica consecratur in memoriam pro nobis Dominicæ passionis; unde hoc eo jubente corpus Christi, et sanguinem dicimus, quod dum sit ex fructibus terræ, sanctificatur et fit sacramentum, operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei.—S. Isidori Hispalensis Etymologiarum, lib. vi. c. 19. § 38, Op., tom. iii. p. 285.] "The sacrifice is so called, as a sacred fact, because it is consecrated in the memory of our Lord's passion; from whence, by His command, we call it the body and blood of Christ, because though it is made of the fruits of the earth, it is sanctified and made a sacrament by the invisible operation of the Spirit of God."

[a] [The pages in the text are those of the Paris edition of St. Justin Martyr, 1636.]

[b] [The passage continues, *προλέγει τότε, εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς δὲ βεβηλοῦν.* He had quoted the words of Malachi immediately before the extract in the text. —S. Just. M., Dial. cum Tryph., c. 41. Op., p. 138, A.]

Mal. i. 10, 11.

fice offered up by us Gentiles in every place, that is, of the Eucharistical bread and cup, the prophet Malachi foretold it in this place." So Irenæus, in the margin[c], speaks of the Eucharist as that sacrifice by which the same prophet foretold God "should be glorified among the Gentiles." The same place of the prophet is cited to the same purpose by St. Cyprian[d] against the Jews; and by his master Tertullian, *adversus Marcion.*, lib. iii. cap. 22[e]; and by Justin Martyr a second time, in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, p. 344, ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἐσμὲν, κ. τ. λ.,[f] "We are the true royal priesthood of God, as God Himself testifieth, saying, 'that we, in every place among the Gentiles, offer up unto Him acceptable and pure sacrifices.'" So p. 345[g], "There is no part of mankind, either of the barbarians or Greeks, among whom prayers and thanksgivings[h] are not made to the Father and Creator of all things." By these prayers and thanksgivings he means the Eucharist, as is evident from the citation in the margin, and the preceding words, ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα[i], κ. τ. λ., "But these perfect and acceptable sacrifices to God the Christians only are taught thankfully to make, especially in the remembrance of their dry and wet food, wherein also is commemorated the passion, which the God of God suffered by Himself[k]."

So *Const. Apost.*, lib. vii. cap. 31; τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ Κύ-

[c] S. Iren. adv. Hæres., lib. iv. cap. 32. Manifestissime significans per hæc [the words of Mal. i. 10, 11.] quoniam prior quidem populus cessabit offerre Deo: omni autem loco sacrificium offeretur Deo, et hoc purum; nomen autem ejus glorificatur in gentibus. [c. 17. § 5. p. 249. ed. Ben.]

[d] S. Cypr. Testimoniorum Adversus Judæos, lib. i. c. 16. [Op., p. 280. ed. Ben.]

[e] [Tertulliani Op., p. 410, D.]

[f] [ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀλήθινον γένος ἐσμὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς μαρτυρεῖ, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι θυσίας εὐαρέστας αὐτῷ καὶ καθαρὰς προσφέροντες.—S. Just. M., ibid., § 116. p. 209, D.]

[g] [οὔδε ἓν γὰρ ὅλως ἐστὶ τὸ γένος ἀνθρώπων, εἴτε βαρβάρων, εἴτε Ἑλλήνων, . . . ἐν οἷς μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων γίνονται.—Id. ibid., pp. 210, E. 211, A.]

[h] These are the words he uses in his description of the Eucharist, Apol. i. lxxxv. of Dr. Grabe's edition. [c. 67. ed. Ben. καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει.—p. 83, D, E.]

[i] [ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὃ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνηται.—Id. ibid., p. 210, B.]

[k] ἐν ᾗ καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὃ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ θεοῦ μέμνηται, in the Latin, [ed. Paris, 1636,] 'in qua et passionis quam pertulit per ipsum Deus Deum, meminit;' otherwise; "in which also is commemorated the passion, which God suffered by God Himself." [See above, note q, p. 65.]

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ριου ἡμέραν, κ. τ. λ.,[1] "Cease not to meet on the Lord's day, the day of our Lord's resurrection, giving thanks to God for the benefits which He through Christ hath bestowed upon us, ὅπως ἄμεμπτος ᾖ ἡ θυσία, that your sacrifice may be unblameable, and acceptable to God, who said of His œcumenical Church (dispersed through the world), 'In every place incense shall be offered up to Me, and a pure offering: for I am a great King, saith the Lord Almighty, and My name shall be great among the Gentiles.'" Now if according to this primitive notion of the Eucharist's being the sacrifice of the Gentiles in all places, προσφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν signified their offering or sacrifice, not as offered, but as offerers, this text would be a direct and express proof. But although the ancients always spoke of the Eucharist as the sacrifice, or oblation of the Gentiles, in opposition to those of the Jews, when they argued against them from the prophecy of Malachi, yet because they understood the words of the Apostle for 'the offering up of the Gentiles,' I think we ought to take them in that sense. But then I think that in mentioning that offering of his as being sanctified by the Holy Ghost, he plainly alludes to the ministration of the Christian sacrifice, in which they solemnly prayed unto God "to send down His Holy Spirit upon the oblations;" without whom being specially present St. Cyprian thought the bread and wine could not be sanctified into the body and blood of Christ[m]. This solemn prayer to the Holy Spirit may be seen in the ancient form of ministering the holy Sacrament hereafter set down[n], as we find it in the Apostolical Constitutions, as well as in the citations of the margin[o], to which I shall add these that follow; St. Chrysostom in his panegyrical Homily on Lucian the Martyr, speaks of the communion-table as full of the Holy

Mal. 1. 11, 14.

[1] [τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμέραν, τὴν κυριακήν φαμεν, συνέρχεσθε ἀδιαλείπτως εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐξομολογούμενοι ἐφ' οἷς εὐεργέτησεν ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ ῥυσάμενος ἀγνοίας, πλάνης, δεσμῶν, ὅπως ἄμεμπτος ᾖ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν καὶ εὐανάφορος Θεῷ, τῷ εἰπόντι περὶ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ μοι προσενεχθήσεται θυμίαμα καὶ θυσία καθαρά· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐγώ εἰμι, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.—Const. Apost., lib. vii. c. 31. Concil., tom. i. p. 431, B, C.]

[m] Epist. lxv. ad Epictetum. Quando nec oblatio sanctificari illic potest ubi Spiritus Sanctus non sit.—[S. Cypr., Epist. lxiv. p. 112. ed. Ben.]

[n] [See below, pp. 123, sqq.]

[o] [See below, pp. 123, sqq. notes h, &c.]

Ghost[p]; St. Cyprian calls it, *spiritalem mensam*[q]; and Gregory Nazianzen[r] and Chrysostom[s], *τράπεζαν πνευματικὴν*, "the table of the Holy Spirit." In the ancient Liturgies nothing is more common than the prayers of the priest to God, to send down His Holy Spirit upon himself, and the communicants, and the oblations. So in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, of Goar's edition, p. 72[t], *καὶ ἱκάνωσον, κ. τ. λ.*, "And make me fit, by the power of the Holy Ghost, ... to officiate at this holy table, and consecrate Thy holy and immaculate body, and Thy precious blood." And p. 77[u], *ἔτι προσφέρομεν, κ. τ. λ.*, "We also offer up unto Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice [service?], and pray, and beseech, and supplicate Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these gifts." So in the Liturgy of St. Basil, p. 162[x]; *σὺ ἱκάνωσον, κ. τ. λ.*, "Thou, O Lord, by the power of the Holy Ghost make me fit for this ministration." So p. 163[y], *σὺ ἐνίσχυσον, κ. τ. λ.*, "Strengthen me with the power of Thy Holy Spirit in this ministration." So p. 164[z], *σὺ εἶ ὁ θέμενος, κ. τ. λ.*, "Thou art He, who hast placed us in this ministration by the power of Thy Holy Spirit." So p. 169[a], *δεόμεθα, κ. τ. λ.*, "We who minister at Thy altar, pray, and beseech Thee, that Thy Holy Spirit may come upon us, and upon these gifts which lie before Thee, to bless and sanctify

[p] [*τραπέζης ἐμνήσθη ἑτέρας, τῆς φρικώδους καὶ πνεύματος γεμούσης.*—S. Chrysost. Hom. in S. Lucian. M. § 2. Op., tom. ii. p. 527, D. quoted above, p. 81, note m.]

[q] [The editor has not found this expression in St. Cyprian.]

[r] [St. Gregory is applying the words of Ps. xxiii. 5. to Christians; he says, *ἔχω καὶ τράπεζαν, τὴν πνευματικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἔνθεον, ἣν ἡτοίμασέ μοι Κύριος, κ. τ. λ.*—Orat. v. § 35. Op., tom. i. p. 171, B.]

[s] [*μετὰ παρρησίας τῇ φρικτῇ καὶ πνευματικῇ τραπέζῃ προσελθεῖν.*—S. Chrysost. Hom. i. in Gen. Op., tom. iv. p. 7, A.]

[t] [*καὶ ἱκάνωσόν με τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος . . . παραστῆναι τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ταύτῃ τραπέζᾳ, καὶ ἱερουργῆσαι τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἄχραντόν σου σῶμα, καὶ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα.*—Missa S. Joan. Chrys. Goar, Eucholog., p. 72.]

[u] [*ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν, καὶ δεόμεθα, καὶ ἱκετεύομεν, κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα.*—Ibid., p. 77.]

[x] [*σὺ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην.*—Miss. S. Basilii, ibid., p. 162.]

[y] [*σὺ ἐνίσχυσον ἡμᾶς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην.*—Ibid., p. 163.]

[z] [*σὺ εἶ ὁ θέμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματός σου τοῦ ἁγίου.*—Ibid., p. 164.]

[a] [*ἡμεῖς . . . οἱ καταξιωθέντες λειτουργεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ . . . δεόμεθα, καί σε παρακαλοῦμεν . . . ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα καὶ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὰ, καὶ ἁγιάσαι, καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι . . . τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον ποίησον αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου, κ. τ. λ.*—Ibid., p. 169.]

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them, and (ἀναδεῖξαι[b]) make them the body and blood of Christ."

Those who desire to have more authorities of this kind may find many more in Habertus' Greek Pontifical, *Observat.* iv. *ad partem* x. *Liturgiæ Ordinum*[c]. From all which it will appear, that the ancient Church thought the Holy Spirit to be most especially present at the Eucharistical sacrifice, and to be the chief agent in the ministration of it; who as Maximus[d] and Cabasilas[e] both express themselves, "sanctifies the gifts by the hand and tongue of the priest." The Holy Ghost then is the principal, and the priests but the instrumental ministers in the ministration of the Eucharistical oblation, σύνεργοι τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, co-agents or workers together with the Holy Spirit in the ministration of it, even as St. Paul[f] saith that he, and the other Apostles were in preaching the Gospel, and planting Churches in the world. This part which the Holy Spirit hath in the ministration of the Eucharistical sacrifice, [Heb. 9. 14.] inclines me to think, that where it is written that "Christ

[b] ἀναδεῖξαι. See Is. Casaubon. Exercit. in Baron. xvi. cap. 33. [Casaubon says that three senses have been given to this word. 1. The exhibiting of the sacrament to the people. 2. The manifesting it to be the body of our Lord by its effects, ostendere aliquo effectu præsentiam suam, as Bellarmine understands it, (De Sacram. Euch., lib. iv. c. 14. Op., tom. iii. p. 135, D.) 3. That which he considers it to mean, from comparing its use here with that of ἀνάδειξις in St. Basil de Spiritu Sancto, c. 27. (quoted note z, p. 93,) viz. what the Latin fathers express by 'conficere' or 'efficere' corpus Domini.. Dubitari, mea quidem sententia, non potest, quin ἀναδεῖξαι in Liturgia Basilii id sit quod Hieronymus, Augustinus, et alii patres Latini dicunt 'conficere corpus Christi,' sive 'sacramentum corporis Christi,' . . . docent enim patres, ad sacerdotis invocationem, per Spiritus Sancti operationem, elementa sanctificari, sic ut quæ prius erant tantum panis et vinum, jam incipiunt dici et esse in mysterio corpus et sanguis Christi: propterea dicunt iidem, Christum apparere in Eucharistia et videri: nempe oculis fidei. Hence, he says, ἀναδεικνύειν here means 'conficere' 'creare.' De rebus sacris et Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes xvi. ad Card. Baronii Prolegomena in Annales, &c.—pp. 458, 459. Genevæ, 1655.]

τὸν κοσμοπολίτην] ἄνθρωπον [ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποίησας] κόσμου κόσμον [αὐτὸν] ἀναδείξας.—Const. Apost., lib. viii. cap. 12. [Concil., tom. i. p. 475, C.]

[c] [Habertus observes that the consecration is in a peculiar way attributed to the operation of the Holy Spirit; he notices the analogy of the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Eucharist; alleges many testimonies from Greek and Latin fathers, and particularly one on that analogy from S. Joan. Damasc. de Fide Orthod., lib. iv. c. 14 (Op., tom. i. p. 270, B.) which concludes with the words, ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος οἶνός τε καὶ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιοῦνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ αἷμα.—Haberti Pontif., pp. 254—256.]

[d] [Hickes may have referred to S. Maxim. Mystagogia, c. 24, Bibl. Patr., tom. ii. p. 189, E. Paris. 1624, but the editor has not found these words.]

[e] [τοῦτο (τὸ πνεῦμα) διὰ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τῶν ἱερέων τὰ μυστήρια τελεσιουργεῖ.—Nicolai Cabasilæ, Liturgiæ Expositio, cap. 28. Bibl. Patrum, tom. ii. p. 234. Paris. 1624.]

[f] 1 Cor. iii. 9. Θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν σύνεργοι. 2 Cor. vi. 1. συνεργοῦντες δὲ, κ. τ. λ.

offered up Himself by the Eternal Spirit," the place is not to be understood *impellente Spiritu*, 'by the impulse of the Holy Spirit,' as some expound it[g], nor 'by His own Divinity, or Godhead,' as others[h], but 'by the presence and com-ministration of the Holy Spirit,' who was assisting to Him in that oblation of Himself for the sins of the world. But this I submit to the judgment of learned men[i].

From all that I have said, or cited out of the solemn prayers which were made to God in the administration of the Eucharist to send down His Holy Spirit upon the priest, the sacrifice, and the people, and from His mighty most special assistance, and chief ministration in the holy action, particularly in the sanctifying the oblations, I say, I cannot from considering all this but think it very probable, that the Apostle alluded to the common notion the Christians had of the Eucharistical oblations being sanctified by the Holy Ghost, in saying that the oblation he made of the Gentiles was acceptable to God, being (like the Eucharistical bread and wine) sanctified by the Holy Ghost.

After all this I take the liberty to paraphrase the text thus: "Nevertheless, brethren, I have written more boldly to you in some sort, desiring to put you in mind of the things you know, because of the honour of the apostolical office which is given me of God, that, according to the prophecy of Isaiah[j], I should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, to

Is. 66. 20.

[g] ['Impellente spiritu' are the words of Vatablus, in loc., (Crit. Sac., tom. vii. p. 1039.) "Et sic plerique apud Estium," is said by Poole, (Synopsis,) in locum. Estius says that expositors were agreed in understanding 'the eternal Spirit' of the third Person of the Holy Trinity, (except Ribeira, who suggested that it might mean the soul and human will of our Lord,) and that it means 'movente et incitante Spiritu Sancto.'—Estii Comment. in Epist., pp. 1002, 1003, ed. Par. 1640.]

[h] [This is the interpretation of Gomarus; he is followed by Cappellus, (Crit. Sacr., ibid., p. 1052,) Junius, and others of the foreign Protestants. See Poole's Synopsis in loc.]

[i] [St. Chrysostom's words might suggest an interpretation such as Hickes', *τὸ δὲ, διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐ διὰ πυρὸς προσήνεκται, οὐδὲ δι' ἄλλων τινῶν.*—Hom. xv. in Ep. ad Hebr., Op., xii. pp. 152, D. 153, A. See also de Sacerdotio, lib. iii. Op., tom. i. p. 424, B, C, quoted note z, pp. 93, 94.]

[j] Ainsworth, Annot. on Levit. ii. [p. 10.] Secondly, it (the mincha) figured the persons of Christians, who through Him are cleansed and sanctified to be pure oblations unto God; as it was prophesied, "They shall all bring your brethren for a minchah (a meat-offering) unto the Lord, out of all the Gentiles, &c. as the sons of Israel bring a meat-offering (מנחה, minchah) in a clean vessel, into the house of the Lord," Isa. xlvi. 20. The accomplishment whereof the Apostle sheweth to have been by his ministration of the Gospel of God unto the Gentiles, that the oblation (*προσφορὰ*) of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost, Rom. xv. 16."

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bring your brethren out of all nations for an offering unto the Lord, ministering the Gospel of God as in my priestly office[k], that the offering up, or sacrifice of the converted Gentiles by me as an evangelical priest to God, might be acceptable to Him[l], being not like the legal sacrifices of beasts seasoned with salt, but like the evangelical offering of the holy Eucharist, sanctified by the Holy Ghost[m]." The word here, 'minister' of Jesus Christ, is λειτουργὸς, which, as I observed above[n], is the word by which the Greek version often renders the Hebrew *cohen*, which at other times they translate by ἱερεὺς, 'priest;' and had the Apostle written this epistle in Hebrew, I am of opinion that the translation would have been, "That I should be the priest of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles." But ἱερουργοῦντα being added to λειτουργὸν makes it signify a priest; for a priest (ἱερεὺς, *sacerdos*) cannot be better defined, than that he is λειτουργὸς ἱερουργῶν, *sacrorum publicus minister*[o], *minister rem sacram operans, minister fungens administratione sacrorum*[p]; 'a minister of holy things,' or 'a minister about holy things,' the same with ὁ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενος, *res sacras faciens*, i. e. a priest, 1 Cor. ix. 13. "Do you not know," saith the Apostle, "that they who minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple," i. e. do you not know that the priests live, or are maintained, of the things of the temple? So ἱερουργοῦντα in Hesychius is glossed by προσφέροντα θυσίαν, 'a sacrificing minister;' and the Apostle continuing his metaphor in terms belonging to

[k] [لاكون ليسوع المسيح خادما في الامم مكهنا بشارة الله
Ut sim Jesu Christo minister inter gentes, sacerdotali munere exercens evangeliam Dei, Vers. Arab. [Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, Walton., tom. v. p. 677.]

[l] So Grotius on the place, Rom. xv. 16. Ut factis probem me ministrum esse Christi ad gentes missum, . . . dum obeo sacerdotium non Leviticum sed Christianum ex vaticinio Isaiæ lxvi. 20. . . . non pecudes Deo offerens, sed homines multos per me ad Deum conversos. Persistit in similitudine victimæ: ideo dicit εὐπρόσδεκτος, &c. [Crit. Sacr., tom. vii. p. 921.]

[m] Castalio. *Ut extraneorum libatio accepta sit per Sanctum consecrata Spiritum.* Which words seem to intimate that he thought that προσφορὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν, signifies not 'the offering up of the Gentiles,' but 'the offering of the Gentiles,' as the holy Eucharist is called in opposition to the Jewish offerings; but the words are to be understood in the allusive senses, as the Church always understood them. [In the margin there is the gloss 'qua Deo libantur' added, which determines this to be Castalio's view of the meaning of the words.]

[n] [See above, p. 15.]

[o] [*Ut sim Jesu Christi publicus minister-ad extraneos.* Castalio.]

[p] See Erasmus on the place. [ἱερουργοῦντα, quasi rem sacram operans, ut respondeat ad λειτουργὸν, qui proprie sacrorum aut rei publicæ minister est: et ἱερουργεῖν 'fungi administratione sacrorum.'—Crit. Sacr., tom. vii. p. 909.]

the priesthood, he saith, ἔχω οὖν καύχησιν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, "I have therefore whereof I may glory through Christ Jesus," as to my priestly ministration, "in things pertaining to God." Wherefore as the Apostle's allusion to the Christian offering, which was sanctified or made holy by the descent of the Holy Ghost, obliged him to call his offering up of the converted Gentiles an offering or sacrifice, and himself λειτουργὸν ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, 'a priest of the gospel' in that respect; so it proves the holy Eucharist, to which that allusion was made, to be a proper sacrifice, and the ministers who offer it to be proper sacrificing priests. Justin Martyr, in his first Apology[q], having related how Jesus Christ commanded the Apostles, after His example, to take the bread, and when they had solemnly given thanks, to say, 'This is My body, this do in remembrance of Me;' and in like manner to take the cup, and when they had solemnly given thanks, to say, 'This is My blood,' he observes to the Gentiles that the wicked demons had, by way of imitation, commanded the same to be done in the sacraments of Mithra[r]; "For," saith he, "you either know, or may know for certain, that a loaf and a cup of water, with a form of words, was used ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μεμυημένου τελεταῖς, in the solemn sacrifices for him who was initiated in that religion;" meaning, as he had shewn[s], that the holy Eucharist was administered immediately upon the baptism or initiation of men into the Christian religion; and his parallel between the two mysteries and initiation implies, that the oblation of the Eucharistical bread and wine[t] was τελετὴ[u], a solemn material sacri-

[q] [St. Justin's words are, οἱ γὰρ ἀποστόλοι ἐν τοῖς γινομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου· τουτέστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν, τοῦτό ἐστι αἷμα μου· καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι. ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις παρέδωκαν γίνεσθαι μιμησαμένοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες· ὅτι γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος τίθεται ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μυουμένου τελεταῖς μετ' ἐπιλόγων τινῶν ἢ ἐπίστασθε ἢ μαθεῖν δύνασθε.—Apol. i. c. 66. p. 83, B.]

[r] So Tertullian de Præscript., c. xl. A diabolo scilicet, cujus sunt partes intervertendi veritatem, qui ipsas quoque res sacramentorum divinorum idolorum mysteriis æmulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam, utique credentes et fideles suos: expositionem delictorum de lavacro repromittit; et, si adhuc memini, Mithra signat illic in frontibus milites suos; celebrat et panis oblationem, et imaginem resurrectionis inducit, et sub gladio redimit coronam.—[Op., p. 216, C, D.]

[s] [S. Justin M., Apol. i. c. 65. p. 82, C.]

[t] Habert. Pontif. p. 335, &c. [For the use of τελετὴ see the extract in note o, p. 47.]

[u] τελετή· θυσία μυστηριώδης. ἡ μεγίστη, καὶ τιμιωτέρα. Telete; sacri-

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fice in the opinion of the Christians, as the oblation of the other diabolical bread and water was in the mysteries of Mithra; and by consequence that their bishops and presbyters, who were ministers of baptism and the holy Eucharist, were τελεσταὶ, as Pollux[v] calls priests, even as proper priests[x] as the priests of Mithra or the sun were esteemed by his worshippers to be. The degrees or introduction to any religion were three[y], κάθαρσις, 'purgation,' μύησις, 'initiation,' and τελείωσις, 'consummation,' which was by sacrifice; and therefore sacrifice was called τελετὴ, because it was the 'consummation' and perfection of all the rites by which men were initiated into the worship and religion of any god; and likewise because it was the last rite by which excommunicates were reconciled to their gods upon their repentance. Hence the sacrifice of the holy Eucharist came to be called τὸ τέλειον, 'perfection,' as that which finisheth the initiation of a Christian, and the reconciliation of a

ficium mysteriorum plenum; maximum, honoratissimum.—Suidas.

[v] Lib. i. cap. 1. segm. 14. [See note i, p. 20.]

[x] Haberti Pontificale, p. 125. [Obs. iii. ad Part. viii. Liturg. Ordin. De sacerdotali munere offerendi et sacrificandi . . . Sacerdotis est solius offerre sacrificia vere ac proprie dicta, quale sacrificium verum ac plenum a sacerdote quod Christus fecit faciente, offerri dixit S. Cyprianus Ep. lxiii. (see above, p. 19, note h.)] p. 140. [Observ. viii. De nomine ἀναφορᾶς . . . Non dubium est hoc sensu (sacrificii) nomen ἀναφορᾶς adorando Liturgiæ sacrificio impositum esse . . . Hesychius ἀναφορὰ, δέησις . . . Rem pene attigit, voce siquidem δεήσεως, apud Paulum (Epist. i. ad Tim. cap. ii. 1.) sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ mysterium et sacrificium significari docuit S. Augustinus Epistola ad Paulinum.] p. 145. [Observ. ix. περὶ τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας, κ.τ.λ.] p. 152. [Observ. iv. ad Part. x.] p. 283. [Observ. ii. ad Part. xi. Ab Apostolo, quem ἱερουργὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας vocat S. Cyrillus.] Cyprian de Orat. Dom., pp. 149, 150. [ed Oxon. nec sacrificium Deus recipit dissidentis. . . . . Abel pacificus et justus, dum Deo sacrificat innocenter docuit et cæteros quando ad altare munus offerunt, &c. p. 211. ed. Ben.] Sursum Cord. Cyprian de Orat. Dom., p. 152. [ed. Oxon. Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo 'Sursum corda,' p. 213. ed. Ben.]

[y] Haberti Pontif., p. 335. [The passage referred to is an extract from the Pseudo-Dionysius, who connects these three degrees of initiation with Christian baptism, the holy Eucharist, and ordination, administered respectively by the three orders of the clergy. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἁγιωτάτη τῶν τελετῶν ἱερουργία, πρώτην μὲν ἔχει θεοειδῆ δύναμιν, τὴν ἱερὰν τῶν ἀτελέστων κάθαρσιν· μέσην δὲ, τὴν τῶν καθαρθέντων φωτιστικὴν μύησιν· ἐσχάτην δὲ, τῶν προτέρων συγκεφαλαιωτικὴν τὴν μυηθέντων ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ τῶν οἰκείων μυήσεων τελείωσιν. ἡ δὲ τῶν ἱερουργῶν διακόσμησις ἐν μὲν τῇ δυνάμει τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ τῶν τελετῶν ἀποκαθαίρει τοὺς ἀτελέστους· ἐν τῇ μέσῃ δὲ, φωταγωγεῖ τοὺς καθαρθέντας· ἐν ἐσχάτῃ δὲ καὶ ἀκροτάτῃ τῶν ἱερουργῶν δυνάμεων, ἀποτελειοῖ τοὺς τῷ θείῳ φωτὶ κεκοινωνηκότας, ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεωρηθεισῶν ἐλλάμψεων ἐπιστημονικαῖς τελειώσεσιν· ἡ δὲ τῶν τελουμένων δύναμις, ἡ πρώτη μέν ἐστιν ἡ καθαιρομένη· μέση δὲ, μετὰ τὴν κάθαρσιν ἡ φωτιζομένη καὶ τινῶν ἱερῶν θεωρητικήν· τελευταία δὲ καὶ θειότερα τῶν ἄλλων, ἡ τῶν ἱερῶν φωτισμῶν, ὧν ἐγεγόνει θεωρὸς, ἐλλαμπομένη τὴν τελεστικὴν ἐπιστήμην.—S. Dionys. Areop. de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, c. 3. Op., tom. i. p. 233, C, D.]

Christian penitent. It is so called in six several canons of the council of Ancyra[z], relating to the readmission of penitents, lapsers, adulterers, and murderers, to the peace and perfect communion of the Church. But to return to St. Justin, he speaks to the same purpose in his Dialogue with Trypho the Jew, p. 259, 260[a]: "And the meat-offering of fine flour, which was appointed to be offered for those who were cleansed from the leprosy, was a type of the Eucharistical bread, which Jesus Christ our Lord commanded to be offered in remembrance of His passion, which He suffered for those whose souls are purged from all sins, that we might give thanks to God for creating the world and all things therein for man, and for delivering us from all the wickedness of which we were guilty, and for conquering the principalities and powers with a complete victory. And therefore God by Malachi, who was one of the twelve prophets, speaks of the sacrifices which you then offered, thus: 'I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hand; for from the rising of the

Lev. 14. 10.

Mal. 1. 10, 11.

[z] Can. 4, 5, 6, 9, 22, 23. [The council of Ancyra (Concil., tom. i. p. 1485, sqq.) was held A.D. 314, after the persecutions ceased at the death of Maximus. The canons are chiefly on the subject of the restoration of the lapsed. The places referred to are Can. iv. (p. 1488, D.) *τότε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον*: Can. v. (ibid. E.) *ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῇ τετραετίᾳ λάβωσι*: Can. vi. (p. 1489, B.) *καὶ οὕτως ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον*: Can. ix. (ibid., D.) *τοῦ τελείου μετάσχωσιν*: Can. xxii. (p. 1423, C.) *τοῦ δὲ τελείου ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου καταξιούσθωσαν*: Can. xxiii. (ibid.) *τοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν.*] Isaac Casaubon. in Exercit. xvi. ad Annal. Baron. xlviii. Quare *τὸ τέλειον*, 'perfectio' et 'consummatio,' est ipsa Eucharistia, quæ etiam a Dionysio dicitur *τελείωσις*, [. . . quia conjunctionis nostræ cum Christo, cujus instrumenta sunt verbum Dei et sacramenta, velut colophonem imponit participatio corporis et sanguinis Christi in Cœna Dominica: nullus enim restat alius modus quo in terris versantes arctius cum Christo capite nostro conjungamur.—p. 505.]

[a] [*καὶ ἡ τῆς σεμιδάλεως δὲ προσφορὰ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔλεγον, ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαριζομένων ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας προσφέρεσθαι παραδοθεῖσα, τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους οὗ ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαιρομένων τὰς ψύχας ἀπὸ πάσης πονηρίας ἀνθρώπων, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ποιεῖν, ἵνα ἅμα τε εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐκτικέναι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἐν ᾗ γεγόναμεν ἐλευθερωκέναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰς ἄρχας καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας καταλελυκέναι τελείαν κατάλυσιν διὰ τοῦ παθητοῦ γενομένου κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοῦ. ὅθεν περὶ μὲν τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῶν τότε προσφερομένων θυσιῶν λέγει ὁ Θεὸς, ὡς προέφην, διὰ Μαλαχίου ἑνὸς τῶν δώδεκα· οὐκ ἔστι θέλημά μου ἐν ὑμῖν, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ὑμῶν οὐ προσδέξομαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν, διότι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου ἕως δυσμῶν τὸ ὄνομά μου δεδόξασται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐν πάντι τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσφέρεται τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ θυσία καθαρά· ὅτι μέγα τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, λέγει Κύριος, ὑμεῖς δὲ βεβηλοῦτε αὐτό. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν πάντι τόπῳ, ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τουτέστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας, προλέγει τότε, εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς δὲ βεβηλοῦν.*—S. Just. M. Dial. cum Tryph., c. 41. pp. 137, D, E. 138, A.]

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sun unto the going down of the same, My name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto My name, and a pure offering, for My name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord, but you have profaned it.' But of the sacrifice of the Gentiles offered by us in every place, that is to say, of the bread of the Eucharist and cup of the Eucharist, He then spoke beforehand, saying, that we glorified His name, and you profaned it." To the same purpose speaks Irenæus[b]: "Our Lord appointing His disciples to offer unto God the first-fruits of His creatures, not as if He had need of them, but that they might not be unfruitful and ungrateful, took the creature of bread and gave thanks, saying, 'This is My body.' In like manner, taking the cup (of wine), which is one of the creatures among us, He called it His blood, and instituted[c] the new oblation of the New Testament, which the Church receiving from the Apostles, offers to God throughout the whole world, to that God who gives us food, (as being) the first-fruits of His gifts

[b] Lib. iv. cap. 32. (Dominus) suis discipulis dans consilium primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi, nec ingrati sint, eum qui ex creatura panis est, accepit, et gratias egit, dicens: hoc est corpus meum. Et calicem similiter, qui est ex ea creatura, quæ est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est, et Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis præstat, primitias suorum munerum in Novo Testamento, de quo in duodecim Prophetis Malachias sic præsignificavit; 'Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, dicit Dominus, &c.' manifestissime significans per hæc, quoniam prior quidem populus cessabit offerre Deo, omni autem loco sacrificium offeretur Deo, et hoc purum, nomen autem ejus glorificatur in gentibus. [c. 17. § 5. p. 249.] See Dr. Grabe's notes, p. 118.

[Grabe's note on the prophecy of Malachi has been quoted note r, p. 57. His words on the former part of this quotation are; Certum est Irenæum ac omnes, quorum scripta habemus patres, Apostolis sive coævos, sive proxime succedentes, S. Eucharistiam pro novæ Legis sacrificio habuisse, et panem atque vinum tanquam sacra munera in altari Dei Patris obtulisse; ante consecrationem quidem, velut primitias creaturarum in recognitionem supremi ejus super universa dominii; post consecrationem vero, ut mysticum corpus et sanguinem Christi, ad repræsentandum cruentam personalis ejus corporis ac sanguinis in cruce oblationem, et beneficia mortis ejus omnibus pro quibus offerretur, impetranda. Atque hanc non privatam particularis Ecclesiæ vel doctoris, sed publicam universalis Ecclesiæ doctrinam atque praxim fuisse, quam illa ab Apostolis, Apostoli ab ipso Christo edocti acceperunt, &c. And again, after giving several authorities, particularly from St. Clement R., he proceeds; Atqui cum hujus epistolæ auctor ille ipse Clemens fuisse videtur, cujus nomen in libro vitæ scriptum Philippensibus scripsit Paulus cap. iv. vers. 3. cumque is modo citata duobus vel tribus post Petri et Pauli Apostolorum martyrium, et viginti ante S. Joannis obitum annis scripserit, vix ullus dubitandi locus relictus est, ab ipsis SS. Apostolis hanc de sacrificio Eucharistiæ doctrinam promanasse, ac proinde omnino tenendam esse, licet nullum pro ea dictum ex ipsis Prophetarum vel Apostolorum scriptis adduci possit.]

[c] Docuit, ἐδίδαξε: "διδάσκειν de præcipiente dicitur." Budæus in Comm. Ling. Græcæ, p. 762.

in the New Testament, of which Malachi, one of the twelve (minor) prophets prophesied in these words, 'I have no pleasure in you,' &c., manifestly signifying by these words that His former people should cease to offer any more to God, but that sacrifice should be offered to Him in every place; and this pure one (of which the prophet spake) that His name might be glorified among the Gentiles." To the same purpose also speaks Eusebius, in his commentary on Psalm li. and the last verse[d]: "But Symmachus saith, 'thou shalt receive,' instead of 'thou shalt accept,' an offering and holocausts, to wit, of 'righteousness;' and moreover adds 'calves.' For all are offerings of righteousness, according to the spiritual sacrifices without blood, which are offered through the whole world. In another of the Jewish prophets it is also said, 'I have no pleasure;' and, 'in every place incense and a pure sacrifice shall be offered to My name.' This is now called the 'sacrifice of righteousness,' and also 'of praise,' as he called it in the foregoing psalm, saying, 'offer up to God the sacrifice of praise.'" See also his comment on Isaiah xviii. 7.[e]

I believe no man in the world, that was of any religion where sacrifice was used, and that by chance should see the Sacrament of the holy Eucharist administered among Christians, as it was administered in the primitive times[f], or as it is administered according to the order and usage of the Church of England, but would take the bread and wine for

[d] [*προσδέξῃ δὲ εἶπεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐδοκήσεις, ὁ Σύμμαχος. καὶ τὴν ἀναφορὰν δὲ, καὶ τὰ ὁλοκαυτώματα, δικαιοσύνης νοητέον, καὶ προσέτι τοὺς μόσχους. πάντα γὰρ δικαιοσύνης ἐκτελεῖται, κατὰ τὰς ἀναίμους καὶ πνευματικὰς θυσίας, τὰς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης προσφερομένας· καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ γὰρ εἴρηται πρὸς Ἰουδαίους προφήτῃ· οὐκ ἔστι μου θέλημα ἐν ὑμῖν, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, . . . καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσφέρεται τῷ ὀνόματί μου, καὶ θυσία καθαρά· αὐτὴ νῦν λέγεται, θυσία δικαιοσύνης· ἔστι δὲ καὶ αἰνέσεως καθὰ πρόσθεν ἔλεγε· θύσον τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως.*—Eusebii Cæsariensis Comment. in Psalmos (Ps. l.) apud Collectionem Novam Script. (Montfaucon), tom. i. p. 212, C, D.]

[e] [*ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἀνενεχθήσεται δῶρα Κυρίῳ σαβαὼθ, ἐκ λαοῦ τεθλιμμένου καὶ τετιλμένου, καὶ ἀπὸ λαοῦ μεγάλου, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον. εἴη δ' ἂν οὗτος ὁ τὴν στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην ὁδεύων, τὴν ἀπαγούσαν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν, ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐκτετιλμένος ὑπάρχει, ὡς ἂν τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆς ἠλλοτριώμενος, καὶ μέγας δέ ἐστι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πολὺς, διὸ λέλεκται, ἀπὸ λαοῦ μεγάλου. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι δὲ αἰῶνι τὰ λογικὰ δῶρα καὶ τὰς ἀναιμάκτους τῷ Θεῷ θυσίας ἀναπέμπων οὐ διαλιμπάνει ὁ δηλωθεὶς λαός.*—Eusebii Cæsariens. Comm. in Hesaiam, ibid., tom. ii. p. 429, B, C.]

[f] *πανσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται* [*καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ,ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ,* (totis viribus, id est, magna animi intentione) *ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ, λέγων τὸ ἀμήν· καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται.*—S. Just. Mart. Apol. i. c. 67. p. 83, D, E.]

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an offering or sacrifice, and the whole action for a sacrificial ministration; and the eating and drinking of the holy elements for a sacrificial entertainment of the congregation at the table of their God. To see bread[g] and wine mixed with water[h] so solemnly brought to the table, and then a loaf of that bread and a cup of that wine brought by the deacon in manner of an offering to the liturg, or minister, which he also taking in his hands, as an offering, sets them with all reverence on the table; and then after solemn prayers of oblation and consecration to see him take up the bread, and say, in a most solemn manner, "This is My body," &c., and then the cup, saying, as solemnly, "This is My blood," &c., and then to hear him, with all the powers of his soul, offer up praises, and glory, and thanksgiving, and prayers to God, the Father of all things, through the name of the Son, and

g ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος. [καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει· καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πόλυ ποιεῖται. οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, ἀμήν· τὸ δὲ ἀμὴν, τῇ Ἑβραΐδι φωνῇ, τὸ γένοιτο σημαίνει. εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλουμένοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι.—Id. ibid., c. 65. pp. 82, D, E. 83, A.]

h This was the practice of our Church at the Reformation, as may be seen in the Rubric of the communion office of the first Common Prayer-Book of Edward VI. [Rubric after the offertory. "Then shall the minister take so much bread and wine as shall suffice for the persons appointed to receive the holy communion . . . putting the wine into the chalice, or else into some fair or convenient cup prepared for that use, (if the chalice will not serve,) putting thereto a little pure and clean water, and setting both bread and wine upon the altar." See Appendix, No. 1.]

See also Dr. Grabe's notes on τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, in Irenæus, lib. v. cap. 2. p. 397. ed. Oxon. [The words of St. Irenæus are, ὁπότε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστου, κ. τ. λ. (p. 294. ed. Ben.) Grabe's note is to this effect; Sicuti supra, lib. i. c. 9. (c. 13. § 2. p. 60. ed. Ben.) Marcum hæreticum ποτήρια κεκραμένα οἴνῳ consecrasse refert; ita hoc loco Catholicis quoque κρᾶμα istud in usu fuisse insinuat, quod et ex Justini Martyris Apologia (i. c. 65, c. 67. quoted above) aliisque scriptoribus constat. Fecerunt id exemplo ipsius Salvatoris, qui in prima S. Cœna 'temperamentum calicis suum sanguinem confirmavit,' ut Irenæus supra lib. iv. c. 57. (c. 33. § 2. p. 270. ed. Ben.) scribit, et 'mixtionem calicis novam in Regno cum discipulis habiturum se pollicitus est,' prout inferius lib. v. c. 36. (§ 3. p. 337. ed. Ben.) loquitur. Neque hac de re dubitabit qui istum ritum inter Judæos adeo receptum fuisse consideraverit, ut Paschale epulum haud rite mero vino sine aqua se celebrare putaverint. . . . Atqui hæc Judæorum ante Christum et Christianorum post eum continua praxis ac doctrina, sicut idem ab ipso Christo factum indicat, ita et omnibus faciendum injungit. He quotes and argues from St. Cyprian's epistle to Cæcilius, lxiii. against those who used only water, (see above, note m, p. 54,) and the canon of the council in Trullo, A.D. 692. against those who used only wine. (Canon 32. Concilia, tom. vii. p. 1362, B.)]

Holy Spirit, which they beseech Him to send down upon the bread and cup, and the people with the greatest harmony and acclamation saying aloud, Amen. After which also to see the liturg first eat of the bread, and drink of the cup, and then the deacon to carry about the blessed bread and wine, to be eaten and drunk by the people, as in a sacrificial feast; and lastly, to see and hear all concluded with psalms and hymns of praise, and prayers of intercession to God with the highest pomp-like[i] celebrity of words. I say, to see and hear all this, would make an uninitiated heathen conclude that the bread and wine were an offering, the whole Eucharistical action a sacrificial mystery, the eating and drinking the sanctified elements a sacrificial banquet, and the liturg who administered, a priest. I have here used the term sacrificial mystery, because there was no federal sacrifice but what was a religious mystery, exhibiting one thing to the sense, and another to the understanding of the votist; or what was not an outward sign of an invisible inward grace of the God, true, or believed to be true, to whom the sacrifice was offered: I say, every federal sacrifice is an outward sign of an invisible grace, and by consequence is a mystery, or Sacrament; for Sacrament in the Latin Church, from which we borrowed the word, signifies the same as mystery in the Greek, and therefore the Eucharistical sacrifice is also a Sacrament, or to speak more properly of it, it is a Christian Sacrament or mystery, as a federal commemorative sacrifice, in which as Christ represents unto God His passion, and the merits of it, as our High-Priest in heaven, so in this sacrifice the priests upon earth in conjunction with it, present, and commemorate the same unto Him, by setting before Him the symbols of His dead body and blood effused for our sins.

I speak this to let the reformed world see, that they need not be afraid of believing the holy Eucharist to be a proper sacrifice[k] or offering, in which the bread and wine are offered

[i] [*μόνην ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ τιμὴν ταύτην παραλαβόντες, τὸ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰς διατροφὴν γενόμενα, οὐ πυρὶ δαπανᾶν ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρειν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ εὐχαρίστους ὄντας*] *διὰ λόγου πομπὰς, καὶ ὕμνους πέμπειν.*—S. Justin. Mart. Apol. i. p. 23. ed. Oxon. [c. 31. Op., p. 51, A. ed. Ben.]

[k] S. Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, lib. iii. *ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃς,* "When thou shalt see the Lord sacrificed, and the priest standing over the sacrifice, and pouring out prayers, and the people dyed red with His blood, canst thou think thou art among men or upon the earth, or that thou art translated into heaven?"

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in a proper and literal sense, and that by consequence the ministers of it are properly, and literally speaking, offering

[ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃς τὸν κύριον τεθυμένον, καὶ κείμενον, καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἐφεστῶτα τῷ θύματι, καὶ ἐπευχόμενον· καὶ πάντας ἐκείνῳ τῷ τιμίῳ φοινισσομένους αἵματι· ἆρα ἔτι μετὰ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι νομίζεις, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἑστάναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθέως ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μετανίστασαι.—S Joan. Chrys. de Sacerdot., lib. iii. § 4. Op., tom. i. p. 382, D.] S. Basil. de Baptismo, lib. ii. quæst. 2. "But when the Lord said, 'a greater than Solomon is here,' He thereby taught us how much more wicked he is, who being impure, dares offer up the body of our Lord, 'who gave Himself for us an offering and sacrifice to God.'" [ὁ δὲ κύριος λέγων, μεῖζον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὧδε, παιδεύει ἡμᾶς, ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἀσεβέστερός ἐστιν ὁ τολμῶν ἱερατεύειν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας.—De Baptismo, lib. ii. quæst. 2. (opus spurium) S. Basilii Opera, tom. ii. App. p. 653, D, E.] Eulogius Alexandrinus Patriarcha apud Photii Bibliothecam. "Here the Apostle (Heb. x. 46) doth not forbid all sacrifice, but the legal sacrifices, nor doth he absolutely discharge all sacrifice, but threatens the last judgment to those, who after they had acknowledged the truth, and been partakers of the mystical sacrifice, returned to the legal sacrifices by calves and bulls. . . . Wherefore as he forbids them the legal baptism, so he forbids them the bloody sacrifices of the law, for the tremendous sacrifice of the body of our Lord, which is offered among us, is not an institution of different sacrifices, but a commemoration of the sacrifice once offered for us. For, saith He, 'Do this in remembrance of Me,' and therefore as often as we do it, we do shew forth the death of our Lord." [καί φησι ὅτι ἐνταῦθα οὐχ ἁπλῶς θυσίαν ἀποτρέπει, ἀλλὰ νομικὴν θυσίαν, καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἀπαγορεύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρίσιν ἐσχάτην ἀπειλεῖ τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς μυστικῆς θυσίας τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν νομικὴν, τὴν διὰ μόσχων καὶ ταύρων τελουμένην, ἐπανιοῦσι . . . ὥσπερ οὖν τὰ νομικὰ βαπτίσματα κωλύει τούτους ἐπιτελεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τὰς ἐναίμους θυσίας . . . καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπιτελουμένη, τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου φρικτὴ τελετὴ, οὐ θυσιῶν ἐστὶ διαφόρων προσαγωγὴ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἅπαξ προσενηνεγμένης θυσίας ἀνάμνησις, τοῦτο γάρ, φησι, ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.—Photii Biblioth. cod. 280. p. 540, b. Berlin. 1824.] S. Isidor. Orig., lib. vi. duo autem sunt, quæ offeruntur, [donum et sacrificium. Donum dicitur, quidquid auro argentoque, aut qualibet alia specie efficitur. Sacrificium autem est victima, et quæcunque cremantur in ara seu ponuntur. . . . Immolatio ab antiquis dicta, eo quod in mole altaris posita victima cæderetur: unde et mactatio post immolationem est. Nunc autem immolatio pani et calici convenit, libatio autem tantummodo calicis oblatio est.—S. Isidor. Hispalensis, Op., tom. iii. pp. 283, 284.] "There are two things which are offered to God, gifts and sacrifices. Gifts consist in gold or silver, or any other species, which is offered. But sacrifices are victims, and whatsoever is burnt or placed upon the altar. . . . . Immolation was so called by the ancients, because the victim to be slain was brought to the mole (or bulk) of the altar, and there slain, and therefore mactation was after immolation. But now immolation is agreeably said of the bread and the cup, but libation is properly the oblation of the cup only." Eusebius Cæsariensis in Psalm. xcv. 9, 10. "He means the rational and spiritual sacrifices, which we see are daily offered up by the priests for the faithful." [θυσίας μὲν λέγων τὰς λογικὰς καὶ πνευματικὰς, ἃς ὁρῶμεν διηνεκῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐσεβῶν προσφερομένας, καὶ ἱερουργουμένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων.—apud Collect. Nov. Montfaucon, tom. i. p. 636, C.] To these may be added the Jewish doctors, who taught, "that under the Messias all sacrifices should cease, but that of bread and wine," cited in the most excellent tract of The Great Duty of Frequenting the Christian Sacrifice, lately written and published by Mr. Nelson. [pp. 21, 22. London, 1706. He quotes from the Bereschit Rabba, "that is the larger commentary of the Jews upon Genesis," Rabbi Pinehas on Numb. xxviii., "Tempore Messiæ omnia sacrificia cessabunt, sed sacrificium panis et vini non cessabit, sicuti dictum est, (Gen. xiv.) 'Et Melchizedek, &c.;' Et Melchisedecum rex Messias excipiet a cessatione sacrificiorum, sicuti dicitur, (Ps. cx.) 'Tu es sacerdos,' &c.;" and Rabbi Johai on the same chapter of Numbers, "Tempore Messiæ omnia sacrificia desinent; sacrificium vero panis et vini nunquam desinet."]

priests, as the primitive Christians and all Churches before the Reformation taught and believed. But then, I must say again, upon supposition that like baptism it is only a Sacrament or religious mystery, and not a sacrifice, that, according to the notion of priest and priesthood, as I have before explained it out of profane and holy writers, the ministers of it must be priests. For to be taken from among men to perform all the most holy solemnities above-mentioned, pertaining unto God, to have authority from Him to represent before Him the passion of His Son, and the merits of it on earth, as He doth in heaven, and in virtue of it to intercede unto Him for the people, for whom He performs the holy mystery, and to admit them in His name to feast at His table, and to deliver unto them the bread and wine, as pledges of His love and seals of pardon—to minister in this manner in the most intimate act of communion that can be betwixt God and man, as fully answers the notion and character of a priest, as to offer sacrifice; and the signification of *τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργὸς, ἱερουργεῖν, ἱερὰ ἐργάζεσθαι* in the Divine Writings, and of *δρᾶν, ῥέζειν,* and *ἔρδειν* in profane authors, which by special usage were applied to the action of sacrificing, as properly belong to any other ministerial action as holy and solemn as sacrificing, which the public liturg performs by God's appointment; but more especially to ministerial actions, in which there are religious mysteries, external signs, mystical rites, and manual operations, as taking and breaking of bread, and taking and pouring out wine, and feasting upon them as God's entertainment, and concluding all with most solemn acts of intercession. These are *τὰ θεῖα,* most holy performances, as holy and solemn as any sacrifice, and pertaining as much to God; and therefore he that by God's appointment administers in such holy and mystical rites and offices, cannot but be *λειτουργὸς ἱερουργῶν,* which I said before was the definition of a priest. I have said this upon mere supposition, by granting more than I should, for the more effectual conviction of your late author. For the holy Eucharist is so very like a sacrifice, or sacrificial mystery, in all its rites and manner of ministration, that if it be not a sacrifice, no man can well tell what the common notion of a sacrifice is, or easily distinguish it from the nature of any

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sacrifice, upon which the votists used to feast in the temple and at the altar of their God. The primitive Christians, who were as afraid of idolatry as any of the Protestants, were so far from not having this notion of it, or being afraid to own it as such, that as they believed Melchisedec was a type of Christ[1], so they believed the bread and wine, which he brought forth to Abraham when he blessed him, to have been a type of this commemorative sacrifice by bread and wine, which Christ instituted for His Church. They believed it

[1] Et Melchisedech rex Salem protulit panem et vinum. Fuit autem sacerdos Dei summi, et benedixit Abraham. Quod autem Melchisedech typum Christi portaret declarat in Psalmis Spiritus Sanctus [ex persona Patris ad Filium dicens: ante luciferum genui te; Tu es sacerdos in æternum] secundum ordinem Melchisedech. Qui ordo utique hic est de sacrificio illo veniens et inde descendens, quod Melchisedech sacerdos Dei summi fuit, quod panem, et vinum obtulit, quod Abraham benedixit. Nam quis magis sacerdos Dei summi, quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit, et obtulit hoc idem, quod Melchisedech obtulerat, i. e. panem et vinum, suum scilicet corpus et sanguinem. Et circa Abraham benedictio illa precedens, ad nostrum populum pertinebat,&c. S.Cyprian. Ep. lxiii. [ad Cæcilium, p. 105. ed. Ben.] See Grotius upon the place. [Alimenta dedit (Melchisedech) Abrahamo exercituique ejus... neque tamen improbabilis sententia, factum hoc sacrificio præcedente: ἐπινίκια ἔθυε (sacra fecit victoriæ ergo) ait Philo (de Abrahamo. Op., tom. ii. p. 34.) Nam et e simila oblatio Hebræis מנחה (sacrificium) Græcis θυσία (hostia) dicitur, Lev. ii. ... et vinum ante mensam Deo libare mos omnium gentium. Grotii Annott. in Gen. xiv. 18. Crit. Sacr., tom. i. p. 388. The quotations which follow were in the third edition included, apparently by a mistake, in note m.] Μελχισεδὲκ, βασιλεὺς Σαλὴμ, ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ὁ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸν ἄρτον τὴν ἡγιασμένην διδοὺς τροφὴν εἰς τύπον εὐχαριστίας.—S. Clemen. Alex. Strom., lib. iv. p. 539. [Paris, 1629. p. 637. ed. Oxon.] So St. Ambrose in Epist. ad Hebr., cap. 5. Hujus ordinem sacrificii per mysticam similitudinem Melchisedech justissimus rex instituit, quando Domino panis et vini fructus obtulit. Constat enim pecudum victimas perisse, quæ fuerunt ordinis Aaron, non Melchisedech: sed hoc manere potius institutum, quod toto orbe in sacramentorum erogatione celebratur.—[Op., tom. iii. p. 492, D. Rom. 1579. see note h, p. 33; from Rabanus M. Op., tom. v. p. 548, A., and ultimately from Alcuin, Op., tom. i. pp. 679, 680.] Cap. 7. Neque carnis, et sanguinis victimas immolaverit et brutorum sanguinem animalium dextra susceperit, sed pane et vino simplici puroque sacrificio Christi dedicaverit sacerdotium.—[Pseudo-Amb. ibid., p. 498, D., Rabanus M. ibid., p. 552, D., Alcuinus, ibid., p. 686.] Which perhaps should be read 'sacramentum,' as in the words of St. Hierome, cited below out of his epistle to Evagrius, tom. iii. of the Basil edition; *Sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech;* Ordinem autem ejus multis modis interpretantur, quod solus et rex fuerit et sacerdos, et ante circumcisionem functus sacerdotio, ut non gentes ex Judæis, sed Judæi e Gentibus sacerdotium acceperint; neque unctus oleo sacerdotali, ut Moysis præcepta constituunt, sed oleo exultationis et fidei puritate; neque carnis et sanguinis victimas immolaverit, et brutorum (sanguinem, eorum) animalium exta, (id est, quicquid super escam est,) susceperit, sed pane et vino, simplici puroque sacrificio, Christi dedicaverit sacramentum.—[S. Hieron. Epist. 73. ad Evangelum (al. 126. ad Evagrium) § 3. Op., tom. i. col. 440, A, B. The words in parentheses are omitted in Vallarsius' edition, Verona, 1734.] Petrus de Marca de Sacrificio Missæ . . . Hoc esse Melchisedechi sacrificium, qui panis et vini species Deo prius ab se oblatas, ut decebat sacerdotem Altissimi, ad agendas de Abrahami victoria gratias, ipsi dein atque commilitonibus edendas bibendasque

to be that *mincha purum*[m], that "pure offering" foretold by the prophet Malachi, which should be "offered in every place," and not in one, as among the Jews, "unto the name of God among the Gentiles, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same." Hence they called it, to distinguish it from the Jewish sacrifices, *θυσίαν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον, sacrificium rationale et incruentum,* 'the spiritual and unbloody sacrifice, or offering without slaughter and blood.' And accordingly the fathers[n] in the first council of Nice, speaking of the mystery or Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, express themselves in this manner; "When we are at the Lord's table let us not with low thoughts attend to the bread and cup set thereupon, but exalting our minds, let us by faith conceive that the Lamb of God[o], which taketh away the

Mal. 1. 11, 12.

præbuit, ut sacrificii participes omnes faceret. . . . Cujus exemplo Christus, pane et vino prolatis in ultima mensa Deo gratias egit. . . . Quare frugum illarum sacrificium a Melchisedecho ad Dei venerationem adhibitum, typus fuit veri sacrificii a Christo instituti.—[Petri de Marca Archiepiscopi Parisiensis Dissertationes Posthumæ, p. 94. Baluz. Paris, 1669.] See also St. Hierome in Matth. de Consecr. dist. 2. Assumit panem, qui confortat cor hominis, et ad verum paschæ transgreditur sacramentum, ut quomodo in præfiguratione ejus Melchisedech [summi Dei sacerdos] panem et vinum offerens fecerat, ipse quoque in veritate sui corporis, et sanguinis representaret.—[Comm. in Matt., lib. iv. c. 26. Op., tom. vii. col. 216, C. Hickes' reference is to the Decretum (ap. Corpus Juris Canonici, tom. i.) Pars iii. Dist. ii. § 88. where this passage is quoted.]

[m] Cur itaque postea per Prophetas prædicat Spiritus futurum, ut in omni terra, aut in omni loco offerantur sacrificia Deo, sicut per Malachiam angelum unum ex duodecim prophetis: 'non recipiam sacrificium de manibus vestris, quoniam ab oriente sole usque ad occidentem nomen meum clarificatum est in omnibus gentibus, dicit Dominus omnipotens, et in omni loco offeruntur sacrificia munda nomini meo.' —Tertull. Adversus Judæos, c. 5. [Op., p. 187, D.] So contra Marcion., lib. iii. c. 22. [ibid. p. 410, D.]

[n] [*ἐπὶ τῆς θείας τραπέζης πόλιν κἀνταῦθα, μὴ τῷ προκειμένῳ ἄρτῳ, καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ ταπεινῶς προσέχωμεν· ἀλλ' ὑψώσαντες ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, πίστει νοησωμεν κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης τραπέζης τὸν ἀμνὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν αἴροντα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἀθύτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερίων θυόμενον· καὶ τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα ἀληθῶς λαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς, πιστεύειν ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναστάσεως σύμβολα.*—Gelasii Cyziceni Commentarius Actorum Nicæni Concilii. (Interprete Rob. Balforeo) c. 31. Concilia, tom. ii. p. 241.]

[o] *τὸν ἀμνὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . ἀθύτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων θυόμενον*: 'Agnum illum Dei . . . incruente a sacerdotibus immolatum.' So the words are translated truly and properly by Rob. Balfore, who first published Gelasius' History of the First Council of Nice at Paris, 1600. [This translation is reprinted in the Councils, see the note on it, Concilia, tom. ii. p. 112.] For as *θύω* in the primary sense signifies to kill or slay, Matth. xxii. 4; Luke xv. 22, 23; John x. 10; Acts x. 13, so *ἄθυτος*, from whence *ἀθύτως*, in its primary sense signifies 'non mactatus,' 'not killed or slain.' But as *θύω* in its secondary sense signifies to sacrifice, or offer animals by slaughter, or mactation, and thence again to offer, or sacrifice in the most general sense; so the holy fathers said, that in the holy Eucharist the Lamb of God was offered or sacrificed *ἀθύτως*, 'incruente,' without blood, or being slain. Indeed *ἄθυτος* also signifies 'non sacrificatus,' not offered, or sacrificed, and that both in a literal and figurative sense. First in a literal sense, as in that passage of Athenæus, lib. iv. [p. 79. ed. Lugd.] where he saith of Epicurus, *ἄθυτα δ' ἱερὰ*

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sin of the world, is placed upon the holy table, and offered or sacrificed by the priests in an unbloody oblation, and that we receiving His precious body and blood, believe them to be the symbols (or pledges) of our resurrection." For the same reason they called the holy Eucharist, *ἁγνὴν θυσίαν, hostiam mundam, puram,* a pure offering, because pure from violence and blood, as in the words of Constantine the Great, in the twelfth chapter of his oration to the Church of the saints, where speaking of the commemoration of martyrs in the holy Eucharist, he saith[p], "Such Eucharistical sacrifice is performed in commemoration of these men, as is pure from blood and all violence, in which also there is no need of the odour of incense, or of fire, but only of as much pure light

[ἱρὰ, Dind., tom. i. p. 409] πολλάκις κατεσθίει, 'that he frequently eats flesh whereof he offered no part to the gods.' To the right understanding of which I must transcribe the words of Is. Casaubon, in his notes on lib. i. cap. 11 of Athenæus, [p. 35. Lugd. 1621.] Observamus Græcos scriptores ἱερεῖα appellare non solum victimas, quæ vere ἱερεύονται, et in sacrificiorum usum mactantur: verum omnia quæcunque ad comedendum jugulantur animalia. Satis constat tam ex sacris quam ex aliis literis, primis temporibus ignota hominibus carnium manducatione, tantum in honorem numinis mactari solitas hostias. Piguit postea mortales olerum, et τῆς ἀπύρου τροφῆς: itaque cœpere etiam ipsi carnibus vesci: sed parce initio . . . Nunquam autem ullum animal in proprios usus mactabant, quin ejus aliquam partem Deo consecrarent adolendam. Qui secus facerent, proverbio notati ἄθυτα ἱερὰ κατεσθίει. Quod de homine impio improboque solitum dici. So in Suidas, [tom. i. col. 129,] ἀθύτους· ἄνευ θυσιῶν, καὶ γήμας ἀθυτούς τε καὶ ἀγάμους γάμους ἐκείνους (ἐκεῖνος, Gaisf.) 'Having solemnized marriage without sacrifice.' And in the same word, ἐδεῖτο μὲν οἱ τὸ σῶμα κρεοφαγίας, ἀθύτου δὲ οὐκ ἠνέσχετο μεταλαβεῖν· 'His body required eating of flesh, but he never eat of it, before some part was offered in sacrifice to the gods.' Secondly, ἄθυτος signifies 'not sacrificed' in a figurative sense, when the sacrifice or offering is not accepted by reason of some defect in the offerer or offering, and is therefore deemed as no sacrifice. So Philo de vita Mosis, lib. iii. [Op.,] p. 669, [E. Paris, 1640,] saith the sacrifices of the wicked are ἄθυτοι θυσίαι, καὶ ἀνιεροὶ ἱερουργίαι, 'sacrifices not sacrificed, and unholy oblations.' And elsewhere in the same book, [p. 677, C.] θυσίας ἀθύτους ἀνήγαγον, 'They offered profane unhallowed abominable sacrifices;' that is, profane polluted sacrifices, in the same sense as the Greeks called null marriages γάμους ἀγάμους, [Soph. (Ed. T., 1214.]; and a gift of an enemy δῶρον ἄδωρον, [Id. Aj. 665,] as being a gift, which in effect was no gift. Now in the literal sense of ἄθυτος, the Lamb of God cannot be said not to be offered at all in the Eucharist, because His representative body and blood were literally offered, and presented to God upon the holy table, as is plainer from all antiquity than to need proof. Nor secondly, could it be the intention of the Nicene fathers to say that Christ in the holy Eucharist was not offered in this figurative sense, for that had been to assert that the propitiatory oblation of the Eucharist for the remission of sins, and the resurrection unto life eternal, had been a profane, polluted, and vain oblation; and therefore ἀθύτως θυόμενος, in the passage here cited, can only signify 'offered, but not slain,' offered or sacrificed without mactation or blood.

[p] [καὶ τοιαύτη τις εὐχαριστίας θυσία τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀποτελεῖται· ἁγνὴ μὲν αἵματος, ἁγνὴ δὲ πάσης βίας· οὐδὲ μὴν ὀσμὴ λιβάνων ἐπιποθεῖται, οὐδὲ πυρκαϊά· καθαρὸν δὲ φῶς, ὅσον ἐξαρκέσαι πρὸς ἔκλαμψιν τοῖς εὐχομένοις.—Constantini Imp. Oratio quæ inscribitur 'ad Cætum Sanctorum;' ad calc. Euseb. Vit. Const. ap. Hist. Eccl., tom. i. p. 692.]

as is sufficient to give light to the worshippers." So St. Chrysostom in his Homily on St. Eustathius saith[q], "the initiated knew" ἐστὶ θυσία καὶ χῶρις αἵματος, "that there is a sacrifice without blood." They also called it, θυσίαν αἰνέσεως, 'a sacrifice of praise,' according to what Buxtorf[r] tells us some Rabbins said, "that the sacrifice of praise should never cease;" and agreeably to what St. Peter the Apostle of the circumcision saith, to the whole house or family of Christians converted from Judaism, "Ye also as lively stones are built up a spiritual house[s], into an holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices" (of which the holy Eucharist is the chief) "acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." This spiritual house, built up of converted Jews and Gentiles into an holy priesthood, was a political house, or society, of which Jesus Christ, whom He calls the "living precious corner-stone," was the supreme head and governor. For as the head and governor of every political house is what the corner-stone is to a building, the strength and support of it, and as this spiritual house must be taken for the political house of God's Church, as it is taken, Heb. iii. 5, 6, in these words, "whose house we are:" so the holy priesthood mentioned here, is not to be taken for the priestly function or office, as if all Christians were priests, but for the priestly polity, and government of the Church, "which is the house of God." It is also taken in the same sense in the ninth verse, where the whole body of Christians, like the Jewish people, Exod. xix. 6[t], is said to be "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy

1 Pet. 2. 5.

vers. 4, 6.

1 Tim. 3. 5.

[q] [ἀλλ' ἔστι θυσία καὶ χωρὶς αἵματος· ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι τὸ λεγόμενον.—S. Chrys. Hom. in S. Eustathium, § 2. Op., tom. ii. p. 606, C.]

[r] Lexicon Rabbin. in קרבן. [p. 2122. Basil. 1639, apud Rabbinos כל הקרבנות בטלים וקרבן תודה אינו בטלה לעולם, omnia sacrificia cessabunt, sed sacrificium laudis non cessat in æternum.—Medr. Psal. 100.]

[s] εἰς præfigunt Steph. 8. 1. Alex. N. 1. Barb. 5. cov. 4. Genev. Æthiop. Dr. Mills' Greek Testament. [Novum Testamentum cum Lect. Var. Oxon. 1707.]

[t] Fagius upon the place. [In Hebræo est,] *regnum sacerdotale*, vel *sacerdotum*, h. e. regnum non profanum, quod ex opibus et armis, sed quod ex sacerdotibus, rebus sacris et divinis constat: q. d. Sacrum et divinum erit hoc regnum. Nemo dubitet Spiritum Sanctum hic potissimum respexisse ad Christum, qui est verus ille rex et sacerdos, qui tandem ex populo Judaico secundum promissiones Dei proditurus erat. Quandoquidem autem una est Judæorum et Gentium fides, unus Deus, unaque Ecclesia, cum ad vitæ innocentiam et puritatem Christianum populum hortaretur Petrus, his verbis commodissime est usus; 'Vos, inquit, genus electum, regale sacerdotium.'—[Crit. Sacr., tom. i. pars 1. Annott. in Exod., p. 388.]

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nation, and a peculiar people," which was as true in the proper political sense of the Christians, as it was of the Jews, because the Church as one spiritual body politic hath Jesus Christ for its supreme governor, who is both king and priest. This polity of His kingdom is properly expressed by a royal or kingly priesthood, in which the Christians are governed, as the Jews in their theocracy were, by a priest, who was a secular as well as a sacerdotal minister, and a type of Christ, who is both king and priest of His Church. To this purpose speaks St. Clement in his Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. lviii.[u]: "Now God (saith he) the seer of all things, the Father and ruler of all spirits, and Lord of all flesh, who hath elected[x] our Lord Jesus Christ, and us by Him, to be His peculiar people, grant to every soul that calleth upon His glorious holy Name, faith, fear, peace, patience, long-suffering, continence, purity, and wisdom, unto all well-pleasing of Him, through our High-Priest and prefect, Jesus Christ, to whom be glory, majesty, dominion, and honour, now and for ever. Amen." Wherefore the Church by its theocratical constitution having such a governor, to whom glory, and majesty, and dominion, and honour belongeth, that is, who is a king as well as an High-Priest, the government of it must be a kingly priesthood, or a priestly kingdom under His administration, of whom it is written, "Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec." So saith St. Hierome[y], *Et ipse rex, et sacerdos nobis utrumque donaverit, ut simus genus regale et sacerdotale, et quasi angularis lapis parietem utrumque conjunxerit, et de duobus gregibus bonus pastor unum effecerit gregem:* "He also," (speaking of Christ as the antitype of Melchisedec) "being king and priest, gave us both (honours), that we should be a regal and sacerdotal sort (of people), and He as the corner-stone hath

[u] [ὁ παντεπόπτης Θεὸς, καὶ δεσπότης τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ κύριος πάσης σαρκὸς, ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ εἰς λαὸν περιούσιον, δῴη πάσῃ ψυχῇ ἐπικεκλημένῃ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἅγιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, πίστιν, φόβον, εἰρήνην, ὑπομονὴν, μακροθυμίαν, ἐγκράτειαν, ἁγνείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, εἰς εὐαρέστησιν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ προστάτου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, κράτος, τιμὴ καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.—S. Clem. Ep. ad Cor. i. c. 58. Patr. Apost., tom. i. pp. 180, 181.]

[x] παρὰ Θεῷ ἔκλεκτον, 1 Pet. ii. 4. λίθον ἀκρογωναῖον ἔκλεκτον, ibid., ver. 6.

[y] [S. Hieron. Epist. 73 ad Evangelum (al. 126 ad Evagrium) Op., tom. i. fol. 444, A.]

united both the walls, and as the good Shepherd of two flocks hath made one."

But to return to the Christian oblation or sacrifice in the holy Eucharist, I cannot but observe that the offering of the bread and wine was of old esteemed so special a part of that most holy service, that the administration of the holy Communion and the Communion itself was signified by *προσφέρειν* and *προσφορὰ* in the Greek, and by *offerre* and *oblatio* in the Latin Church. So *Can. Apost.*, viii.[z]: "If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, doth not receive, *προσφορᾶς γενομένης*, at the Communion, let him give a reason for it; but if he will not tell his reason, let him be excommunicated, as one who gives offence to the people and brings a scandal *κατὰ τοῦ προσενέγκαντος*, upon him that administers, as if he did not rightly administer it." So *Constit. Apost.*, lib. viii. cap. 28[a]: "The bishop blesseth, lays on hands, ordains, and *προσφέρει*, administers the Communion. But the deacon *οὐ προσφέρει*, doth not administer the Communion, *τοῦ δὲ ἐπισκόπου προσενεγκόντος ἢ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου*, but when the bishop or presbyter administers the Communion, he delivers (the cup) to the people." So *Can.* 18. *Concil. Nicæn.*[b], the council forbids deacons to "deliver the Eucharist to priests, because they who have no power *προσφέρειν*, to administer the Communion, cannot give the body of Christ *τοῖς προσφέρουσι*, to those who minister it." It is also called *θυσία*[c]: and by Justin the Martyr[d], *τῶν ἐθνῶν θυσία*, the sacrifice of the (converted) Gentiles, to distinguish it from the sacrifices of the Jews. But those who desire to see more authorities of this sort, may consult the citations in the margin[e], and for the

[z] [*εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ προσφορᾶς γενομένης μὴ μεταλάβοι, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπάτω· καὶ ἐὰν εὔλογος ᾖ, συγγνώμης τυγχανέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ λέγει, ἀφοριζέσθω, ὡς αἴτιος βλάβης γενόμενος τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ὑπόνοιαν ποιήσας κατὰ τοῦ προσενέγκαντος* (alii addunt *ὡς μὴ ὑγιῶς ἀνενεγκόντος*, et ita Dionysius.)—Concil., tom. i. p. 26, D.]

[a] [Concil., tom. i. p. 493, C. See above, p. 37, note x.]

[b] [Ibid., tom. ii. p. 42. See above, p. 37, note x.]

[c] Canon. Apost. xlv. [*ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ πρεσβύτερον αἱρετικῶν δεξάμενον βάπτισμα, ἢ θυσίαν, καθαιρεῖσθαι προστάσσομεν.*—Concil., tom. i. p. 36, B.]

[d] [S. Justin. M. Dial. cum Tryph. c. 41. p. 138, A. quoted above, p. 94.]

[e] Concilii Nicæni, Can. xi. [*δύο δὲ ἔτη χώρις προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.*—Concil., tom. ii. p. 37, D.] Can. xiii. [*καὶ κοινωνίας τυχὼν καὶ προσφορᾶς μεταλαχών*, and *μεταδιδότω τῆς προσφορᾶς*, are the clauses referred to by Hickes; they are now considered spurious. See Labbe and Coissart, ibid., p. 40, B. marg. The second clause is given as genuine in Beveridge's Pandectæ, tom. i. p. 74, A.] Concil. Ancyrani, [A.D. 314.] Can.

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authorities of single fathers of the Greek Church I forbear to cite them, because they are so numerous, and I have already cited enough. As for the writers of the Latin Church, who use *oblatio* and *offerre* for the Eucharist, and for to administer the same, it is sufficient for my purpose to send the reader back to the testimonies of St. Cyprian, cited in the Preface[f], and to his master Tertullian, particularly to that famous passage which hath exercised the pens of so many learned men[g], *et offers, et tinguis, et sacerdos es tibi solus.* So *de Cultu Feminarum*, lib. ii. cap. 11[h]: *aut imbecillus aliquis ex fratribus visitatur, aut sacrificium offertur, aut Dei sermo administratur.* So *de Corona*, cap. 3[i]: *oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus*, which is to be understood of the Eucharistical oblations, as is evident from the like passage *de Exhortatione Castitatis*, cap. 11[j]: *Pro cujus spiritu postulas, pro qua oblationes reddis? et offeres pro duabus? et commendabis illas duas per sacerdotem?* Upon which place saith Rigaltius[k], *Recte autem dicitur 'offerre per sacerdotem,' quia solius sacerdotis, non vero laicorum est offerre sacrificium.* To which let me add what he saith of the devils applying the Christian sacraments and ceremonies; *de Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, cap. 40[l]: *Diabolus res sacramentorum divinorum æmulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam . . . Mithra signat in frontibus milites suos, celebrat et panis oblationem*; "The devil imitates the Divine sacraments or mysteries, &c. he baptizes some, and Mithra signs his worshippers in their foreheads, and is solemnly worshipped with an oblation of bread;" which,

xvi. [*τότε καὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἐφαπτέσθωσαν.*—Ibid., tom. i. p. 1492, C.] Concil. Neocæsar. [A.D. 314.] Can. ix. [*πρεσβύτερος . . . μὴ προσφερέτω.*—p. 1512, D, E.] Can. xiii. [*ἐπιχωρίοι πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ τῆς πόλεως προσφέρειν οὐ δύνανται, παρόντος ἐπισκόπου, κ. τ. λ.*—Ibid., p. 1513, B.] Concil. Gangrensis, [A.D. 324?] Can. iv. [*εἴ τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*—Ibid., tom. ii. p. 427, C.] Concil. Laodiceni, [A.D. 364?] Can. xix. [*καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.*—Ibid., tom. i. p. 1533, D.] Can. lviii. [*ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις προσφορὰς γίνεσθαι παρὰ ἐπισκόπων ἢ πρεσβυτέρων.*—ibid., p. 1540, D.]

[f] [See vol. i. of this edition, pp. 94—98.]

[g] Tert. de Exhort. Castit., cap. 7. [Op., p. 522, A. See Pref. Disc., vol. i. p. 238, note a.]

[h] [Tertull. Op., p. 159, C.]

[i] [Ibid., p. 102, A.]

[j] [Ibid., p. 523, D. Tertullian is addressing one supposed to have married a second time.]

[k] [The note is not one of Rigalt's but of Pamelius', who published a volume of annotations appended to Rigalt's text and notes, forming the second volume of the edition of Tertullian's works, called Rigalt's, tom. ii. p. 587. Paris, 1635.]

[l] [Tertull. Op., p. 216, D. See p. 101, note r, and p. 48, where Hickes incorrectly speaks of Mithra (the sun) as a goddess.]

as I observed on the like passage of Justin the Martyr[m], shews that the bread was literally offered in the Eucharist, because it was offered in the sacrifices of the idol Mithra, in imitation of the Christian sacrifice. From these testimonies, I think it is plain that the oblation of the elements was a principal rite or ritual part of the Eucharistical service, and that from thence it came to be emphatically denoted by 'oblation' and 'sacrifice;' and the administration of it by *προσφέρειν* and *offerre* in the writers of the ancient Greek and Latin Church.

In the second place, I cannot but observe that the ancient Church made a plain and accurate distinction between the oblation of bread and wine upon the altar in the Eucharist, and the oblation of other things thereupon. So in the third Apostolical Canon[n]; "If any bishop or presbyter offers any thing upon the altar besides what the Lord has ordained (to be offered) *ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ*, in the holy Communion, . . . he shall be deposed, excepting the first-fruits of corn and grapes in their proper season." So the council in Trullo[o]; "Understanding that the ministers of some Churches used (*θυσίᾳ*) at the Communion to join the oblation of grapes (which were only to be blessed as first-fruits) with the unbloody oblation, and to distribute both together to the people, they forbid any priest to do so for the time to come, but to deliver to the people only the oblation, for the resurrection after death unto eternal life, and the remission of sins." The great council of Carthage in like manner ordained, "That in the Eucharist nothing should be offered but bread, and wine mixed with water; but when the first-fruits of corn or grapes were offered, or honey and milk on the accustomed day for infants, that they should be offered by themselves upon the altar

[m] [See above, p. 101, q.]

[n] [*εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος παρὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου διάταξιν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ, προσενέγκῃ ἑτέρά τινα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ μέλι, ἢ γάλα, ἢ ἀντὶ οἴνου σίκερα . . . καθαιρείσθω, πλὴν νέων χίδρων, ἢ σταφυλῆς τῷ καιρῷ τῷ δέοντι.* —Canon. Apost. iii. Concil., tom. i. p. 25. Hickes has misapprehended the force of *ἐπί*.]

[o] [Concilii Constantinopolitani dicti Quinisexti sive Trullani, (A.D. 692.) Canon xxviii. *ἐπειδὴ ἐν διαφόροις ἐκκλησίαις μεμαθήκαμεν, σταφυλῆς ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσφερομένης κατά τι κρατῆσαν ἔθος, τοὺς λειτουργοὺς ταύτην τῇ ἀναιμάκτῳ τῆς προσφορᾶς θυσίᾳ συνάπτοντας, οὕτως ἅμα τῷ λαῷ διανέμειν ἀμφότερα· συνείδομεν, ὡς μηκέτι τοῦτό τινα τῶν ἱερωμένων ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' εἰς ζωοποίησιν καὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ τῆς προσφορᾶς μόνης μεταδιδόναι· ὡς ἀπαρχὴν δὲ τὴν τῆς σταφυλῆς λογιζομένους προσενέγκειν, ἰδικῶς τοὺς ἱερεῖς εὐλογοῦντας τοῖς αἰτοῦσι ταύτης μεταδιδόναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δοτῆρος τῶν καρπῶν εὐχαριστίαν.*—Concilia, tom. vii. p. 1360, C, D.]

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apart, that they might be distinguished from the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord[p]."

This distinction of the bread and wine from other altar-offerings is also expressed in the prayer for the communicants, *Const. Apost.*, lib. viii. c. 10[q]; *καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς προσφερόντων Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν*: "Let us also pray for those who offer sacrifices and first-fruits to the Lord our God." And it is a demonstration that they were offered in the Sacrament, and that the oblation of them was the practice of the Catholic Church.

But thirdly, it is evident from one argument which the orthodox fathers used in the second council of Nice against the worship of images, that the bread and wine were solemnly offered in the Eucharist, and that the oblation of them was esteemed a sacrifice of Divine institution. That argument was to this purpose, viz.[r], "That the Catholic Church of us Christians agreed with the Jewish and Gentile religion, being a medium between both, as having a new mystical sacrifice instituted by God, but without the rites and ceremonies of either, not admitting the bloody sacrifices and burnt-offerings of Judaism, and abhorring the idols and idol-worship in the sacrifices of Gentilism, which was the author and inventor of that abominable art (of making and worshipping idols.) For the Gentiles having no hope of a resurrection, invented this mockery of religion, worthy of themselves, ridiculously to represent what was not present as present. Wherefore let us

[p] [Concilii Carthag. tertii nomine vere secundi, (A.D. 397.) Canon xxiv. Hoc caput in vetustis codicibus ita h betur: Ut in sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur quam ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, panis et vinum aqua mixtum. Primitiæ vero, seu mel et lac, quod uno die solemnissimo pro infantis mysterio solet offerri, quamvis in altari offeratur, suam tamen habent propriam benedictionem, ut a sacramento dominici corporis aut sanguinis distinguantur; nec amplius de primitiis offeratur, quam de uvis et frumentis. The passage from 'Primitiæ' to 'distinguantur' is not given as genuine by Labbe. —Concil., tom. ii. p. 1403, A, B.]

[q] [Concil., tom. i. p. 470, D.]

[r] Concil. Nicæn. ii. (A.D. 787.) Actio Sexta. *Γρηγόριος ἐπίσκοπος ἀνέγνω.* [. . . *ἐπείπερ ἡ καθολικὴ ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλήσια Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ καὶ ἑλληνισμοῦ τυγχάνουσα, οὐδ' ὁποτέρας αὐτῶν συνήθους τελετῆς μετέχει, ἀλλὰ καινὴν εὐσεβείας καὶ μυσταγωγίας θεοπαράδοτον τρίβον ὁδεύει, τοῦ μὲν Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ τὰς ἐναίμους θυσίας καὶ ὁλοκαυτώσεις μὴ παραδεχομένη, τοῦ δὲ ἑλληνισμοῦ πρὸς ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ πᾶσαν εἰδωλοποιΐαν τε καὶ εἰδωλολατρείαν βδελυσσομένη, ὃς ἀρχηγὸς καὶ ἐφευρετὴς τῆς βδελυρᾶς ταύτης τέχνης γεγένηται. ἐλπίδα γὰρ ἀναστάσεως μὴ ἔχων, ἄξιον ἑαυτοῦ παίγνιον συνεσκόπησεν, ἵνα τὰ μὴ παρόντα διὰ τῆς χλεύης παραστήσῃ. οἱ οὖν οὐδὲν τῶν ξένων ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ. ἄρα ὡς ἀλλότριον τοῦτο καὶ δαιμονιοφόρων ἀνδρῶν εὕρημα ἀποτραπέσθω τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας.*—Concilia, tom. viii. p. 1107, B, C.]

reject this foreign invention of men inspired by the devil, from the Church of Christ." From this way of reasoning against the use of images in Divine worship, it is plain that these holy fathers thought the Christians had a sacrifice of Divine institution, though not a bloody sacrifice as the Jews had, nor polluted with image worship after the manner of the Gentiles, but a pure unbloody sacrifice in the holy Eucharist, which was a medium of negation from both, as being neither a bloody nor an idolatrical oblation.

In the fourth place, the ancients asserted that Melchisedec, who was the type of Christ, offered bread and wine; and that the bread and wine which he offered prefigured the oblation of it in the Eucharist. That he offered the bread and wine mentioned Gen. xiv. 18, appears from the version of the LXX.[s] *καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλεὺς Σαλὴμ ἐξηνέγκεν ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον.* So Tertullian *adversus Judæos*, lib. i. cap. 3: *Melchisedech, qui ipsi Abraham jam incircumciso revertenti de prælio, panem et vinum obtulit incircumcisus.* And cap. 2: *Unde Melchisedech sacerdos Dei summi nuncupatus, si non ante Leviticæ legis sacerdotium Levitæ fuerunt, qui sacrificia Deo offerebant?* And as they believed that Melchisedec first offered the bread and wine with which he entertained Abraham, so they taught, as I have already shewed from many authorities, that Christ, the antitypal Melchisedec, as really offered bread and wine to the Father at the institution of the holy Eucharist. From those and other authorities cited in this letter, it is plain that the bread and wine were really offered in the Eucharist, and were, in the opinion of the ancient Church, as properly an external material oblation in that pure unbloody sacrifice, as any other thing could be that was offered by any priest upon the altar of any god.

Indeed there were two oblations[t] of the elements in the

[s] [This statement seems to have arisen from some mistake.]

[t] See Irenæus, as cited before, lib. iv. cap. 32, and Dr. Grabe's notes upon the place. [On the subject of the two oblations see Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, Prefatory Epistle, vol. i. p. 33, ed. 1847. Hickes in writing to Johnson April 21, 1713, seemed disposed to modify his opinion. He says, "I foresee I shall come entirely into your notion of the one sacrifice, but as to the oblation of the elements I have still a notion that they were first offered up in common with the first fruits, when they were set upon the altar, and again for a sacrament or, sacrifice in the prayer of consecration; but I think it is not material to the controversy, whether they were once or twice offered . . . but when I have read your papers, I expect I shall alter my opinion for yours."—Appendix to Johnson's Posthumous Works, p. 394, Lond. 1748. And

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Eucharist; one before the consecration, in which they were presented to God the Father upon the altar, as the first-fruits of His creatures, to acknowledge Him for our sovereign Lord and benefactor; the other at the consecration, when they were offered to Him as the symbols of Christ's body and blood, or as the mystical body and blood of Christ, to represent that oblation He made of both upon the cross, and to obtain the benefits of His death and passion; "who, by the oblation of Himself once so offered, made a full and perfect satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." These two oblations are distinguishable in Justin Martyr's short account of the celebration of the Eucharist[u]; the first at the offering of the bread and the cup of water and wine, "which, saith he, the bishop (or priest) receiving, offers up *αἶνον καὶ δόξαν*, praise and glory to God the Father of all things, through the name of His Son and the Holy Spirit; and also offers up thanksgiving for deeming us worthy of these His creatures." This long action of praise and thanksgiving, *καὶ εὐχαριστίαν . . . . ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται*, may be seen at large in the Apostolical Constitutions, lib. viii. cap. 12[v]; where it begins after these words, *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰπάτω· ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δίκαιον·* and ends in these, *καὶ ἐκαθέσθη ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ*[x]. Then after a short introduction, in which are the words of the institution, follows the second oblation of the elements, beginning at *μεμνημένοι οὖν ὧν δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπέμεινεν*[y], *κ. τ. λ.*, which I shall hereafter transcribe. This second Eucharistical oblation, in which the elements were offered as the mystical body and blood of Christ, and wherein they prayed God the Father graciously to accept them, is implied by Justin[z] in the word

in another letter without date, written before May 15, 1713, he says, "By the first oblation of the holy elements I never meant any other than what they had in being presented to God upon the altar with the first fruits." On the outside of the letter Johnson had written, "He comes into my notion of the oblation." Hickes, however, did not alter any thing which he had here said, either in the Supplement of 1715, or in his MS. notes.]

[u] *ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος [καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει· καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται.*—S. Just. Mart. Apol. i. c. 65. p. 82, D. quoted note g, p. 106.]

[v] [Concil., tom. i. p. 473, C.]

[x] [Ibid., p. 480, D.]

[y] [Ibid. This is a mistake. The words in the text precede the words of institution. The second oblation begins at *μεμνημένοι τοίνυν.*—p. 482, A.]

[z] [S. Just. Mart. Apol. i. c. 65. p. 82, E. note g, p. 106.]

εὐχὰς in the sentence next to that which I have cited, viz., οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ, ἀμήν· which I cannot better translate than in the words of Mr. Reeves[a], "When the bishop (or priest) hath finished the prayers, all the people present conclude with an audible voice, saying, Amen." These two forms of oblation of the bread and wine, though then in one continued prayer, are plainly distinguished by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis Mystagogica* v.[b], where the first is described § v. vi., and the latter in § viii. ix., and the description of them in both places exactly agrees with the large account of ministering the holy Sacrament in the Apostolical Constitutions, cited above; and they are also to be found in all the ancient liturgies. In our present liturgy the first oblation is made in the beginning of the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, immediately after the priest hath placed the bread and wine upon the table, in these words, "Almighty and everlasting God . . . . . we humbly beseech Thee . . . . . to accept [these] our alms and oblations." And the latter is made in substance, and according to the intention of the Church in the prayer of consecration to God the Father, where, after the commemoration of Christ's offering Himself upon the cross, and His institution of the perpetual memorial of His precious death, God the Father is implored to hear us, while, "according to the same institution, we receive His creatures of bread and wine in remembrance of His Son our Saviour's death and passion." And then, while the priest recites the words of the institution, he is to take the bread into his hands and break it; and at the words 'This is My body,' to lay his hand upon all the bread; and at the words, 'He took the cup,' he is to take the chalice into his hand; and at these

[a] [The Apologies of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, &c., translated by the Rev. William Reeves, pp. 118, 119. London, 1709.]

[b] [The fifth Catechesis Mystagogica is an explanation of the Eucharistic service, to prepare the catechumens for admission to it; § v. is on the words εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, and the response ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον. § vi. he says, μετὰ ταῦτα μνημονεύομεν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ θαλάσσης, κ. τ. λ. Then after mentioning the consecration, § vii., he speaks, § viii., of the proper oblation, εἶτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν, ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, κ. τ. λ. The account of these intercessions continues through the following section. S. Cyril Hieros. Op., pp. 326, 328.]

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words, 'This is My blood of the New Testament,' &c., he is to lay his hand upon every vessel in which there is wine to be consecrated. These are the solemn rites which attend 'our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' (as it is truly called in the prayer of the post-communion,) at the consecration, as the placing the bread and wine upon the table by the priest, in order to be so consecrated by him, is also to be observed. And therefore those bishops and priests who can satisfy their consciences in the total neglect of this rite, may as well satisfy them in the total omission of the other; and then take upon them to say, as some lately have done[c], "That the general neglect of the clergy to observe them vacates them;" a way of arguing, which were it true might vacate all the other rules and rubrics of the Church.

But to return to the Christian oblation or sacrifice: the next argument I shall produce to prove that the bread and wine were really offered in the holy Communion is taken from the primitive manner of the administration of it, as set forth in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, cited in the last paragraph[d]. In this liturgical account of the holy Sacrament we read that the catechumens, and audients, &c., being gone out of the church, the deacon began the office of the holy Eucharist with that general admonition[e]; *μή τις κατά τινος· μή τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει·* "Let none that is not in charity, let no hypocrite come hither." After pronouncing these admonitions he said; *ὀρθοὶ πρὸς Κύριον μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἑστῶτες ὦμεν προσφέρειν·* "In sincerity towards our Lord let us standing offer with fear and trembling." "Which being done (saith the rubric, for so I call the direction) *οἱ διάκο-*

[c] [Dr. Hancock: See vol. i. p. 323, note z.]

[d] [Const. Apost., lib. viii. cap. 12. Concilia, pp. 473, &c.]

[e] [*μή τις κατά τινος· μή τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει· ὀρθοὶ πρὸς κύριον μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἑστῶτες ὦμεν προσφέρειν· ὧν γενομένων οἱ διάκονοι προσαγέτωσαν τὰ δῶρα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον . . . εὐξάμενος οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα μετενδοὺς, καὶ στὰς πρὸς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τὸ τρόπαιον τοῦ σταυροῦ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου τῇ χειρὶ ποιησάμενος εἰς πάντας, εἰπάτω, ἡ χάρις τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἔστω μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν· καὶ πάντες συμφώνως λεγέτωσαν· ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου· καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· ἄνω τὸν νοῦν· καὶ πάντες· ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον· καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ· καὶ πάντες· ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον· καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰπάτω, ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δίκαιον πρὸ πάντων ἀνυμνεῖν σε, τὸν ὄντως ὄντα Θεὸν, κ.τ.λ.* —Ibid., A, B, C.]

νοι προσαγέτωσαν τὰ δῶρα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, let the deacons bring the offerings unto the altar to the bishop." . . . . Then the bishop, standing in his priestly robes before the altar, *στὰς πρὸς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ*, began the sacramental office with this blessing: "The grace of Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communication of the Holy Spirit be with you all." To which the people answered, "And with thy spirit." Then the bishop, "Lift up your hearts;" to which the people, "We lift them up unto the Lord." Then the bishop, "Let us give thanks unto our Lord." To which the people, *ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον*: "It is meet and right." Then the bishop, "It is truly meet and right," &c. And then after a long and noble hymn of praise and glory to God the Father, and the Son, abbreviated in after ages[f], in which is the hymn[g] *Tersanctus*, and after an introduction, in which the words of the institution are recited, he proceeds to the consecration, the most special part of the sacrificial action, beginning with the prayer of oblation, in the words which follow: *μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἐπανόδου, καὶ τῆς μελλούσης αὐτοῦ δευτέρας παρουσίας, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, προσφέρομέν σοι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν, τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι δι' αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἑστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἱερατεύειν σοι· καὶ ἀξιοῦμέν σε ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα*[h] *ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν σου, συ ὁ ἀνενδεὴς Θεὸς*[i], *καὶ εὐδοκήσῃς ἐπ'*

[f] [The prayer continues from p. 473, C, to 480, D. Mr. Palmer conceives that this prayer, as it stands in the Apostolical Constitutions, contains additions to the Liturgies actually used. "The author," he says, "has evidently permitted his learning and devotion to enrich the common formularies with numerous ideas full of piety and beauty."—Orig. Liturg., Dissertation, sect. i. vol. i. p. 39.]

[g] [*τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα Σεραφὶμ . . . λέγοντα, ἅμα χιλίαις χιλίασιν ἀρχαγγέλων, καὶ μυρίαις μυρίασιν ἀγγέλων ἀκαταπαύστως καὶ ἀσιγήτως βοώσαις· καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἅμα εἰπάτω· ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαὼθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ· εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν· καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἑξῆς λεγέτω, κ. τ. λ.*—p. 477, E. 480, A.]

[h] S. Cyril. Hieros. Catech. Myst., [v. § 8.] *εἶτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ, [παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, κ. τ. λ.*—p. 327, C, D.]

[i] See Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 32. [c. 17. § 5. ed. Ben.] Sed et suis discipulis dans concilium primitias offerre ex suis

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αὐτοῖς εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ Ἅγιόν σου Πνεῦμα[k] *ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, τὸν μάρτυρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ*[l] *τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ βεβαιωθῶσι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων τύχωσι, τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς πλάνης αὐτοῦ ῥυσθῶσι, Πνεύματος Ἁγίου πληρωθῶσιν, ἄξιοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου γενῶνται, ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσι, σοῦ καταλλαγέντος αὐτοῖς, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ. ἔτι δεόμεθά σου, Κύριε, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων, ἣν περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ὅπως αὐτὴν διαφυλάξῃς ἄσειστον καὶ ἀκλυδώνιστον, ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὀρθοτομούσης τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας. ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντός σοι οὐδενίας, καὶ ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, ὑπὲρ τῶν διακόνων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἵνα πάντας σοφίσας, Πνεύματος Ἁγίου πληρώσῃς. ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε, Κύριε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως*[m], *κ.τ.λ.* "Wherefore remembering His passion and death, and resurrection from the dead, and His return (ascension) into heaven, and His second appearance, in which He will come in glory and power to judge the living and the dead, and to reward every one according to their works: we offer this bread and this cup to Thee (our) King and God, according to His institution; giving thanks to Thee through Him, that Thou hast thought us worthy to stand in Thy presence, and execute the priest's office to Thee; and we beseech Thee, that Thou

creaturis non quasi indigenti [&c. See above, p. 10 b, note b.]

[k] S. Cyril. [Hieros. ibid., § 19.] *μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, ἅγια τὰ προκείμενα ἐπιφοίτησιν δεξάμενα ἁγίου πνεύματος.*—[Ibid., p. 331, A.]

[l] "Ostendat sive efficiat corpus Christi." See Isaac Casaubon in Exercit. xvi. Ad Annales Baronii, § xxxiii. ubi de *ἀναδεῖξαι*, et *ἀναφανῆναι*. [See above, note b, p. 98. Of *ἀναφανῆναι* he says, (p. 459,) Observabimus non dissimile in eadem re apud alios patres *ἀναφαίνεσθαι*, quasi dicat, repente existere et conspiciendum se dare. Then after the passage quoted above, note b, p. 98, of the body of Christ appearing in the Sacrament to the eye of faith, he concludes; Hæc igitur est Basilii *ἀνάδειξις*, hoc aliorum patrum *ἀναφανῆναι*. Hippolytus Martyr in libro de Consummatione Mundi, c. 34. (Op., App., p. 21. see below, note l, p. 149.) *τὸ τίμιον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις οὐκ ἀναφανήσεται*, non existet in diebus illis pretiosum corpus et sanguis Christi.]

S. Cyril. Hier. ibid., [§ 7.] *παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον θεὸν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον, σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ οἶνον, αἷμα Χριστοῦ.*—[p. 327, C.]

[m] Tertull. [ad Scapulam, c. 2.] Sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro, et ipsius. [Op., p. 69, C.]

wouldst look with complacency on these offerings lying before Thee, O God who standest in need of nothing, that Thou wouldst accept them for the honour of Thy Christ, and[n] send Thy Holy Spirit[o], the witness of the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ upon this sacrifice, that He[p] may (make) shew forth this bread to be the body of Thy Christ, and this cup to be Thy Christ's blood, that the partakers thereof may be confirmed in godliness; obtain the remission of their sins; be delivered from the devil, and his wiles; be filled with the Holy Ghost; made worthy of Thy Christ; (and) obtain eternal life, Thou, O Lord Almighty, being reconciled to them. Farthermore we pray unto Thee for Thy holy Church dispersed from one end of the world to the

[n] So in the Ethiopic Liturgy, as translated by Ludolf; [Constitutiones seu Statuta lviii. Habesinis dicta Apostolorum, Statutum xxi. de ritu Eucharistiæ. Jobi Ludolfi ad suam Historiam Æthiopicam ante hac editam (Francof. 1681.) Commentarius, Francof. 1691.] p. 325. Recordantes igitur mortis ejus, et resurrectionis ejus, offerimus tibi hunc panem et calicem, gratias agentes tibi, quod nos reddidisti dignos ut stemus coram te et sacerdotio tibi fungamur. Suppliciter oramus te, ut mittas Spiritum tuum Sanctum super oblationes hujus Ecclesiæ; pariterque largiaris omnibus, qui sumunt de iis, (ut prosit eis ad) sanctitatem; ut repleantur Spiritu Sancto, &c. [The words in parentheses are inserted by Ludolf; see his note on the place. The latter part of this passage, as given in Renaudot's translation, Liturg. Orient. Coll., tom. i. p. 517, stands thus; Rogamus te, Domine, et deprecamur te, ut mittas Sanctum Spiritum et virtutem super hunc panem, et super hunc calicem, faciatque utrumque corpus et sanguinem Domini et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. . . . Da ut omnibus illa sumentibus fiant ad sanctificationem, et plenitudinem Spiritus Sancti, &c. In his Observations on this Liturgy, Obs. i. pp. 523, 524, Renaudot accuses Ludolf of unfairness, and want of acquaintance with ecclesiastical customs and language, saying that he has suppressed some things, and translated others in unusual terms.]

This is the form of consecration in their general Liturgy; but besides that they have particular Liturgies to be used on particular days, one of which is entituled, Oratio Eucharistica Domini, et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi; not that they pretend it was made by our Lord, but that it is used on those special holydays in which His nativity, resurrection, and ascension were celebrated. In this administration the consecration is as follows, (ibid., pp. 343, 344): Nunc igitur, O Domine, memores sumus mortis et resurrectionis tuæ, confidimus tibi, et offerimus tibi panem et calicem, gratias agentes tibi; tibi soli, quia a seculo (es) Salvator Deus. Quoniam tu jussisti nos, ut stemus coram te, et tibi instar sacerdotum ministremus; propter hoc nos quoque servi tui, [Domine,] rogamus te, Domine, et supplicamus tibi, ut mittas Spiritum Sanctum, et virtutem super hunc panem, et super hunc calicem, (ut) efficiat corpus, et sanguinem Domini, et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi in secula seculorum. Porro offerimus tibi hanc gratiarum actionem, O æterna Trinitas, Domine Pater Jesu Christi, quem omnis creatura et anima veneratur. This office was undoubtedly made after the first general council of Nice to the honour of Christ as God, 'equal to the Father as touching His Godhead,' and therefore the oblation is made unto Him. [See below, p. 153.]

[o] Heb. ix. 14: "How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered up Himself," &c.

[p] Alias, 'that it,' if understood of the sacrifice.

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other, which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ, that Thou wouldst preserve it unshaken, and unmolested to the end of the world. (We pray) likewise for the whole episcopate, rightly dividing the word of truth. We pray also for my worthless self, who am making this oblation, and for all the presbyters, for the deacons, and the clergy, that Thou wouldst instruct them, and fill them with the Holy Spirit. Farthermore, O Lord, we offer unto Thee for the emperor," &c.

This is as plain a description of a sacrifice, and a sacrificial action, as is in any author sacred or profane; and *mutatis mutandis* may be said of any sacrifice offered upon any altar, or to any god. And we find the bishop in the thirteenth chapter saying[q]: "Let us also pray unto God through His Christ (*ὑπὲρ τοῦ δώρου τοῦ προσκομισθέντος*) for the offering which has been offered to the Lord God, that our merciful God through the mediation of His Christ would receive it up unto His holy heavenly altar for a sweet-smelling savour." In the same chapter the rubric calls the consecrated bread to be distributed, 'the offering[r].' Answerably to all which in the fifty-seventh chapter of the second book, in a short account of the manner of administering the holy Sacrament[s], the administration of it is called 'the oblation of the Eucharist.' "Let some of the deacons attend to the oblation of the Eucharist, (*οἱ μὲν τῇ προσφορᾷ τῆς εὐχαριστίας σχολαζέτωσαν,*) ministering to the body of the Lord with fear, and let others look after the congregation, and enjoin them silence. Then let the deacon who assists the bishop say, 'Let none come here who hath injured another; let no hypocrite come hither.' Then let the men mutually salute the men, and the women the women, with the holy kiss. But let none salute another treacherously, as Judas did, who betrayed our Lord with a kiss. After this let the deacon pray for the universal Church, &c. Then let the bishop, having given the peace of God to the people, bless them as Moses commanded the

[q] [*ἔτι καὶ ἔτι δεηθῶμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δώρου τοῦ προσκομισθέντος κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ· ὅπως ὁ ἀγαθὸς Θεὸς προσδέξηται αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας.*—Ibid., Concil., tom. i. p. 484, B.]

[r] *καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος διδότω τὴν προσφορὰν.*—[Const. Apost., ibid. E.]

[s] [Ibid., p. 297, C. See above, p. 45, note g.]

priests, and praying, say: 'The Lord bless thee and keep thee,' &c. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενέσθω ἡ θυσία: after this let the sacrifice be done (offered), all the people standing and praying in silence; καὶ ὅταν ἀνενέχθῃ, and when it is offered up, let every order by itself orderly partake of the Lord's body and precious blood with reverence and fear."

This account of the Eucharistical service is, as I have before observed, most agreeable to the accounts we have of it, and of the administration thereof, both in the first Apology of Justin Martyr[t], and also to the doctrine of it in his Dialogue with Trypho[u], and I do not doubt, but it is most conformable to the primitive and apostolical form. And now let any candid reader judge, whether the bread and wine are not the δῶρα, 'offerings,' in a proper literal sense, which were brought by the deacons to the altar unto the bishop, that he might place them on the holy table to be consecrated in the service of the holy Eucharist; the προκείμενα δῶρα, 'proper material offerings,' that lay upon the altar, and upon which the bishop prayed God to look down in mercy; the offerings, of which the bishop or priest only was the offerer (ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντος οὐδενίας); the offerings, which he took in his hands, and offered in the name of the people (προσφέρομέν σοι); the offerings, of which God has no need; the offerings, or the sacrifice (θυσίαν), upon which he prays God "to send down His Holy Spirit, that it might shew forth the bread to be the body, and the cup the blood, to the receivers." Lastly, the offerings of which the oblation and consecration was called the sacrifice, and of which they said in the ancient offices, *sancta sanctis*, and *tibi ex tuis offerimus*[x]. And if all this be true, then let the reader also judge, whether the celebration of the holy Eucharist was not a sacrificial action, or administration, and the bread and wine the materials of that sacrifice, which were first presented, and then by solemn consecration offered up unto God, and last of all distributed to the faithful[y] for the

[t] [S. Just. M. Apol. i. capp. 65, 67. See above, pp. 105, 106, notes f, g.]

[u] [c. 117. p. 210, B. quoted above, p. 103.]

[x] [The words ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις occur in all the Greek Liturgies, (see p. 147, r, and for St. Cyril, p. 121, k); and ἐκ τῶν σῶν προσφερόμέν σοι in those of St. Chrysostom (see p. 130, k), St. Basil (see Goar, p. 118), and St. Mark (see below p. 137, m); as the corresponding Latin does in the Western Liturgies, (see pp. 143, c; 145, g.)]

[y] Constit. Apost., lib. viii. cap. 14,

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favour of God, "the remission of their sins, the benefit both of their bodies and souls, the confirmation and increase of their faith, and preserving of them in all godliness, and unto the life of the world to come." In a word it is evident, that according to the ancient Church the bread and wine were the matter which the people brought, and the bishop received, to be spent or consumed in the celebration of the Eucharist; the matter which the bishop solemnly offered up to God by consecration for the heavenly banquet of the Lord's Supper, and which as they were in the literal sense a proper, external, material offering or sacrifice, which succeeded in the place of the legal sacrifices; so in the sacramental or mystical, they were the body and blood of Christ, of which they were the representatives, and whereof the one was broken with wounds, and the other shed upon the cross. To this liturgical testimony in the Apostolical Constitutions, I shall, as I promised in another place[z], produce the testimonies of the ancient liturgies, which suppose the Eucharist to be a sacrifice, in which the bread and wine were solemnly offered in a proper literal sense by prayer and thanksgiving to God.

I begin with the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, of which there are two editions, one in the fourth vol. of his works[a], the other by Goar in his Euchologion[b], both which begin with

[15. cap. 14. *μεταλαβόντες τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, καὶ παρακαλέσωμεν, μὴ εἰς κρίμα ἀλλ' εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν γένεσθαι, εἰς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς φυλακὴν εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, κ. τ. λ.* c. 15. *δέσποτα ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτορ.... εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων, ἃ παρέσχου ἡμῖν εἰς πληροφορίαν τῶν καλῶς ἐγνωσμένων, εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν πλημμελημάτων· κ. τ. λ.*—Ibid., p. 485, A, B, C.]

[z] Preface to a second Collection of Controversial Letters, &c. [p. xlviii.] Printed for Rich. Sare, at Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn, 1710.

[a] Paris, 1636.

[b] Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1647.

[There are five texts of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom in the Euchologium, besides the various readings of other MSS. Of these texts the first (Goar, p. 58) is the one referred to by Hickes, and is the same as that in Savile's and in the Benedictine edition of his works. It had been previously printed at Rome. The last of those given by Goar (p. 104) is the one which Hickes refers to as being in Morell's editions of his works; it is from a much more modern MS., and the least valuable of those which are given. The text of Goar is used in the following notes, references being made also to the Benedictine edition of St. Chrysostom's works. Mr. Palmer observes that learned men have represented the text of this Liturgy as very uncertain, the copies differing 'toto cœlo' from each other. He shews however that this is not the case. Some differences arise from the insertion or omission of rubrics. Others are in the introductory portion of the Liturgy,

this secret prayer of the priests in the beginning of the ministration[c]; "Send down, O Lord, Thy assistance (*τὴν χεῖρά σου*) from Thy holy habitation, and strengthen me in Thy service which I am going to perform, that I may stand without blame before Thy tremendous altar, and minister the unbloody sacrifice," &c. So in the prayer at the *πρόθεσις*, or table where the people's oblations of bread and wine were set, before they were brought to the altar[d]; "Of Thy goodness and love for mankind, remember those who have offered, and those for whom they have offered."[1] So in the prayer for the communicants[e]; "O Lord, the God of powers, we give thanks to Thee, who hast deemed us worthy to appear at Thy altar to supplicate Thy mercy for our sins, and the errors of Thy people: O God, receive our prayer, and make us worthy to offer up to Thee prayers and supplications, and unbloody sacrifices for all Thy people," &c. So in the Cherubic hymn, or prayer[f]; "Who out of Thy ineffable and immense love of mankind wast made man, not by conversion or confusion (of substance), and hast been declared our High-Priest by God, and as Lord of all hast instituted the ministration of this unbloody sacrifice, &c. . . . to Thee do I come, . . . and beseech Thee not to turn Thy face from me, nor

which was not of the same solemn character as the canon. Again, new rites and prayers were added, differing in different Churches, as time went on. The variations however do but confirm the antiquity of the text in the parts which agree; so that in the two texts which seem to differ most, it will be found that "the main body of the Liturgy is exactly the same in both; the rites identical, the ancient prayers the same, word for word."—Palmer's Orig. Liturgicæ, vol. i. Dissertation, sect. 3. pp. 75, 77. ed. 3. 1839.

The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is that of the Church of Constantinople, and "it appears to have been used in Thrace from the fourth century, and in Macedonia and Greece from time immemorial."—Ibid., p. 80.]

[c] [*ὅτε δὲ προσκυνοῦσι λέγουσι τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην μυστικῶς· κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐξαπόστειλον τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου, καὶ ἐνίσχυσόν με εἰς τὴν προκειμένην διακονίαν σου, ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως παραστὰς τῷ φοβερῷ σου βήματι, τὴν ἀναίμακτον ἱερουργίαν ἐπιτελέσω, κ. τ. λ.*—S. Chrysost. Liturg. Goar. Euchol. p. 58.—Op., tom. xii. p. 778, B.]

[d] [*μνημόνευσον, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, τῶν προσενεγκάντων καὶ δι' οὓς προσήγαγον.*—Goar, p. 63. Op., ibid., p. 780, A.]

[e] [*εὐχὴ πιστῶν πρώτη μετὰ τὸ ἁπλωθῆναι τὸ εἰλητὸν* (postquam expansum est corporale,) *ἣν ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς* (secreto) *λέγει. εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυναμέων, τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς παραστῆναι καὶ νῦν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ προσπεσεῖν τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων. πρόσδεξαι ὁ θεὸς τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, ποίησον ἡμᾶς ἀξίους γένεσθαι προσφέρειν σοι δεήσεις, καὶ ἱκεσίας, καὶ θυσίας ἀναιμάκτους ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου.*—Goar, p. 70. Op., p. 786, C, D.]

[f] [*εὐχὴ ἣν λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς τοῦ χερουβικοῦ ἀδυμένου. . . . . ἀλλ' ὅμως, διὰ τὴν ἄφατον καὶ ἀμέτρητόν σου φιλανθρωπίαν, ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀναλλοιώτως γέγονας ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν ἐχρημάτισας, καὶ τῆς λειτουργικῆς*

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to reject me from among Thy children, but graciously permit that these gifts may be offered up by me a sinner." So in the prayer after the oblations are placed upon the altar[g]; "O Lord God Almighty, who only art holy, and who receivest the sacrifice of praise from those who call upon Thee with their whole heart, receive the prayer of us sinners, and bring it to Thy holy altar, and make us worthy to offer up these gifts and spiritual sacrifices for our sins, and the errors of the people, and grant we may find grace in Thy sight to have this our sacrifice made acceptable to Thee." Then after the *Sursum Corda,* and the prayer of thanksgiving mentioned by Justin Martyr[h], and the words of the institution, the priest saith, as in the consecration before cited out of the Apostolical Constitutions[i]; "Wherefore remembering[k] this salutary commandment, and all the things that are done for us, His death, burial, resurrection on the third day, His ascension into heaven, His sitting at Thy right hand, and His second and glorious coming, we offer Thy own (gifts, or creatures) unto Thee. . . . . We also offer up unto Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice, and we pray and beseech Thee to send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these gifts. Amen."

Heb. 9. 7.

"Make this bread the precious (mystical) body of Thy

ταύτης, καὶ ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας τὴν ἱερουργίαν παρέδωκας ἡμῖν, ὡς δεσπότης τῶν ἁπάντων . . . . σοὶ γὰρ προσεύχομαι κλίνας τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ αὐχένα, καὶ δέομαί σου μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, μηδὲ ἀποδυκιμάσῃς με ἐκ παίδων σου, ἀλλ' ἀξίωσον προσενεχθῆναί σοι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα.—Goar, Euch., p. 72. Op., p. 787, D, E. p. 788, A.]

[g] [εὐχὴ προσκομιδῆς, μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ τῶν θείων δώρων ἀπόθεσιν, ἣν λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς. κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ μόνος ἅγιος, ὁ δεχόμενος θυσίαν αἰνέσεως παρὰ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ, πρόσδεξαι καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὴν δέησιν, καὶ προσάγαγε τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσενεγκεῖν σοι δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας πνευματικὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων, καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς εὑρεῖν χάριν ἐνωπίον σου, τοῦ γενέσθαι σοι εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπισκηνῶσαι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου.—Goar, p. 74. Op., p. 789, B, C.]

[h] [See notes f, g, pp. 105, 106.]

[i] [See p. 123.]

[k] [ὁ ἱερεὺς κλίνας κεφαλὴν ἐπεύχεται μυστικῶς· μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τῆς σωτηρίου ταύτης ἐντολῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γεγενημένων, τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοῦ τάφου, τῆς τριημέρου ἀναστάσεως, τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσεως, τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδρας, τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐνδόξου πάλιν παρουσίας. ἐκφώνως· (alta voce) τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρομεν κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα . . . . μυστικῶς· ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν, καὶ δεόμεθα, καὶ ἱκετεύομεν, κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα. . . . . ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. ἀμήν . . . τὸ δὲ ἐν ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου . . . . μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ.—Goar, p. 77. Op., p. 791, D, E. 792, A.]

Christ. Amen . . . And what is in this cup the precious blood of Thy Christ, . . . changing (them) by Thy Holy Spirit." Then in a prayer after the Lord's Prayer[1]; "Thou therefore, O Lord, bless these gifts which are set before Thee (*τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα*), to us all, according to every one's necessity," &c.

So in the Liturgy of St. Basil[m], in the prayer at the *prothesis*, upon which the oblations were set; *εὐλόγησον τὴν πρόθεσιν ταύτην, κ. τ. λ.* "Bless this table, and the oblations thereupon, and receive them up unto Thy altar in the highest heavens; and of Thy goodness and love towards men remember the offerers, and those for whom they have offered, and preserve us free from all sin in the administration of these holy mysteries[n]," &c. So in the prayer of the priest after the offerings are set on the holy table, or altar[o]; "May it please Thee, O Lord, as we are ministers (*διακόνους*) of the New Testament, and liturgs (*λειτουργοὺς*) of Thy holy mys-

[1] [*σὺ οὖν, δέσποτα, τὰ προκείμενα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν εἰς ἄγαθον ἐξομάλισον κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου ἰδίαν χρείαν.*—Goar, p. 81. Op., p. 794, E.]

[m] [The Liturgy of St. Basil was anciently used throughout the patriarchate of Cæsarea, which included (with the exception of proconsular Asia, Phrygia, and some maritime provinces) the whole of Asia Minor. Of the Liturgies which bear St. Basil's name there are many varying texts, which are however reduced by Mr. Palmer to three; the Constantinopolitan, which has been used, in Greek, from time immemorial throughout the patriarchates of Constantinople and Cæsarea; the Alexandrian, which has been long used in that of Alexandria, and is found in Coptic, Greek, and Arabic; the Syriac, which is only extant in the Syriac language.

Mr. Palmer considers the Constantinopolitan text to be the genuine one. It is found on the whole alike in all MSS. which profess to represent that Liturgy; the interpolations and modern additions, he says, are easily detected, and the variations naturally accounted for. This text is found in the best form in Goar's Euchologium, (p. 158,) which Hickes used; but it is printed from a modern copy; and to ascertain it critically the Variæ Lectiones given by him must be consulted. The copies in the Benedictine edition of St. Basil, tom. ii. App. pp. 674, sqq., are the Alexandrian Greek, and a translation of the Coptic. Goar's text is used in this edition; no collation of any other text has been given, as it was found that the variations were many, and, as respects the doctrine for which the extracts are alleged, immaterial. Of the Alexandrian texts, the Arabic (of which there is a Latin version in the Bibl Patrum, tom. vi. col. 75. Par. 1654) is translated from the Coptic; a Latin translation of the Coptic is given by Renaudot, Lit. Orient., tom. i. p. 1; and the Alexandrian Greek is printed in the same volume, p. 57. The Syriac text is a translation from the Greek of the Constantinopolitan one, with additions; a Latin version of it by Masius is given by Renaudot, Lit. Orient., tom. ii. p. 548.]

[n] [*εὐλόγησον τὴν πρόθεσιν ταύτην, καὶ πρόσδεξαι αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιόν σου θυσιαστήριον, μνημόνευσον, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, τῶν προσενεγκάντων, καὶ δι' οὓς προσήγαγον, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκατακρίτους διαφύλαξον ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ τῶν θείων σου μυστηρίων· κ. τ. λ.*—S. Basilii. Liturg., Goar Euch., p 158]

[o] [*εὐχὴ προσκομιδῆς, μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζᾳ τῶν θείων δώρων ἀπόθεσιν, ἣν ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει μυστικῶς . . . . εὐδόκησον δὴ, κύριε, τοῦ γενέσθαι ἡμᾶς διακόνους τῆς καινῆς σου διαθήκης, λειτουργοὺς τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων·*

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teries[p], according to the multitude of Thy mercies, to receive us who are approaching to Thy holy altar, that we may be worthy to offer unto Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice for our sins and the errors of the people; which Thou having received up for a sweet savour to Thy holy and intellectual altar, send down for it the grace of Thy Holy Spirit upon us, (*ἀντικατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν, κ. τ. λ.*) Look upon us, O Lord, and upon this our sacrifice (*λατρείαν*[q]), and receive it, as Thou didst receive the oblations of Abel; the sacrifices of Noah; the holocausts of Abraham; the consecration-offerings of Moses and Aaron; the peace-offerings of Samuel; even as Thou didst receive this Eucharistical oblation, the verity of them (*τὴν ἀληθινὴν ταύτην λατρείαν*) from Thy holy Apostles" . . . . "Let us stand[r] as

. . . . . *κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου· ἵνα γενώμεθα ἄξιοι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων· ἣν προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον, εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας, ἀντικατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος· ἐπίβλεψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὴν λατρείαν ἡμῶν ταύτην, καὶ πρόσδεξαι αὐτὴν, ὡς προσεδέξω Ἀβὲλ τὰ δῶρα, Νῶε τὰς θυσίας, Ἀβραὰμ τὰς ὁλοκαρπώσεις, Μωσέως καὶ Ἀαρὼν τὰς ἱερωσύνας, Σαμουὴλ τὰς εἰρηνικάς· ὡς προσεδέξω ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων σου ἀποστόλων τὴν ἀληθινὴν ταύτην λατρείαν.*—Goar, Euchol., p. 164.]

[p] Or Sacraments; meaning the Sacrament or Mystery of the bread, and the Sacrament of the cup: for so the ancients used to speak of the holy Eucharist, as of one Sacrament or mystery made up of two. So Gregory the Great called his Eucharistical office, Liber Sacramentorum. See the Benedictines' note on the title of the book, and Menardus' note on the same. [The Benedictines' note is (Op. S. Greg., tom. iii. p. 1); Per Sacramenta intelliguntur vel omnia novæ legis Sacramenta; vel tria potissimum Sacramenta, quæ simul accipiebantur olim, scilicet Baptismus, Confirmatio, et Eucharistia; . . . vel solum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, quod plurali numero in singulis fere missis designatur, tum propter duplicem panis et vini materiam, tum propter corpus et sanguinem Christi quæ continet. Vide notam 2. Menardi. (S. Gregorii Lib. Sacramentorum, ed. Hugo Menardus, Paris, 1642, notæ, pp. 1, 2.) Menard, after quoting authorities for the title, 'Liber Sacramentorum,' says that the fathers anciently called the Eucharist Sacramenta; and gives instances from St. Optatus, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine Epist. 149, ad Paulinum, § 16. Op., tom. ii. p. 509, C; and the following passage from his tract de Dono Perseverantiæ, c. 13. § 33. Op., tom. x. p. 839, B. Quod ergo in Sacramentis fidelium dicitur, ut sursum corda habeamus ad Dominum, munus est Domini, ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici. Menard's notes are given entire in the Benedictine edition of St. Gregory's works. (Op. S. Greg., tom. iii. col. 274, B, D.)] See also Suicerus in *μυστήριον*. Sacra cœna vocatur *μυστήριον* [idque a. *ἑνικῶς*, singulariter; b.] *πληθυντικῶς*, pluraliter. [He gives many instances of the plural use of *μυστήρια*, adding, et alibi frequentissime.—Thes. Eccl., tom. ii. p. 383.]

[q] *λατρείαν*: which word in the Eucharistical offices is used in the most strict sense for the celebration of the Eucharistical or Christian sacrifice. See Suicer's Thesaurus, in the word *λατρεία* [quoted above, note z, p. 49.]

[r] [*στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου, πρόσχωμεν τὴν ἁγίαν ἀναφορὰν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσφέρειν.*—S. Basilii Lit. Goar, p. 165.]

becomes us with reverence, and take heed that we offer this holy offering (*τὴν ἁγίαν ἀναφορὰν*) in peace."

"Wherefore most holy Lord[s] . . . we approach to Thy holy altar, and having set (thereupon) the figures (or symbols) of the holy body and blood of Thy Christ, we pray and beseech Thee, O most Holy, by the pleasure of Thy goodness, that Thy Holy Spirit may come upon us, and upon these gifts lying before Thee, to bless them, and sanctify them, and make (*ἀναδεῖξαι*) them the body and blood of Christ."

"Thou, O our God, who hast received these gifts[t], cleanse us from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," &c.

I could add more such passages out of this Eucharistical office, but because they are the same with those in that of St. Chrysostom, or almost the same, I thought fit to pass over them, and proceed to the other Greek Liturgies, as I find them in the second volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum Veterum*, published at Paris, 1624. I shall begin with the Liturgy of St. James, i. e. of the Church of Jerusalem[u], of which he was the first bishop[x]. There in the beginning of

[s] [*ὁ ἱερεὺς κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν εὔχεται μυστικῶς. διὰ τοῦτο, δέσποτα πανάγιε, ... προσεγγίζομεν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ προσθέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, δεόμεθα, καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν, ἅγιε ἁγίων, εὐδοκίᾳ τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος, ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὰ, καὶ ἁγιάσαι, καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι· . . . . τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον, ποίησον αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ θεοῦ, καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. . . . τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τοῦτο, αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*—Goar, Euchol., p. 169.]

[t] [*σὺ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ προσδεξάμενος τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα, καθάρισον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, κ. τ. λ.* Goar, Euchol., p. 137.]

[u] [The Liturgy of St. James is that of the patriarchate of Antioch, originally including Judæa, Mesopotamia, Syria, and some provinces of the southern part of Asia Minor. It is still used by the Monophysites in Syriac; by the orthodox only on the feast of St. James, and then in Greek. Two forms of the Syriac Liturgy of the Monophysites are translated in Renaudot's Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio, tom. ii. pp. 1, 12, 29, differing considerably in the introductions, but agreeing in the anaphora or most solemn part. The first edition of the Greek was published at Rome by Demetrius Ducas, A.D. 1526, whence it was copied into the Bibliotheca Patrum (tom. ii. p. 1. Paris, 1624); it is found also in Fabricius' Codex Apocryphus Nov. Test., tom. iii.; and in Asseman's Codex Liturg., tom. v. p. 1. With the last of these, which is the text used by Mr. Palmer, the passages quoted by Hickes have been collated and corrected. Another text from a MS. of the tenth century, and various readings of one of the twelfth, are published by Asseman, ibid., pp. 68, 400. These copies, though they frequently differ apparently in order, yet on examination appear to exhibit very nearly the same text. Mr. Palmer considers it to be the ancient Liturgy of the orthodox of Jerusalem and Palestine, which before the tenth century had received several additions and alterations to adapt it to the formularies of the Church of Constantinople. See Palmer's Orig. Liturg., vol. i. p. 15, sqq.]

[x] This Liturgy, corrupted as we have it, agrees in many things with what

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the sacramental office the priest prays[y], *δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, κ.τ.λ.* "O Lord Jesu Christ . . . purge us from all sin, and grant that we may present ourselves pure before Thy altar, that we may offer unto Thee the sacrifice of praise," &c. *Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ*[z], *κ.τ.λ.* "O Almighty God, who givest us access to the holy of holies, . . . fearing and trembling to approach Thy holy altar we implore Thy goodness: send down Thy grace upon us, and sanctify our souls, bodies, and spirits . . . that we may offer these gifts[a], presents, and sacrifices with a pure conscience," &c. *Ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰσάγων τὰ ἅγια δῶρα [λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην*[b].] "The priest who brings

Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, mentions in his fifth Catechesis Mystagogica. [See above, pp. 121, sqq. note b. That discourse is probably of the date A.D. 330 or 340. The points of agreement noticed by Hickes are traced by Mr. Palmer in further confirmation of the antiquity of the Liturgy of St. James; "Cyril (he says) begins by speaking of the ceremony of the bishop or priest's washing his hands, as denoting the purity which at this time should be in the mind. (Catech. Myst. v. § 2. p. 325, B, C.) He then mentions the kiss of peace, (*εἶτα βοᾷ ὁ διάκονος· ἀλλήλους ἀπολάβετε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπαζώμεθα*, 326, A.) Then the form of the Sursum Corda, (ibid., C, D, E. *μετὰ τοῦτο βοᾷ ὁ ἱερεὺς· ἄνω τὰς καρδίας . . . εἶτα ἀποκρίνεσθε· ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον . . . εἶτα ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει· εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ . . . εἶτα λέγετε· ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.* And then most minutely describes the thanksgiving down to the hymn Ter Sanctus. (See above, note g, p. 123. *λέγοντα, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ.*—p. 327, A, B.) Of this, the order, sentiments, and expressions will be found the same as in the orthodox and Monophysite Liturgies of St. James." "Cyril does not allude to the words of our Lord, but he plainly refers to the solemn oblation of the gifts."—(Ibid., C, D. See above, note h, p. 123.) He then proceeds to speak of the invocation and prayer for the Holy Ghost to make the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ, (ibid., C. See above, note l, p. 124.) He next notices the general prayers for all men and things, (ibid., D.) the commemoration of the living and dead; and the heads of petitions which he mentions are all found in the corresponding part of the Liturgies. Then he speaks of the Lord's Prayer, (§ xi. sqq. pp. 328—330.) Then of the *ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις*, (§ 19. p. 331, A. See above, note k, p. 124,) and the response of the people; all which occur in the Liturgies. "All this," he concludes, "critically agrees with the order, the substance, and the expressions of the anaphora which may be deduced from a comparison of the orthodox and Monophysite Liturgies of St. James." The same confirmation is found on examining the writings of Theodoret, St. Jerome, St. Ephrem Syrus, and St. Chrysostom, who all lived within this patriarchate. — Palmer's Orig. Liturg., vol. i. p. 37. ed. 3.]

[y] [*εὐχὴ τοῦ θυμιάματος τῆς εἰσόδου τῆς ἐνάρξεως. δέσποτα κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ . . . . καθάρισον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης κηλῖδος, καὶ παράστησον ἡμᾶς ἀγνοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ τοῦ προσενέγκαι σοι θυσίαν αἰνέσεως, κ. τ. λ.*—S. Jacobi Missa, Bibl. Vett. Patrum, De la Bigne, tom. ii. p. 2, A. Paris, 1624. Asseman. Cod. Liturg., lib. iv. pars 2. p. 3.]

[z] [*ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν εἴσοδον εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων . . . ἐπειδὴ ἔμφοβοι καὶ ἔντρομοί ἐσμεν, μέλλοντες παρεστάναι τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ· ἐξαπόστειλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεὸς, τὴν χάριν σου τὴν ἀγαθὴν, καὶ ἁγίασον ἡμῶν τὰς ψύχας καὶ τὰ σώματα, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα, . . . ἵνα ἐν καθαρῷ συνειδότι προσφέρωμέν σοι δῶρα, δόματα, καρπώματα, κ. τ. λ.*—Bibl. Patr., p. 3, C. Asseman, p. 7.]

[a] *δῶρα, δόματα, καρπώματα.* In the Missale of Gregory the Great, dona, munera, sacrificia [hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata. —Op. S. Greg., tom. iii. col. 2, B. See below, note z, p. 142.]

[b] [Bibl. Patr., p. 7, A. Asseman, p. 17.]

in the holy gifts shall say this prayer." *Ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος*[c], *κ.τ.λ.* "O Lord, who hast visited us in mercy and pity, and given us poor sinners and Thine unworthy servants, leave to come unto Thy holy altar, and offer this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice (*τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν*) for our sins, &c. . . . And of Thy goodness receive me, who approach Thy holy altar; and grant that these gifts offered by my hands may be made acceptable to Thee," &c.: . . . *καὶ τὰ περικείμενα τῇ ἱερᾷ ταύτῃ τελετῇ*[d], *κ.τ.λ.* "And uncovering the secret meaning, which is symbolically veiled in this holy sacrifice, shew it clearly to us," &c. And then in the prayer of consecration, *μεμνημένοι οὖν*[e], *κ. τ. λ.* "We sinners therefore, being mindful of His sufferings, &c. . . offer unto Thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice; have mercy upon us, O Lord, and send down Thy most Holy Spirit upon [us, and upon] these gifts which are set before Thee . . . that descending upon them He may by His holy, gracious, and glorious presence, make this bread the holy body of Christ, and this cup His precious blood." *Ὑπὲρ τῶν προσκομισθέντων*[f], *κ. τ. λ.* "Let us pray unto God for these sanctified, precious, heavenly, ineffable, pure, glorious, tremendous, dreadful, and Divine oblations, that our Lord would receive them into His holy, heavenly, intellectual, and spiritual altar, for a sweet-smelling savour," &c.: . . . . *ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πάτηρ τοῦ*

[c] [*ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐλέοις καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς, δέσποτα κύριε, καὶ χαρισάμενος παῤῥησίαν ἡμῖν τοῖς ταπεινοῖς καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς καὶ ἀναξίοις δούλοις σου, παρεστάναι τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ προσφέρειν σοὶ τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων, . . . πρόσδεξαί με διὰ τὴν ἀγαθότητά σου προσεγγίζοντα τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ· καὶ εὐδόκησον, κύριε, δεκτὰ γενέσθαι τὰ προσαγόμενα ταῦτα δῶρα διὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων χειρῶν, κ. τ. λ.*—Bibl. Patr., p. 10, B, C. Asseman, pp. 25, 26.]

[d] [*καὶ τὰ περικείμενα τῇ ἱερᾷ ταύτῃ τελετῇ συμβολικῶς ἀμφιάσματα τῶν αἰνιγμάτων ἡμῖν ἀνακαλύψας, τηλαυγῶς ἡμῖν ἀνάδειξον.*—Bibl. Patr., p. 12, B. Asseman, p. 32. This is the prayer used at taking the veil from off the elements. See below, note c, p. 151.]

[e] [*μεμνημένοι οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τῶν ζωοποιῶν αὐτοῦ παθημάτων, κ. τ. λ. . . . . προσφέρομέν σοι, δέσποτα, τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, . . . ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ θεὸς . . . καὶ ἐξαπόστειλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα, τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον . . . ἵνα ἐπιφοιτῆσαν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθῇ, καὶ ἐνδόξῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἁγιάσῃ, καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον, σῶμα ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου . . . καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σοῦ.*—Bibl. Patr., p. 14, B, C, E; p. 15, A, B. Asseman, pp. 37, sqq.]

[f] [*ὑπὲρ τῶν προσκομισθέντων, καὶ ἁγιασθέντων τιμίων, ἐπουρανίων, ἀῤῥήτων, ἀχράντων, ἐνδόξων, φοβερῶν, φρικτῶν, θείων δώρων κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ προσδεξάμενος αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ ὑπερουράνιον, νοερὸν, καὶ πνευματικὸν αὐτοῦ θυσιαστήριον, εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας πνευματικῆς.*—Bibl. Patr., p. 17, E. Asseman, p. 48.]

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Κυρίου[g], *κ.τ.λ.* "O God, the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ . . . . . who hast received the gifts, presents, and sacrifices offered unto Thee for a sweet-smelling savour, and hast vouchsafed to sanctify and consecrate them by the grace of Thy Christ, and the descent of Thy most Holy Spirit: O sanctify also our souls, bodies, and spirits," &c.

So in the Liturgy of St. Mark[h], or the Church of Alexandria, at the beginning of the oblation[i]: "O Lord our God, who art our sovereign Lord . . . who hast made all things by Thy Wisdom, the true Light, Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord and God, and only Saviour Jesus Christ, through whom giving thanks to Thee, [with Him] and with Thy Holy Spirit, we offer this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice, which all nations offer up unto Thee from the rising of the sun unto the setting thereof, from the north to the south; because[j] great is Thy name among all people, and incense, and sacrifice, and oblation is offered unto Thee in every place. *Καὶ δὸς*[k]

[g] [*ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . τὰ μὲν προσενεχθέντα σοι δῶρα, δόματα, καρπώματα, εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας πνευματικῆς προσεδέξω, καὶ ἁγιάσαι καὶ τελειῶσαι κατηξίωσας, ἀγαθὲ, τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος· ἁγίασον, δέσποτα, καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα, κ.τ.λ.*—Bibl. Patr., p. 18, A, B. Asseman, p. 49.]

[h] [The Liturgy of St. Mark was that of the patriarchate of Alexandria. Mr. Palmer shews from the agreement between this Liturgy, which continued to be used by the orthodox, and that called St. Cyril's, which is in use among the Monophysites, that it is in substance earlier than the council of Chalcedon, (A.D.451,) when the two bodies ceased to hold communion with each other. This Liturgy was first published at Paris in 1583, from a MS. of the tenth or eleventh century. It is found in the Bibliotheca Patrum, which Hickes used; in Asseman, lib. iv. pars 4; in Fabricius, Cod. Apocryph. Nov. Test. tom. iii.; and in Renaudot, tom. i. p. 131. The last is the text used by Mr. Palmer; the extracts here given have been collated by it.]

[i] [*ὁ ὢν, δέσποτα, κύριε θεὲ, ... πάντα δὲ ἐποίησας διὰ τῆς σῆς σοφίας, τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εὐχαριστοῦντες, προσφέρομεν τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν ταύτην, ἣν προσφέρει σοι, κύριε, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν, ἀπὸ ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας, ὅτι μέγα τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐν πάντι τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσφέρεται τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ ἁγίῳ σου, καὶ θυσία, καὶ προσφορά.*—S. Marci Liturgia, pp. 32, C, E. 33, A. Bibl. Vett. Patrum, De la Bigne, Paris, 1624. Renaudot, Liturg. Orient. Coll., tom. i. pp. 144, 145. In Renaudot there is a point after *ὁ ὢν*, which is not in the Bibl. Patr., giving it the meaning of 'the living God.']

[j] These words allude to Malachi i. 10, 11.

[k] [*καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον ἔχειν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου τῶν προσφέροντων τῆς θυσίας τὰς προσφορὰς· τὰ εὐχαριστήρια πρόσδεξαι ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον.*—Bibl. Patr., p. 35, B. Renaudot, pp. 150, 151. In Renaudot the passage runs, *τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τὰς προσφορὰς*, and the point is after *τῶν ἁγίων σου*, not after *προσφορὰς*; so as to have the sense; "with all Thy saints. And, O God, receive the Eucharistical gifts of those who bring unto Thee sacrifices and oblations," &c.]

ἡμῖν μερίδα, κ.τ.λ. "And grant that we may have our part and lot with all Thy saints, who bring unto Thee sacrificial oblations (τῆς θυσίας τὰς προσφορὰς), and, O God, receive up these Eucharistical gifts (τὰ εὐχαριστήρια) into Thy heavenly and intellectual altar." *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων, κ.τ.λ.*[1] "O Lord our God, we have set what are Thine of Thy own gifts before Thee; and we pray and beseech Thee, O bountiful lover of mankind, to send down from the height of Thy holy place, from Thy prepared tabernacle, from Thy infinite bosoms (of love), (ἐξ ἑτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου, ἐκ τῶν ἀπεριγράπτων κόλπων σου,) the Paraclete Himself, the Spirit of truth, the holy, quickening Lord (ζωοποιὸν), who spake in the Law, and the Prophets, and Apostles, who is every where present, and fills all things, and worketh not ministerially, but by His own power (ἐνεργοῦν τε αὐτεξουσίως, οὐ διακονικῶς), holiness according to Thy good pleasure, in whom He will; who is simple by nature, but manifold in His operations; who is the fountain of Divine gifts and graces, consubstantial to Thee, and proceeding from Thee, and sits with Thee and Thy only-begotten Son, and our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ in the throne of Thy kingdom: O send down this Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these loaves and these cups; that as God omnipotent He may sanctify and consecrate them, and make this bread the body, and the cup the blood of the New Testament of our Lord and God and Saviour, and King of kings, Jesus Christ."

So in the Liturgy of St. Peter, that is, of the Latin Liturgy

[1] [σοὶ, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων προεθήκαμεν ἐνώπιόν σου· καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, ἐξαπόστειλον ἐξ ὕψους τοῦ ἁγίου σου, ἐξ ἑτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου, ἐκ τῶν ἀπεριγράπτων κόλπων (σου,) αὐτὸν τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸν ἅγιον, τὸν κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιον, τὸ ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις λαλῆσαν, τὸ πανταχοῦ παρὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληροῦν, ἐνεργοῦν τε αὐτεξουσίως, οὐ διακονικῶς, ἐφ' οὓς βούλεται, τὸν ἁγιασμὸν εὐδοκίᾳ τῇ σῇ, τὸ ἁπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν 'καὶ πολυμερὲς' [τὸ πλημερὲς, Renaudot] τὴν ἐνέργειαν, τὴν τῶν θείων χαρισμάτων πηγήν· τὸ σοὶ ὁμοούσιον, τὸ ἐκ σοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σύνθρονον τῆς βασιλείας σου καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἔτι δὲ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα αὐτὰ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ ὡς παντοδύναμος θεὸς, . . . καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα, . . . τὸ δὲ ποτήριον, αἷμα τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος καὶ παμβασιλέως ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Ibid., pp. 37, E. 38, B. Bibl. Patr., pp. 156, 157, Renaudot. The σου in parentheses is not in Renaudot.]

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of the Church of Rome, translated into Greek[m], *θυσίαν Κύριε, σοι, κ. τ. λ.*[n] "O Lord, sanctify this sacrifice, which is to be offered to Thee, and receive us graciously," &c. . . . *σὲ τοίνυν, κ. τ. λ.*[o] "We therefore pray, and beseech Thee, most merciful Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that Thou wouldst please to accept and bless these gifts[p], this oblation, this holy and pure sacrifice, which we offer up to Thee, in the first place for Thy holy Catholic Apostolical Church."... *ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν προσφορὰν, κ. τ. λ.*[q] "O Lord, we beseech Thee mercifully to receive this offering of our (bounden duty and) service which we offer to Thee, . . . which we beseech Thee that Thou wouldst vouchsafe to make blessed[r] (*ἀπερίγραπ-*

[m] [This Liturgy was first published, from a MS. at Paris, by Morell, in 1595. It is the work of some later Greek, who compiled it from a translation of the Canon of the Mass of the Latin Church, and the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom. See Renaudot. Lit. Oriens., tom. ii. p. 153.]

[n] [*θυσίαν, κύριέ, σοι προορισθεῖσαν προσφορὰν ἁγίασον, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἡμᾶς ἀσμένως πρόσδεξαι.*—S. Petri Liturgia, Biblioth. Patr. ibid., p. 118, E.]

[o] [*σὲ τοίνυν ἐπιεικέστατε πάτερ, διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἱκετεύοντες παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ δεόμεθα, ἵνα προσδεκταῖα σχῇς καὶ εὐλογήσῃς ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα, ταύτην τὴν προσφορὰν, ταύτην τὴν ἁγίαν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀμώμητον, ἐν πρώτοις ἅπερ σοι προσφέρομεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, κ.τ.λ.*—Ibid., p. 119, C, D.]

[p] *ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα, ταύτην τὴν προσφορὰν, ταύτην τὴν ἁγίαν θυσίαν τὴν ἀμώμητον*; in the Roman Missal, 'hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata.'

[q] [*ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν προσφορὰν τῆς δουλείας ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου, ἣν σοι προσφέρομεν, δέομεθα κύριε ἀσμένως πρόσδεξαι . . . εὐλογημένην, ἀπερίγραπτον, ἐράσμιον, εὐαπολόγητον, προσδεκταίαν τε ποιῆσαι καταξιώσῃς, ἵνα ἡμῖν σῶμα καὶ αἷμα γένηται τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου υἱοῦ, κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*—Ibid., p. 120, C, D.]

[r] *δεόμεθα εὐλογημένην, ἀπερίγραπτον, ἐράσμιον, εὐαπολόγητον, προσδεκταίαν τε ποιῆσαι καταξιώσῃς.* In St. Gregory's Sacramentary, [and the Canon of the Mass of which the Greek is a translation]: Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæsumus benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris. —[S. Greg. M. Op., tom. iii. col. 3, C.] All which terms are explained by Menardus, not. 46—49. The Greek translator did not rightly understand the Latin terms, and therefore he absurdly rendered 'adscriptam' by *ἀπερίγραπτον*, which in the theological sense always signifies 'incomprehensible,' 'unconceivable.' 'As in Hesychius, [*ἀπερινόητον*]; Phavorinus, [*ἀπεριόριστον· . . . . ἡ ἅγια ἐκκλήσια τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ἀπεριγράπτως ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἀπερίσκοπον*]; Suicer, [non circumscriptus, incomprehensibilis, qui mente comprehendi non potest; frequenter de Deo usurpatur; he adds several instances of this.—Thes. Eccl., tom. i. col. 432.] Stephani Thesaurus, [*περίγραπτος*, qui circumscribi potest et finiri, unde *ἀπερίγραπτος* huic contrarium, ut Damascen. de Deo; *ἀκατάληπτος, ἀπερίγραπτος*:] in Liturgia quæ S. Petri esse creditur, non ita recte legitur *ἀπερίγραπτον*, id est incircumscriptam, incomprehensibilem.—[tom. iii. col. 3056.] Hesych. *ἀπερίγραπτον, ἀπερινόητον*, id est, incomprehensibilem. Menard. in not. 47. [The translator seems to have read 'gratam' for 'ratam,' for which he uses *ἐράσμιον*. Menard's notes are given S. Greg. M. Op., tom. iii. col. 275, 276. He explains *benedictam*, consecratam; *ascriptam;* id est, in numerum beneplacitorum tuorum receptam; *ratam;* id est, immobili firmitate perpetuam, in versione Codini (see above, note b, p. 67) *βεβαίαν*; *rationabilem*, in versione Codini *λογικὴν*, i. e. rationalem, which is variously explained by cum ratione actam; justa ratione plenam; cum ratione oblatam; the Greek word by which it is mistranslated, *εὐαπολόγητον*, Menard translates, excusabilis.]

τον), amiable, grateful, and acceptable, that it may be unto us the body and blood of Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord." .... *τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν προσφέρομέν, κ. τ. λ.*[s] "Thy own of Thy own; this pure sacrifice, this holy sacrifice, this spotless sacrifice, this holy bread of eternal life, and cup of everlasting salvation we offer, of Thy gifts and benefits, unto Thee, upon which we beseech Thee that Thou wouldst look with a propitious and serene countenance, and accept as Thou wast pleased to accept the gifts of Thy righteous child Abel; and command that it be carried up by the hand of Thy ministering angel unto Thy altar above, before Thy Divine majesty; that whosoever of us shall receive any holy part of the body of Thy Son, or of His blood, may be filled with Thy heavenly benediction and grace, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

So in the Lent-office of administering the Eucharist, *ex præsanctificatis*[t], translated by Genebrard; *ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεθέντων, καὶ προαγιασθέντων τιμίων δώρων τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν*[u]: "Let us pray for the precious gifts, or oblations, which have before been presented and sanctified." . . . *ὁ τῶν ἀῤῥήτων*[v], *κ. τ. λ.* "O God of ineffable and invisible mysteries, with whom are hid the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and who of Thy great love towards men hast ap-

[s] [*τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν προσφέρομεν τῇ τιμίᾳ μεγαλωσύνῃ σου, ἐκ τῶν σῶν δωρεῶν καὶ χαρισμάτων, θυσίαν καθαρὰν, θυσίαν ἁγίαν, θυσίαν ἄμωμον, ἄρτον ἅγιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου, καὶ ποτήριον σωτηρίας ἀεννάον· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἵλεῳ καὶ εὐϊλάτῳ προσώπῳ ἐπισκέψαι καταξιώσης, καὶ προσδεκτὰ σχεῖν, καθὰ κατηξίωσας τὰ δῶρα τοῦ παιδός σου τοῦ δικαίου Ἀβέλ . . . κέλευσον τοῦτο διακονηθῆναι διὰ χειρὸς ἁγίου ἀγγέλου σου εἰς τὸ ὑψηλόν σου θυσιαστήριον, ἐνώπιον τῆς θείας μεγαλειότητός σου, ἵνα οἵαν δήποτε ἐκ τούτου τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου μερίδα ἁγίαν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ληψώμεθα, πάσης ἐπουρανίου εὐλογίας καὶ χάριτος ἐμπλησθῶμεν, διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*—S. Petri Lit. i. ibid., p. 121, B, C, D.]

[t] [This is a service used in the Greek churches during Lent. In that season in conformity with Canon xlix. of the council of Laodicea, A.D. 364? (*ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.* Concilia, tom. i. col. 1540, A.) they do not consecrate the Eucharist except on Sundays and Saturdays; on other days they partake of the previously consecrated elements, with this service, as enjoined by the council in Trullo, A.D. 692. *ἐν πάσαις τῆς ἁγίας τεσσερακοστῆς τῶν νηστειῶν ἡμέραις, παρεκτὸς σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας, γινέσθω ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτουργία.*—Concilia, tom. vii. col. 1372, D. See Genebrard's note, Biblioth. Patr., tom. ii. p. 101. 1624.]

[u] [Liturgia Ante-Consecrat., Biblioth. Patr., tom. ii. p. 98, A. 1624.]

[v] [*ὁ τῶν ἀῤῥήτων καὶ ἀθεάτων μυστηρίων Θεὸς, παρ' ᾧ οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι, ὁ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης ἀποκαλύψας ἡμῖν, καὶ θέμενος ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς διὰ πολλήν σου φιλανθρωπίαν εἰς τὸ προσφέρειν σοι δῶρα καὶ θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων, κ. τ. λ.*—ibid. C.]

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pointed us sinners to offer gifts and sacrifices for our own sins," &c.

I might, Sir, from the Greek Liturgies as now extant, return to the ancient Greek writers, and cite many more authorities out of them for the Eucharistical oblation, especially that in the margin[v], to which I refer my reader: but

[v] In the prayer of consecration of a bishop, Apost. Const., lib. viii. c. 5. δὸς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, καρδιογνώστα θεὲ, ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλον σου τόνδε, ὃν ἐξελέξω εἰς ἐπίσκοπον, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἁγίαν σου ποίμνην, καὶ ἀρχιερατεύειν σοι ἀμέμπτως, λειτουργοῦντα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐξιλασκόμενόν σου πρόσωπον, ἐπισυναγαγεῖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωζομένων, καὶ προσφέρειν σοι τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας· δὸς αὐτῷ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τὴν μετουσίαν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὥστε ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν σου· διδόναι κλήρους κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμά σου, λύειν δὲ πάντα σύνδεσμον κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· εὐαρεστεῖν δέ σοι ἐν πραότητι καὶ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ἀπρέπτως, ἀμέμπτως, ἀνεγκλήτως προσφέροντά σοι καθαρὰν καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, ἣν διὰ Χριστοῦ διετάξω, τὸ μυστήριον τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν] δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.—Concil., tom. i. p. 461, D. [The words τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν were omitted in the third edition; they are inserted in Hickes' copy. See vol. i. p. 36, note f.] "O God, who knowest the heart, give for Thy own name to this Thy servant, whom Thou hast chosen to be a bishop, grace to feed Thy holy flock, and to execute before Thee the office of an high-priest, ministering by night and by day unblameably, to make atonement before Thee, (and) to assemble the number of those who are saved, and to offer the gifts of Thy holy Church. Give him, O Lord Almighty, through Thy Christ, the communication of the Holy Ghost, that he may have power to remit sins according to Thy command; to give holy orders; to loose every bond according to the power Thou gavest to Thy Apostles; to please Thee in all meekness, and with a clean heart to offer unto Thee constantly, unblameably, and without fault the pure and unbloody sacrifice which Thou hast ordained by Christ to be the Sacrament of the New Testament, for a sweet savour through Thy holy Child Jesus Christ our God and Saviour, through whom in the Holy Spirit be unto Thee glory, honour, and worship now, and always, and for ever and ever." In the commentary of Jobus Ludolphus, ad suam Historiam Æthiopicam, p. 324, [see above, note n, p. 125,] this passage is rendered as follows: Da, O gnare cordium Pater, ut servus tuus, quem elegisti ad episcopatum, pascat gregem tuum, et sacerdotio fungatur coram te absque reprehensione, ut ministrans noctu dieque suppliciter oret, videatque faciem tuam, ut digne offerat oblationem sanctæ Ecclesiæ tuæ, et in Spiritu sacerdotii sancto habens facultatem remittendi peccata secundum mandatum tuum, et dandi ordines (secundum) institutionem tuam, atque solvendi omne vinculum iniquitatis secundum potestatem, quam dedisti Apostolis tuis, ut acceptus tibi sit in sinceritate, et puro corde offerendo tibi odorem suavem, per filium tuum Jesum Christum, in quo tibi (sit) laus et potentia: gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto in sancta Ecclesia nunc et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

In the Baroccian MS. at Oxford, 26 fol. 151, b, entituled διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν, διὰ Ἱπολύτου, the same passage is to be read in these words: [fol. 153, line 14.] καὶ νῦν ἐπίχεε τὴν παρά σου δύναμιν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεύματος, ὅπερ διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου σου παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δεδώρησαι τοῖς ἁγίοις σου ἀποστόλοις, οἵ καθίδρυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τόπον ἁγιάσματός σου (εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον ἀδιάλειπτον τοῦ ὀνόματός σου) καρδιογνώστα πάντων, ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον, ὃν ἐξελέξω εἰς ἐπισκοπήν σου τὴν ἁγίαν, καὶ ἀρχιερατεύειν σοι ἀμέμπτως λειτουργοῦντα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἀδιαλείπτως τε ἱλάσκεσθαι τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, καὶ προσφέρειν σοι τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀρχιερατικῷ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν σου, διδόναι κλήρους

from the Liturgies of the Greek Churches it is time to lead you to those of the Latin, among whom I shall begin with

κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμά σου, λύειν τε πάντα σύνδεσμον κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν δέδωκας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, εὐαρεστεῖν τε σοι ἐν πραότητι καὶ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ· προσφέροντά σοι δσμὴν εὐωδίας διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

[The first of the works to which Hickes refers is a collection of thirty-eight Constitutions, which exist in Ethiopic, and are received in the Abyssinian Church as Apostolical Constitutions. Twenty-three of them are printed in Ludolf's Comment. in suam Hist. Æthiop., pp. 314, but he admits (p. 329) that they were carelessly transcribed, and that he had to correct and supply passages. The other is a similar collection of twenty-eight Constitutions existing in Greek, which in two MSS., one at Vienna the other at Oxford, are attributed to St. Hippolytus, the disciple of Irenæus, (fl. A.D. 220, Cave); they are printed, together with a Latin translation by Grabe, in the collected edition of the works of Hippolytus by Fabricius, p. 248, Hamb. 1716. They correspond with much of the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. Hickes refers to a MS. in the Bodleian Library, among the collection made by Giacomo Barocci, a Venetian nobleman; and given to the University by the earl of Pembroke, when chancellor; with which the copy edited by Fabricius was collated.]

Though there is a verbal difference between these two Greek copies of the ancient prayer of consecration, and of the Abyssen-Ethiopic version, from them both, yet as to sense and substance they are really the same. And the difference of words and expressions, and of the order of them, shews that what they all agree in must be genuine and true; and particularly that the holy Eucharist is, and was anciently esteemed to be the sacrifice of the Christian Church. I must also advertise my reader, that the words in the Baroccian copy included within the hooks, though they are written in the same hand and same ink with the rest of the manuscript, yet they have points made over against them at the left hand in the margin: which seems to denote that the copyist who so distinguishes them, suspected them not to be genuine, but inserted from the margin of some copy, or some other place. [The words included in the parentheses are themselves written in the margin of the MS., but not in the same ink or hand, though in one nearly cotemporaneous; the points mentioned by Hickes seem immaterial. The genuineness of the words does not seem suspected; in fact a later hand has supplied what was omitted by the copyist.] The like sacrificial phrase for the Eucharist as *προσφέρειν δῶρα*, used by St. Clement in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, [c. 44. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 173; see above, p. 88, note x,] and in this prayer of consecration, is also used by Gregory Nazianzen in his oration at the consecration of Eulalius bishop of Doara in Cappadocia, [Orat. 13. § 4. p. 254, C; see vol. i. p. 89, notes t, u,] "O son of Dathan and Abiram (saith he in an apostrophe to some factious bishop) who durst rise up against Moses, and laid thy hands upon us, as they did their tongues upon him, the great servant of God; how hadst thou no horror? Wast thou not confounded? And did not thy countenance fall to the ground, when thou thoughtest of these things? Durst thou after this hold up these hands to God? *εἶτα δῶρα προσάξεις*; Durst thou after this offer the gifts? Durst thou after this pray for the people?" With this ancient consecration prayer agree those in the modern Greek rituals, as may be seen in Goar's Euchologium, pp. 302, 303, and Habertus, Lib. Pontif. Ecclesiæ Græcæ, pp. 317, 318: *δέσποτα κύριε [ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ νομοθετήσας ἡμῖν διὰ τοῦ πανευφήμου σου ἀποστόλου Παύλου βαθμῶν καὶ ταγμάτων τάξιν, εἰς τὸ ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι καὶ λειτουργεῖν τοῖς σεπτοῖς καὶ ἀχράντοις σου μυστηρίοις ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ· πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, κ.τ.λ.*—Ex ordine qui observari solet in ordinatione Episcopi.] "O Lord our God, who by Thy glorious Apostle St. Paul hast given a rule for degrees and orders to serve in the ministration of Thy venerable and immaculate mysteries of Thy holy altar; as first Apostles," &c. So; *κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, [ὁ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν τὴν τῆς θεότητος ὑπενεγκεῖν οὐσίαν, τῇ σῇ οἰκονομίᾳ ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἡμῖν διδασκάλους καταστήσας, τὸν σὸν ἐπέχοντας θρόνον, εἰς τὸ ἀναφέρειν σοι θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου, σύ, κύριε, τοῦτον τὸν ἀναδειχθέντα οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς χάριτος ποιήσον*

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the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great[x], where the Canon of the Mass (for mass of old, as well as pope, was a word of good and harmless signification) begins with this prayer[y]: "Wherefore, O most merciful Father, we humbly pray and beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, that Thou wouldst accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy pure sacrifices[z], which we offer up to Thee for Thy holy Catholic Church. . . . . Wherefore, we beseech Thee, that Thou wouldst graciously receive this oblation of our service, *oblationem servitutis nostræ,* and of Thy whole family; *quam oblationem, quæsumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris,*

γενέσθαι μιμητήν σου, τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ποιμένος, τιθέντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων σου, ὁδηγὸν τυφλῶν, φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, παιδεύτην ἀφρόνων, διδάσκαλον νηπίων, φωστῆρα ἐν κόσμῳ, ἵνα καταρτίσας τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς ἐμπιστευθείσας αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς, παραστῇ τῷ βήματί σου ἀκαταισχύντως, καὶ τὸν μέγαν μίσθον λήψηται ὃν ἡτοίμασας τοῖς ἀθλήσασιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου σου.—Ibid., pp. 318, 319.] "O Lord our God, who because the nature of man cannot bear Thy Divine presence, hast by Thy economy appointed doctors of like infirmities with us (τὸν σὸν ἐπέχοντες θρόνον) to sit on Thy throne, and to offer up unto Thee (θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν) a sacrifice and oblation for all Thy people: do Thou, O Lord, make this elected steward of the episcopal grace a follower of Thy true Shepherd, in laying down His life for Thy sheep; a guide to the blind; a light to those who live in darkness; a preceptor of the ignorant; a teacher of babes; a luminary to the world, that when he hath reformed the souls committed to his charge in this life, he may without shame present himself before Thy tribunal, and receive the great reward which Thou hast prepared for those champions who endure much contention in preaching the Gospel." The same prayers are given in the place referred to in Goar.]

[x] [Sacramentary, or book of Sacraments, was the old name for the missal, which besides the canon of the mass contained a number of prayers and offices for particular days. These prayers St. Gregory (circ. A.D. 595) collected, arranged, remodelled, and added to. He inserted a short passage into the canon, and joined the Lord's prayer to the canon, from which it had before been separated by the breaking of the bread. The canon itself, that is, the essential portion of the service, which is here quoted, remained unchanged. Hence the Sacramentary bore his name. The Sacramentary of St. Gelasius, previously in use in the Latin Church, is referred to, pp. 144. There is a still earlier one, the Sacramentary of St. Leo, given in Muratori, Liturgia Romana Vetus, tom. i. pp. 294, sqq. Venet. 1748. The portion of the Liturgy which bears on Hickes' argument is, as will be seen, invariably the same.]

[y] [Te igitur, clementissime ac misericors Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus et petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata, imprimis quæ tibi offerimus pro tua Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, pacificare &c. . . . Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine ut placatus accipias, . . . Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæsumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris: ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini Dei nostri Jesu Christi.—S. Gregorii Sacram. Op., tom. iii. col. 2, B. col. 3, C.]

[z] Hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata.—Menard. in locum. Dona sunt, quæ voluntarie donantur: munera sunt, quæ pro aliquo munere vel mercede offeruntur, sicut nos offerimus Deo ut peccata nostra dimittantur: sacrificia sunt, quæ cum orationibus consecrantur.—[Menard. not. 26, Op., S. Greg., tom. iii. col. 283, B.]

ut nobis corpus, &c., which oblation we beseech Thee that it may please Thee to make blessed, appropriated, approved, rational, and acceptable, that it may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord." In the treatise *de Sacramentis*, falsely ascribed to St. Ambrose, but written by some orthodox author of the ninth century, the words of this prayer are these which follow[a]: *Vis scire quia verbis cœlestibus consecratur? Accipe quæ sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos: fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptam,* [*ratam*, ed. Ben.] *rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod sit in figuram*[b] *corporis, et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* In this prayer to God to appropriate, ratify, and accept the elements to be offered, and thereby to become the figurative or mystical body and blood of Christ, the words *benedictam* and *ratam* are omitted; but in the present canon of the Roman Mass they are as in the Sacramentary of Gregory I.; "Wherefore, O Lord, we Thy servants, and Thy holy people, being mindful of Thy Son our God, and of His blessed passion, also of His resurrection from the dead, and His glorious ascension into heaven, offer unto Thy glorious majesty[c], *hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immacula-*

[a] S. Ambros. de Sacramentis, lib. iv. cap. 5. [Op., tom. ii. p. 371, B. This treatise is given as genuine by the Benedictine editors. It is however more generally rejected, and that by some Roman Catholic as well as Protestant writers. See Card. Bona de Rebus Liturg., lib. i. cap. 7. § 4, who was first led to doubt its genuineness from its style differing from that of St. Ambrose. He conceives however that it was cited as St. Ambrose's in the eighth and ninth centuries; in the controversy to which Hickes refers in the following note.]

[b] This seems to shew that the author lived in the time of the controversy between Paschasius Radbertus and Bertramus; the former of whom, as Bellarminus de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis confesses, was the first, 'qui serio et copiose scripsit de veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia.'

[But Bellarmine adds, 'contra Bertramum presbyterum, qui fuit ex primis qui eam in dubium revocarunt.'—Bellarmini Op., tom. vii. p. 288, A. Paschasius, monk and afterwards abbot of Corbey, composed his work, De corpore et sanguine Domini, (Marten. Amplissima Collectio Veterum Scriptorum, tom. ix. p. 378,) A.D. 831, and sent out a second edition A.D. 845, which was opposed by Bertram, in a work under the same title. It is to be observed that the Roman editions of St. Ambrose's works read 'quod sit in figuram corporis,' the true reading is 'quod figura est corporis,' and the Roman editors are accused of having introduced this reading, from which Hickes infers the late date of the treatise, without any MS. authority, to avoid the doctrine apparently implied in St. Ambrose's words. The Bened. editors (note a, ad locum) say, 'communis lectio legitima est, nec vel transversam unguem a pio et catholico sensu abhorrens.']

[c] [Unde et memores sumus, Domine, nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta, Christi filii tui Dei nostri, tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis; offerimus majestati tuæ, de tuis donis ac datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ,

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tam, a pure, holy, and spotless sacrifice of Thy own gifts[d] and benefits, the holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of everlasting salvation. Upon which, we beseech Thee, look with a propitious and serene countenance, and vouchsafe to accept them, as Thou didst receive the oblations of Thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, that immaculate host which Melchisedec Thy high-priest offered to Thee. And we humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, command that these[e] (oblations) be carried up by the hands of angels unto Thy heavenly altar in Thy sight; that as many of us as have partaken of the body and blood of Thy Son at this altar may be filled with Thy benediction and grace, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

So in the *Codices Sacramentorum,* published at Rome by Joseph Maria Thomasius, 1680, which are ancient offices, written about the latter end of the eighth century[f], in which, omitting all the prayers of the priest, I shall only cite the words in the Canon[g] of the celebration of the Eucharist, where, after *Sursum Corda,* &c. "Lift up your hearts." R. "We lift them up unto the Lord." "Let us give thanks unto our Lord God." R. "It is meet and right so to do;" then

et calicem salutis perpetuæ; supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicut munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech: sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam. Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in supercœleste altare tuum, in conspectu divinæ majestatis tuæ, ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur; per Christum Dominum nostrum.—S. Greg. Op., tom. iii. col. 3, E. 4, A, B.]

[d] De tuis donis ac datis. See Menardus on the place, [note 62, Op., S. Greg., tom. iii. col. 288, D. Menard refers to the words in the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil quoted above, note k, p. 130. ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρομεν, and the adoption of the words in an inscription by the Emperor Justinian.]

[e] Jube hæc perferri, viz. the bread and wine, which therefore could not be the very body and blood of Christ, who is always in heaven.

[f] [The Liturgy from which Hickes now proceeds to quote was printed by Thomasius from a MS. from the queen of Sweden's library, of a date earlier than the year 800. It has been proved by many arguments, and is now allowed to be the Sacramentary of St. Gelasius, bishop of Rome A.D. 492, which he is known to have arranged, and which continued in use till the time of St. Gregory the Great. See the preface of Thomasius; Muratori, Liturg. Rom. Diss., cap. v. p. 51; Cave, Hist. Lit., tom. i. p. 464; referred to by Palmer, Orig. Lit., vol. i. p. 116. It does not contain the words filioque in the Nicene Creed, and the Creed itself is given in Greek words, written in Latin characters, p. 55.]

[g] Lib. iii. p. 196. [Incipit canon actionis. Sursum corda, ℟. Habemus ad Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. ℟. Dignum et justum est.

Et justum est, æquum et salutare

it follows, *Et justum est, æquum, et salutare,* &c. "It is meet, right, and for our comfort, that we should always, and in all places give thanks unto Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and eternal God," &c. *Te igitur, clementissime pater, per Jesum Christum filium tuum,* &c. "We therefore, most merciful Father, humbly pray and beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord," *uti accepta habeas, et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata,* &c. "that Thou wouldst accept and bless these oblations, these gifts, these holy unspotted sacrifices, which in the first place we offer unto Thee for Thy Holy Catholic Church," &c. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ,* &c. "We therefore pray Thee, O Lord, that it may please Thee to accept this oblation of our bounden duty and service, and of Thy whole family," &c. *Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæsumus benedictam, ascriptam,* &c. "Which oblation, we beseech Thee, O God, being blessed, appropriated, &c., Thou wouldst vouchsafe to make acceptable, that it may be unto us the body and blood of Thy Son, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ." And then, after the words of the Institution, *Unde et memores,* &c. "Wherefore, O Lord, we Thy servants, and also Thy holy people, being mindful of the blessed passion of Thy Son our Lord God," &c. *Offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam,* &c. "We offer unto Thy glorious Majesty of Thy own gifts and

nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, &c. Te igitur clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus et petimus: uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia inlibata. In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica: quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum una cum famulo tuo papa nostro illo, et antistite nostro illo episcopo. Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium circumadstantium; quorum tibi fides cognita est, et nota devotio; qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se, suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ; tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero. . . . Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostra sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ, quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias. . . . Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæsumus benedictam, ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris: ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri Jesu Christi. . . . Unde et memores sumus, Domine, nos tui servi sed et plebs tua sancta, Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cælos gloriosæ ascensionis: offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctum, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicem salutis perpetuæ. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere

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benefits, a pure, holy, immaculate sacrifice, the bread of eternal life, and the cup of everlasting salvation, upon which we beseech Thee to look with a propitious countenance, and to accept them as Thou didst the gifts of Thy righteous servant Abel," &c. To this I might add the Canon of the Eucharistical action in the ancient Gallican Liturgy, published by Mabillon[h], but because it is almost of the same with the former I omit it. Many collections and observations of the same kind might also be extracted out of the elaborate and useful volumes of the learned Benedictine, Edmund Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*[i]. But having produced enough out of the ancient Liturgies to prove the sacrifice of the holy Eucharist from the harmonious agreement of them all in that point, I forbear to collect any more. Sir, I say the harmonious agreement of them all, to prevent cavil from such men as your late writer: for in whatsoever they all agree among themselves, and every one of them with the account we have of the Eucharist in Justin Martyr's Apology[k], and in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth chapters of the Apostolical Constitutions[l], (which answer so exactly to the celebration of it, as described by Justin,) that must needs be primitive and apostolical, and the consenting suffrage, i. e. the consentient doctrine and practice of the ancient Catholic Church.

Of this sort were the salutation of the bishop or priest at the altar[m], "The peace of God be with you all:" and the people's answer, "And with thy spirit;" the kiss of peace[n];

digneris, et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, &c.; as in the Canon quoted from St. Gregory's Sacramentary, p. 144, note c.—Thomasius, pp. 196—198. Hickes' translation "being blessed," &c., seems incorrect.]

[h] [De Liturgia Gallicana libri iii. opera et studio Johannis Mabillon.] Par. 1685. [See Palmer's Orig. Lit. Dissert., sect. ix. vol. i. pp. 143, sqq.]

[i] [See lib. i. c. 4. Art. 12. De Singularibus Sacræ Liturgiæ Ritibus; where a large collection of Liturgies is given; tom. i. pp. 166, sqq. Antw. 1763.]

[k] [See above, pp. 105, 106, notes f, g.]

[l] [See above, pp. 120—127.]

[m] [S. Jacobi Lit. Asseman., p. 8, ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου. S. Marci, Renaudot, tom. i. p. 145. See also S. Chrysost. Lit. Goar, p. 80. S. Basilii ibid., p. 165; the references are made to the above editions in the notes which follow.—Dominus vobiscum. ℟. Et cum spiritu tuo. S. Greg. Sacram. Op., tom. iii. col. 1, B. The Gelasian Sacramentary begins at the words Sursum Corda. See above, p. 144, g. For the corresponding passages in the Apostolical Constitutions, see above, pp. 122, sqq.; and in St. Cyril, note x, p. 134.]

[n] [ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ. S. Jacobi, p. 20. See S. Marci, p. 142. S. Chrysost., p. 75. S. Basilii, p. 165. This practice is not found in the Latin Liturgies. Ducange says of its disuse, Abrogatus osculorum pa-

the priest's washing his hands[o] before he began the ministration; the *μή τις κατά τινος*, or monition[p] of the deacon to the people, "that none should presume to communicate who had injured his brother" and was not reconciled to him; the *stemus cum timore*[q], or, charge to the communicants to "stand with fear and trembling before the Lord;" to offer the *sancta sanctis*[r], "holy things to holy men;" the apostolical benediction of the bishop standing in his robes at the altar[s]: "The grace of Almighty God, the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all;" to which the people answered, "And with thy spirit;" then the *Sursum Corda*[t], "Lift up your hearts;" and the people's answer, "We lift them up unto the Lord;" then, "Let us give thanks unto the Lord;" and the answer, "It is meet and right so to do:" to which the priest, "It is truly meet and

cis in ecclesia usus, inductusque alius, ut dum sacerdos verba hæc profert, 'pax Domini sit semper vobiscum,' diaconi vel subdiaconi imaginem quandam adstantibus clericis et plebi osculandum porrigant, quam vulgari vocabulo pacem appellamus.—Ducange, Glossarium, tom. iv. p. 1404. Par. 1733.]

[o] [*εἶτα ἀπελθόντες εἰς τὴν πρόθεσιν νίπτουσι τὰς χεῖρας, λέγοντες, νίψομαι ἐν ἀθώοις.* (Ps. xxvi. 6, sqq.) S. Chrysost., p. 60. This occurs in the preparation for the Liturgy, which is not given in any of the other Greek Liturgies; that of St. Basil refers to St. Chrysostom's for this portion. Neither is this portion in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory or of St. Gelasius. In the Ordinarium Missæ; 'Sacerdos lavat manus, dicens; Lavabo inter innocentes, &c.' (Ps. xxvi. 6, sqq.) It may be added that besides the Preparation the Liturgies themselves are divided into two parts; the Introduction, and the Anaphora or solemn prayer, containing the Preface, Consecration, &c.—Palmer, Orig. Lit., vol. i. p. 20.]

[p] [Const. Apost., lib. ii. c. 57. Concilia, tom. i. p. 297, and lib. viii. c. 12, quoted above, p. 122, e. Corresponding monitions are found, S. Jacobi, p. 15; S. Marc., p. 141; S. Chrys., p. 70; S. Basilii, p. 162. This and the following portions are not found in the Liturgies of the Latin Church.]

[q] [*στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου· πρόσχωμεν τὴν ἁγίαν ἀναφορὰν ἐν εἰρήνῃ προσφέρειν.*—S. Chrysost., p. 75. S. Basilii, p. 165. *στῶμεν καλῶς, στῶμεν εὐλαβῶς, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ καταύξεως.*—S. Jacobi, pp. 19, 31.]

[r] [*τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.*—S. Jacobi, p. 53. S. Marci, p. 161. S. Basilii, p. 175. S. Chrysostomi, p. 81.]

[s] [See above, p. 122, note e. *ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. ὁ χόρος. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.*—S. Chrysost., p. 175. S. Basilii, p. 165. S. Jacobi, p. 32. In the Liturgy of St. Mark the *Sursum Corda* is immediately preceded by the versicles, *ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου*: the benediction is reserved for the dismissal of the people, and occurs in an expanded form, p. 164. tom. i. ed. Renaudot.]

[t] [*ὁ ἱερεύς. ἀνὼ ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας. ὁ λαός. ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον. ὁ ἱερεύς. εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ κυρίῳ. ὁ λαός. ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον. ὁ ἱερεὺς ἄρχεται τῆς ἀναφορᾶς. ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιόν ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον, κ. τ. λ.*—S. Marci, p. 144. S. Chrysost., p. 75. S. Basilii, p. 165. S. Jacobi, p. 33.—Sursum corda. ℟. Habemus ad Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. ℟. Dignum et justum est. Vere dignum et justum est, &c. S. Gelasii Sacram. Thomasius, p. 196. S. Gregorii, Op. tom. iii. col. 1, B. 2, A.]—S. Cyprian. de Orat. Dom. [Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo,] Sursum corda, ut dum respondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum,

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right," &c. To these I must add the *Hymnus Tersanctus*[u], or, "Holy, holy, holy," &c., with which they concluded their prayer of thanksgiving; the *κρᾶμα*[x], or mixture of water with the Sacramental wine, which with the bread they offered up, as hath been shewn[y], to God the Father; the words of the Institution[z]; the expressions of "these gifts here set before Thee[a], these gifts of which Thou standest not in need," in the prayer of oblation; and after it, the prayer of the congregation to God, through Christ, for the offering[b], "that of His goodness, through the mediation of Jesus Christ, He would please to receive it unto His heavenly altar for a sweet smelling savour." To these again I must not forget to add the prayer in the consecration unto God the Father[c], "to send down His Holy Spirit upon the sacrifice, to make the bread the (mystical) body, and the cup the (mystical) blood of Christ[d]." This prayer is expressly in all the Greek Liturgies, and virtually in the Latin[e], where they pray to God

admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.—p. 213. ed. Ben.]

[u] [S. Chrysost., p. 76. S. Basilii, p. 166. S. Jacobi, p. 34. S. Marci, p. 154. S. Gelasii, ubi supra. S. Gregorii, ubi supra.]

[x] [S. Chrysost., p. 61. See note h, p. 106. In the Latin Liturgy, Deinde . . . ministrat diaconus vinum, subdiaconus vero aquam in calice; vel si privata est missa utrumque infundit sacerdos, et aquam miscendam in calice benedicit, dicens, &c. Ordinarium Missæ.]

[y] [See pp. 120, 129, sqq.]

[z] [S. Chrysost., p. 76. S. Basilii, p. 168. S. Jacobi, p. 36. S. Marci, p. 155. S. Gelasii, p. 197. S. Gregorii, col. 3, D.]

[a] [See above, notes, pp. 130, k; 133, s; 135, e; and p. 123, i.]

[b] [See above, pp. 126, q; 144, c; and S. Chrys. Lit., p. 79. S. Basil, p. 164, (see above, p. 131, o); S. Mark, p. 151; S. Jacobi, p. 29. In these three Liturgies this prayer precedes the consecration.]

[c] [See above, p. 97. S. Jacobi, p. 40. S. Marci, p. 157. S. Chrysost., p. 77. S. Basilii, p. 166.]

[d] See Dr. Grabe's learned notes on cap. 11. lib. v. of Irenæus, pp. 399, 400. [ed. Oxon. 1702. The first of the notes is on the words, *ἥτις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου αὐτοῦ, ὅ ἐστι τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, τρέφεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου, ὅ ἐστι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, αὔξεται*: in which Grabe shews, by many references, in what sense the fathers held that the bread and wine were made the body and blood of Christ. The second is on the words *προσλαμβανόμενος τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, εὐχαριστία γίνεται.* He explains *τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*, not of the words of institution, but of the invocation of the Holy Spirit, whose power he maintains to be the principal cause in the consecration.]

[e] [The words which "virtually" contain the invocation of the Holy Spirit, in the Latin Liturgies, are those which have been quoted above, note y, p. 142; Quam oblationem tu Domine in omnibus quæsumus benedictam, ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri Jesu Christi. They are found in the Sacramentary of St. Gelasius, Thomasius, Cod. Sacr., p. 197, as they are still used, and that they imply an invocation appears from the doctrine that the consecration is effected by the operation of the Holy Spirit, (see above, pp. 96—98 and notes,) which is expressed in the following words of St. Gelasius, (if the tract be really his, which is so much disputed) 'In hanc, scilicet in Divi-

to sanctify the gifts. The ancient Liturgies, how different soever among themselves, agree in all these things with Justin Martyr's account of the Eucharist[f], and the Eucharistical office in the Apostolical Constitutions, which is the standard and test by which all the others are to be tried[g]. And by comparing those with this, the innovations and additions in after times, be they good or bad, will appear. Among the innovations, Sir, some are more ancient than others; one of the ancientest of them I take to be the use of incense[h], mentioned in the third of the Apostolical Canons[i], and in Hippolytus[k] *de Consummatione Mundi et de Antichristo*, in these words[l]: *πενθοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, κ.τ.λ.* "And there shall be great lamentations among the Churches, because there is no oblation or incense offered, nor any service acceptable to God." But whoever this Hippolytus was, I think he could not be that Hippolytus Martyr, in the third century, mentioned by Eusebius[m], who was the friend

nam, transeunt, Spiritu Sancto perficiente, substantiam, permanente tamen in suæ proprietate naturæ.' S. Gelasii Tractatus contra Nestorium et Eutychem. Biblioth. Patrum, tom. viii. p. 703, F. Lugd. 1677.]

[f] [See above, pp. 105, 106. notes f, g.]

[g] [See above, pp. 122, sqq. That this Liturgy is not that of St. Clement of Rome, under whose name, as a part of the Apostolical Constitutions, it passed, is admitted; Mr. Palmer observes that it is not of the family of the Latin Liturgies, but agrees most nearly with that of St. James, or the Liturgy of Antioch: he conceives that it was not the Liturgy of any particular Church; and as it was not in actual use it is without the additions which were gradually introduced into the other Liturgies, and consequently, except such points as are mentioned note f, p. 123, it preserves to us the Liturgy as it existed at least in the fourth century. See the Origines Liturgicæ, vol. i. pp. 38—41.]

[h] [S. Chrysost., pp. 62, 68. S. Basilii. S. Jacobi, pp. 3, 5, 16. S. Marci, pp. 137, 143.—In missa solenni celebrans incensat altare, &c. Ordinarium Missæ.]

[i] [In this Canon incense at the time of the oblation is excepted from the general rule of not offering any thing but the bread and wine. *μὴ ἐξὸν δὲ ἔστω προσάγεσθαί τι ἕτερον εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ ἔλαιον εἰς τὴν λυχνίαν καὶ θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφορᾶς.* —Canon. Apost. 3. Concilia, tom. i. col. 25, B.]

[k] Bibl. Patrum, vol. ii. p. 357. Parisiis, 1624. [The references below are made to the edition of St. Hippolytus' works by Fabricius.]

[l] [*πενθοῦσι δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πένθος μέγα, διότι οὔτε προσφορὰ οὔτε θυμίαμα ἐκτελεῖται, οὔτε λατρεία θεάρεστος· ἀλλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον γενήσονται· καὶ τὸ τίμιον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις οὐκ ἀναφανήσεται.*—S. Hippolyto tributus liber de consummatione mundi et de antichristo, &c. c. 34. Op., App., p. 21. There is another treatise of St. Hippolytus, de Christo et Antichristo, which is held to be genuine.]

[m] [*ἤκμαζον δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείους λόγιοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες· . . . Ἱππόλυτος, ἑτέρας που καὶ αὐτὸς προεστὼς ἐκκλησίας.* The period Eusebius is speaking of is about A. D. 280. Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. vi. c. 20. tom. i. p. 284. *τότε δῆτα καὶ Ἱππόλυτος συντάττων, μετὰ πλείστων ἄλλων ὑπομνημάτων, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸ πάσχα πεποίηται σύγγραμμα·* after enumerating several of his works, not including the one here in question, he adds; *πλείστά τε καὶ ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς εὕροις ἂν σωζόμενα.*—Ibid., c. 22. p. 286.]

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of Origen[n]: for who can believe that a father of that century could write in such a manner as this Hippolytus doth, viz., that Antichrist should be a devil really born of a strumpet, and yet not have a real body, but only in show and appearance[o]; that among his other false miracles, he should remove mountains, and whirl the sun about whither he pleased[p]; that those who suffered martrydom under his tyranny, should be more blessed and illustrious martyrs than those who suffered in ancient persecutions, because they overcame the devil himself[q]: that St. John did not die[r], and other false and vain conjectures and opinions, observed and censured by Dupin[s] and Tillemond[t]. To which I might add some expressions, which do not savour of that age in which Hippolytus lived. As *ἱεράρχαι*[u] for bishops, a word perhaps not used before the Pseudo-Dionysius, who wrote at the latter end of the fourth century[x]: such are the words in that address to Christ, *σὺ εἶ ὁ συνάναρχος*[y], *κ. τ. λ.* "Thou art without beginning with the Father, and co-eternal (*συναΐδιος*) to the Holy Spirit." Of the

[n] [*λέγεται δὲ οὗτος Ἱππόλυτος καὶ προσομιλεῖν τῷ λαῷ κατὰ μίμησιν Ὠριγένους, οὗ καὶ συνήθης μάλιστα καὶ ἐραστὴς τῶν λόγων ὑπῆρχεν.*—Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 121. p. 94. ed. Berolini, 1824.]

[o] [*ὁ διάβολος ἐκ μιαρᾶς γυναικὸς ἐξελεύσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· . . . . εἰ καὶ σάρκα ἀναλάβοι, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐν δοκήσει . . . φανταστικὴν τῆς σάρκος αὐτοῦ οὐσίαν ἀναλήψεται ὄργανον.*—De Consummatione Mundi, c. 22. ib., p. 15.]

[p] [*μεταστήσει ὄρη ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῶν θεωρούντων . . . τὸν ἥλιον μεταστρέψει ὅπου βούλεται.*—Ibid., c. 26. p. 18.]

[q] [*μακάριοι οἱ τότε νικήσαντες τὸν τύραννον, ὅτι παρὰ τοὺς πρώτους μάρτυρας ἐνδοξότεροι καὶ ὑψηλότεροι ἔχουσιν ἀναδειχθῆναι· οἱ γὰρ μάρτυρες πρώην τοὺς αὐτοῦ ὑπασπιστὰς ἐνίκησαν· οὗτοι δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν διάβολον.*—Ibid., c. 30. p. 20.]

[r] [That St. John did not die is not expressly said, but that he with Enoch and Elijah would be the precursors of our Lord's second coming, ibid., c. 22. p. 14.]

[s] Les livres d'Hippolite étoient intitulez, De la Resurrection et de l'Antichrist, suivant le rapport d'Eusebe, et de S. Jerome: celui-ci est intitulé, de la Consummation du Monde, &c. Le stile est basse, et puerile, au lieu que celui d'Hippolite étoit grave, et élevé . . . Il y' a beaucoup de vaines conjectures sur la naissance, et sur la vie de l'Antechrist. Il croit qu'il sera un démon; il dit que S. Jean n'est point mort, se qui est contraire à l'ancienne tradition; il cite l'Apocalypse pour Daniel; il tient que les ames des hommes on esté de tout tems, ce qui revient a l'opinion d'Origenes. Enfin ce traité est de tres peu d'utilité. [Dupin, Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastique, tom. i. p. 349. ed. 2. 1688. The passage quoted here is a note on the words; Il est fort incertain, si c'est le traité de l'Antechrist qui est attribué presentement à Hippolite, dont Eusebe fait mention.—Ibid., p. 345.]

[t] Tillemont's Memoires, tom. iii. partie 2. notes sur S. Hippolyte, [note vi. p. 678. ed. 2. Paris, 1701.]

[u] [*δεῦτε οἱ ἱεράρχαι οἱ λειτουργήσαντές μοι ἀμώμως.*—De Consumm. Mund., c. 41. p. 25.]

[x] [The Pseudo-Dionysius is placed by Cave about A.D. 362. (Hist. Lit., tom. i. p. 225.) He and S. Maximus who commented on his writings, are the only ecclesiastical writers quoted by Suicer on the word *ἱεράρχης*, tom i. col. 1439.]

[y] [*σὺ εἶ ὁ συνάναρχος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ συναΐδιος τῷ πνεύματι.*—De Consumm. Mundi, c. 43. p. 26.]

same nature is that[z]: "Come to the kingdom prepared for you, and enjoy it for ever from My Father which is in heaven, *καὶ τοῦ παναγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ πνεύματος*, and the most holy quickening Spirit;" which shews that he must have lived after the second general council, which met at Constantinople to condemn Macedonius. And as for the third of the Apostolical Canons, that collection being of canons and customs of different ages, it is of no authority to prove that incense was offered, much less that it was offered up with prayer in the Eucharist, at least in the three first centuries, in the writers whereof there is no mention of it[a]. Another innovation is the *oratio propositionis*[b], or prayer at the *prothesis*, or table upon which the bread and wine was set and prepared for the holy altar. To which I may add the *oratio velaminis*[c], or prayer upon removing the covering from off the mysteries: none of which are in the office of the Apostolical Constitutions.

Among the additions some are good, and some bad. And any man who is conversant in the history of the councils, may see how and when both the sorts were introduced into the Liturgies of the Church. Of the first sort is the word *ὁμοούσιος*[d], in acknowledging the Son to be of the same substance with the Father, which likely was not brought into the Liturgies before the first council of Nice[e]; the Constantinopolitan, commonly called the Nicene creed[f], which could not be introduced before the second general council, of Con-

[z] [*δεῦτε εἰς τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· ἀπολαύσατε εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τοῦ παναγίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ πνεύματος.*—Ibid., c. 44. p. 27.]

[a] [See a work entitled A Discourse concerning the use of Incense in Divine Offices, &c., by Henry Dodwell, Lond. 1711.]

[b] [*ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως.*—S. Chrysost., p. 63. S. Basilii, p. 158. S. Marci, p. 143.]

[c] [*ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ καταπετάσματος.* S. Jacobi, p. 30. See S. Chrysost., pp. 62, 63, where this prayer immediately precedes the one last mentioned, with which St. Basil's Liturgy begins.]

[d] [S. Jacobi, p. 53. S. Marc., p. 161. None of the following additions are found in the Roman Liturgy, except the Nicene creed, the late introduction of which is ascertained. See Palmer, Orig. Lit., vol. ii. p. 55.]

[e] [A.D. 325.]

[f] [*πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα θεὸν, κ.τ.λ.*—S. Chrysost., p. 75. S. Basilii, p. 165. S. Marci, p. 143. The first clauses only of the creed are given in the Liturgies: in the Liturgy of St. James, p. 18, the words "and of all things visible and invisible" do not occur. "It is said that Peter Fullo, patriarch of Antioch, (excerpta ex Eccl. Hist. Theodori Lectoris, lib. ii. § 48. ap. Hist. Eccl., tom. iii. p. 582,) was the first who inserted the creed in the Liturgy, about A.D. 471. About the year 511 it was received into the Liturgy of Constantinople by Timotheus, patriarch of that Church."—(Ibid., § 32. p. 578.) Palmer, Orig. Lit., vol. ii. p. 54.]

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stantinople; the benediction[g] in the name of the "holy, consubstantial, and adorable Trinity," which must have come in after one of those two councils. The epithets added to the Holy Spirit in the prayer of oblation, in which they did not only call Him *τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας*[h], "the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth," but *τὸν Κύριον, τὸν ζωοποιὸν*, "the Lord, the giver of life, who spake in the law, the prophets, and Apostles, and who worketh sanctifying grace in all, *αὐτεξουσίως, οὐ διακονικῶς*, by His own power, not as a minister, *ἐκπορεύομενος ὁμοούσιος, σύνθρονος*, proceeding from the Father, being consubstantial to the Father, and sitting upon the same throne with Him, and His Son Jesus Christ." This must have been added after the second general council of Constantinople, *κατὰ τῶν πνευματομάχων*. In the same Liturgy is this invocation of Christ[i] of the same date, *Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἀκατάληπτε Θεοῦ λόγε, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ὁμοούσιε, συναΐδιε, καὶ σύναναρχε*: "O Lord our God, the incomprehensible Word of God, so one substance with, and co-eternal to the Father and the Holy Spirit, and without beginning, accept our hymn," &c. So the expression[j], *ἀτρέπτως ἐνανθρωπήσας*, "who was made man not by conversion" (of the Godhead into flesh), must have been added after the fourth general council of Chalcedon[k], against Dioscorus and Eutyches. So wheresoever we find the blessed Virgin called *ἅγια θεοτόκος*[l], we may presume it was an addition brought in after the third general council at Ephesus[m], against Nestorius, who not believing Christ to be

[g] [*καὶ ἔσται ἡ χάρις, καὶ τὰ ἐλέη τῆς ἁγίας, καὶ ὁμοουσίου, καὶ ἀκτίστου, καὶ προσκυνητῆς τριάδος μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν.*—S. Jacobi, p. 52.]

[h] [See above, p 137, note m. *αὐτὸν παράκλητον, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸν ἅγιον, τὸν κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιὸν, τὸ ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις λαλῆσαν, τὸ πανταχοῦ παρὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληροῦν, ἐνεργοῦν τε αὐτεξουσίως, οὐ διακονικῶς, ἐφ' οὓς βούλεται τὸν ἁγιασμὸν εὐδοκίᾳ τῇ σῇ· τὸ ἁπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν, τὸ πλημερὲς τὴν ἐνέργειαν, τὴν τῶν θείων χαρισμάτων πηγήν· τό σοι ὁμοούσιον· τὸ ἐκ σοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σύνθρονον τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*—S. Marci, p. 157; S. Jacobi, p. 39.]

[i] [S. Marci, p. 161; and with some slight variations in that of St. James, p. 53. The passage continues *πρόσδεξαι τὸν ἀκήρατον ὕμνον, κ.τ.λ.*]

[j] [*ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀθάνατος ὑπάρχων, καταδεξάμενος διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, ἀτρέπτως ἐνανθρωπήσας, σταυρωθείς τε, Χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς, θανάτῳ θάνατον πατήσας, εἷς ὢν τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος, συνδοξαζόμενος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.*—S. Jacobi, p. 6.]

[k] [A.D. 451.]

[l] [S. Chrysost., pp. 58, 61, 63. S. Basilii, p. 167. S. Jacobi, pp. 6, 24. S. Marci, p. 150.]

[m] [A.D. 431.]

God, would only call her χριστοτόκος, "the mother of Christ," though, as the fathers of that council shewed[n], she was called θεοτόκος by the writers of the Church in the ages before. And with these additions I may take notice of the alteration from the ancient form of oblation of the elements to God the Father, to the oblation of them to God the Son, as an acknowledgment of His Godhead, in the proper offices (as I have observed before[o] upon the Ethiopic Liturgy) for Christmas, Easter, and Ascension-day, which could not come, I think, into use till after the first council of Nice.

But then after the second council of Nice were introduced additions of the latter sort, [by some of which[p]] the Liturgies were most abominably corrupted, by commemorations[q], salutations[r], gratulations of the holy Virgin, and desiring to be heard through her intercessions[s], and the intercessions of other saints. Among these additions I may also reckon their superstitious practices, as putting warm water[t] to the sacramental wine, saying prayers[u] at putting on every vestment in the robing of the priest, [impressing the sign of the cross[v] upon the bread[x]], and the late addition[y] of σταυροθεοτόκος,

[n] [See Concilii Ephesini actio prima; Concil., tom. iii. p. 1052, C. sqq.; particularly the testimony of St. Athanasius, p. 1053, B. and St. Gregory Nazianzen, p. 1060, A.]

[o] [See above, note n, p. 125.]

[p] [The words in brackets are substituted for "whereby," the reading of the third edition, from the MS. corrections in Hickes' copy. See below, note x.]

[q] [τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης, ἐνδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων μνημονεύσαντες, ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ παραθώμεθα.—S. Chrysost., pp. 65, 74. S. Basilii, p. 159. S. Jacobi, pp. 13, 24, 61.]

[r] [χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία, ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ· εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶ, καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου, ὅτι σωτῆρα ἔτεκες τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. This salutation is followed by a long address; S. Jacobi, pp. 44, 46. See also S. Chrysost., p. 78.]

[s] [Χριστὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς ἡμῶν ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπερευλογημένης, ἐνδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, ἐλεήσαι ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀγαθὸς θεὸς, καὶ φιλάνθρωπος.—S. Chrysost., pp. 63, 68, 78, 83, 84, 85. S. Basilii, p. 170.]

[t] [S. Chrysost., p. 82. See Goar's notes, p. 148.]

[u] [S. Chrysost., p. 59. This occurs in the preparatory portion of the service, which is adopted in the Liturgy of St. Basil from that of St. Chrysostom; but not printed in the copies of St. Basil's or the other Liturgies.]

[v] [εἶτα σφραγίζει τὰ δῶρα.—S. Jacobi, p. 24. See also S. Chrysost., p. 76. S. Basilii, p. 166. S. Jacobi, p. 34. S. Marci, p. 154.]

[x] [The words in brackets are substituted for the reading of the third edition, which was "making the sign of the cross upon the δῶρα," according to the correction in the Supplement of 1715, No. 12. For the reason of this alteration, and that noticed note p, see A letter from the Rev. Mr. J. M—n to Dr. G. Hickes, concerning some passages in his Christian Priesthood; with Dr. Hickes' answer; published in the Supplement of 1715, and now reprinted at the end of the Appendix.]

[y] Liturgia Ante-Consecratorum. Bibl. Patr., vol. ii. Paris. 1624. [See

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"the mother of the crucified God," to θεοτόκος, "the mother of God." Thus, Sir, by animadverting upon the innovations, additions, and corruptions which have crept into the ancient Liturgies, I have thereby shewed you the Apostolical antiquity, simplicity, and purity of the ancient Eucharistical office in the Apostolic Constitutions, and by consequence whatever the other Liturgies have in common with it and with one another, must be primitive and pure. In particular the harmonious testimony of them all with it, and with one another, and with the fathers, and councils, for the Eucharistical oblation, is such a proof for the truth of it, that he that will not submit to such concurrent evidence, may bring into controversy (not to mention other things received by the Church in all ages) the Divine authority of the inspired writings, infant baptism, episcopacy, the Lord's day, and even the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and so at once blow up the Catholic faith and Church. I wish, Sir, your late author, and such men would consider this, and not give such advantage to deists and sceptics, by standing out against such a noble tradition, as is supported by antiquity, universality, and consent.

Thus, Sir, I have gone through the fathers, and councils, and ancient Liturgies to prove the Eucharist to be a real oblation or sacrifice, and by consequence that the ministers of it are proper priests, as the bishops and presbyters of the ancient Catholic Church thought, and taught themselves to be, according to that of St. Cyprian *de Oratione Dominica*[z], *Quando in unum cum fratribus convenimus, et sacrificia divina cum Dei sacerdote celebramus.* But as men biassed by preconceptions are apt to object, so such men as your late writer taking the notion of a sacrifice from Dr. Outram, who is a great author with them, object his definition of a sacrifice to

above, note t, p. 139. The word σταυροθεοτόκος does not occur in this Liturgy; nor, it is believed, any where else. Hickes inferred its existence from the word σταυροθεοτόκιον, which occurs with θεοτόκιον in a rubric of the Liturgy referred to, (p. 89, C.) which enjoins the recitation of θεοτόκιον καὶ σταυροθεοτόκιον. These are addresses to the Blessed Virgin, the latter being a θεοτοκίον, or commemoration of St. Mary, in connection with the cross; like the *Stabat Mater* of the Latin Church. See the Menæum, Februar., p. 113. Venet. 1843. Suicer explains the word thus; σταυροθεοτόκιον vocatur, ubi non tantum beatæ Virginis, sed et passionis Christi mentio est; multa σταυροθεοτόκια occurrunt in Menologiis.—Thesaur. Eccl., in voc. tom. ii. col. 1001.]

[z] [S. Cypr. de Orat. Dom., Op., p. 205. ed. Ben.]

the sacrificial notion of the holy Eucharist, which they truly say do not agree together; and therefore I must acknowledge, that either he is mistaken in his definition, or that the ancient Church hath erred in the sacrificial conception they had of the holy Eucharist, which must be false, if the Doctor's definition or description of a sacrifice be strictly true. Wherefore, Sir, before I proceed to my other proofs of the Christian priesthood, you must give me leave to examine Dr. Outram's definition of a sacrifice, which they oppose to the sacrificial idea the ancients had of the holy mystery, and I here give it you in his own words, which you will find in the eighty-second page of his book. A sacrifice, saith he, may be thus defined, *ut sit προσφορὰ rite consumpta. Seu ut paulo explicatius dicam, sacrificium apud populum Hebræum ejusmodi sacrum erat, quod cum Deo oblatum erat, tum rite confectum et consumptum*; that is in English, "A sacrifice is an oblation rightly[a] consumed. Or that I may speak more plainly, a sacrifice among the Hebrews was such a holy thing, as was both offered to God, and rightly destroyed and consumed." Now, say they, this definition of a Jewish sacrifice is not applicable to the holy Eucharist, in which there is nothing consumed, nor poured out either upon the Lord's table or at the bottom of it, as was usual for the blood to be poured upon the altar, in order to make an atonement for sin, or to be sprinkled round about upon the altar; nor is there any wine poured out on the Lord's table, or upon the bread, as it was formerly upon the sacrifice; nor are there any remainders of our blessed Lord's natural body, who was sacrificed, to be taken by the communicants: how therefore the Sacrament, wanting these sacrificial rites, should come under the notion of a sacrifice (saith the objector) I cannot conceive.

Sir, I have given you the words of the objection, as I received them, and I shall lay several answers to it before you, and leave you to judge whether they are satisfactory or not. First, then, I pray you to consider, that the ancient writers of the Church knew the nature of sacrifices, both Jewish and Gentile, as well as any Christian writers since the Reformation; and yet, as I have often observed, and sufficiently

[a] Or 'ritely,' i. e. according to the holy rites appointed by God.

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shewed, they were so far from apprehending any inconsistency between the notion of a sacrifice, and the nature of the holy Eucharist, that they believed[b] and thought it to be a pure commemorative sacrifice, foretold by the prophets, and instituted by Christ, and solemnly offered it as such.

Secondly, I must intreat you to consider, that Dr. Outram's definition of a sacrifice, is, as he confesseth, of a Jewish or Levitical sacrifice, and doth it follow, from his definition, that every thing that belongs to a Jewish sacrifice, or the definition of it, must belong to the Christian oblation of bread and wine, which was appointed instead of all the Levitical sacrifices, or else that it cannot be such? The law is changed, and the priesthood is changed, as the Apostle observes in his Epistle to the Hebrews; and with them the altar and sacrifice is changed too, as St. Irenæus saith in the words I cited before in the margin[c]; "God hath not rejected oblations, but as they had oblations, so have we; there were sacrifices among that people, and there are sacrifices in the Church, the species (or kind) of sacrifices being only changed." Wherefore since the Christian religion is another sort of religion, different in so many things from the Jewish, is it reasonable to try and examine the one external sacrifice of that religion so nicely and strictly by that definition of a Jewish sacrifice? or to reject it as a sacrifice, because it doth not in every point agree with that test? Wherefore supposing the formal reason of a sacrifice in the Jewish Church consisted in the destruction and consumption of the oblation, or some part of it, upon the altar, or at the bottom of it, must it of necessity be so in the Christian religion, which hath changed the rites, and reduced the number of sacrifices to one, and altered the whole frame of the Jewish or Levitical worship, which Dr. Outram hath described? For the same reason, as I observed upon another occasion[d], they may deny our Churches, where the Christian sacrifice is offered, to be temples, because Ben. Maimon's, or the Doctor's description of the Jewish temple is

[b] Petrus de Marca de Sacrificio Missæ: Hoc est novum Christianæ legis externum sacrificium, ut summo consensu docent omnes antiqui Patres, nemine dempto, qui hanc esse oblationem mundam, quæ toto orbe offerenda erat, a Malachia prænuntiata testantur.—[Petri de Marca Dissertationes Posthumæ, pp. 94, 95.]

[c] [See above, p. 80, note i.]

[d] [See above, p. 32.]

not applicable to them; or that the true notion of Divine worship belongs to the Christian way of worshipping God, because it is so different from that of the Jews. There were many other rites belonging to Jewish sacrifices, besides destruction and consumption, in whole or in part, at the altar, as heaving and waving in the therumahs and thenuphas[e], and eating or participation of the things sacrificed, either by the priests alone, as in the sin-offerings and trespass-offerings, or by the offerers as well as the priests, as in the peace-offerings, which of all Levitical sacrifices the Eucharist most resembles; and by consequence, from this objection brought against the Christian sacrifice, the objectors may also, if they please, say that the holy Eucharist cannot be such, because it is not held up to heaven, or waved towards the four corners of it, as well as because it is not in whole or in part consumed upon the altar. But though it hath not these, it hath many other sacrificial rites belonging to it; for the bread and wine are brought to the Christian temple and altar, and delivered to the Christian *cohen*, or minister, who stands on God's part to receive them of the people, and on the people's part to offer them up for them to God; and when the oblation is finished, both priest and people together participate of the offerings at God's table, which signifies, as it did in the Jewish religion, that the communicants are in a state of favour and friendship with God. I would fain ask these gentlemen, if these three holy rites, without others, and especially without destruction and consumption in the Jewish manner, are not by God's appointment, who is the arbiter of religious rites and ceremonies, sufficient to make a sacrifice? If they will say they are not sufficient, let them give their reasons for it. But if they will acknowledge they are, then let them no more deny the holy Eucharist to be a true and proper sacrifice, because Dr. Outram's definition of a Jewish sacrifice is not applicable to it.

But, Sir, in the third place a good reason may be given from the Jewish law of sacrifices, why neither the bread nor wine of the holy Eucharist, nor any part of them, is so consumed; and that is, because the Christian Church hath no

[e] [תרומה and תנופה, *therumah* and *thenupha*, are the Hebrew words for the heave-offering, and the wave-offering. See Lev. vii. 34.]

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Scripture or tradition for such consumption of any part of them, and by consequence hath no such altars, nor stands in need of any such altars as the Jewish had, for the consumption of her offerings. Those altars were the great brazen altar without the house of the temple, in the inner court thereof, and the golden altar of incense in the holy place. And therefore the Christians, having no such Levitical rites for consumption of the elements in the Jewish manner and after the Jewish forms, they have no occasion for such altars to consume them at, or upon. The same fabric serves them both for altar and table, and as I have shewed in different respects was, and was deemed, both the one and the other, as the Jewish altar was[f].

I might add in the fourth place, in answer to this objection, that by reason of the straight mystical union and conjunction between the sacramental and natural body and blood of Christ, or between the represented and representative sacrifice, the wine of the holy Sacrament, which is the mystical and putative blood of sprinkling[g], was, and always is in full effect poured out and sprinkled, as that was upon the cross, by virtue of the Divine institution whereby the bread and wine are substituted, and deputed[h] in the Lord's Supper for His body and blood, and in virtue of that deputation are to be deemed[i], taken and esteemed as His natural body and

[f] [See above, pp. 72, sqq.]

[g] De Marca de Sacrificio missæ. Necesse non est, ut rationem cujusque sacrificii in victimæ mactatione vel interitu hostiæ constituamus; cum sufficiat sola rei sensibilis ad honorem Divini Numinis ex ipsius decreto dicatæ oblatio, quæ illi a ministro publico nuncupatur, ut sacrificium dicatur. Quamvis in sacrificio Eucharistico non desit quoque suo modo mysticus victimæ interitus, si quis hanc quoque conditionem in sacrificii veri ratione desideret.—[Dissertationes Posthumæ, p. 96.]

[h] Mr. Thorndike of Religious Assemblies, pp. 357, 358. Camb. 1612. "The creatures of bread and wine are *deputed* to the effect of becoming the body and blood of Christ..... It seemeth unquestionable that the thanksgiving, [wherewith our Lord in the Gospel is said to have celebrated this Sacrament at His last Supper], contained also prayer to God for the effect to which the elements, when they became this Sacrament, are *deputed*. . . In the true sense of the Church they are consecrated, that is, *deputed* to be this Sacrament. . . . Let me suppose in the first place, that the elements by being *deputed*," &c. [Thorndike's Works, vol. i. pp. 342, 343. Oxford, 1844.]

[i] Poynet's Diallacticon, p. 33. Hoc corpus, hunc sanguinem [et carnem, hanc substantiam corporis,] non communi more, nec ut humana ratio dictat, accipi oportere, sed ita nominari, existimari, credi, propter eximios quosdam effectus, virtutes, [et proprietates conjunctas, quæ corpori et sanguini Christi natura insunt, nempe quod pascat animas nostras, &c.—Diallacticon viri boni et literati de veritate naturæ atque substantiæ corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistiâ. This tract was published in 1557, and supposed to be written by John Poynet, Bishop of Winchester; it was reprinted in 1688.]

blood. This power in legislators of making and supposing things to be to all intents and purposes and effects in law what in reality they are not, is called by the civil law 'fiction;' but it is such fiction as is invented to produce real and true effects for the benefit of those for whose sake it is by authority devised. Thus many of the Roman laws imagine a child in the womb to be born[k], and a man who lives or dies in captivity, to have lived or died at home[l], and therefore the maxims of fiction are such as these[m]: *fictio imitatur naturam; fictio inducitur, ut suppleat id in quo desideratur facti veritas, ut ex ea producantur veri juris effectus;* and, *fictio juris tantum operatur, quantum veritas,* or, *fictio tantum valet in re ficta, quantum veritas in re vera.* There is no law or government without such fictions; ours hath many of them, as when it supposes and imagines our captive or exiled kings, to whom it allows *jus postliminii,* to be all the time of their absence in possession of their thrones. So it is in the case of the king's putative or virtual presence, the law supposing him at the same time to be present, not only in every room of his palace, but in all his courts of judicature, and in all the places of his dominions, though his real person can be but in one at a time. So, in virtue of legal substitution, the procurator or attorney is his principal, the ambassador his king, and the sentence of the judge the king's sentence. In like manner, Sir, there are fictions in divinity, which infinite wisdom and goodness hath devised for our benefit and advantage. Thus man and wife are supposed to be, and therefore are, made one flesh, as the law makes them one person. Thus Christ is supposed to be the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world; thus Abraham's believing of God was imputed unto him for righteousness, and by this putative, or imputative righteousness, he was as righteous in God's account as if he had never sinned. Thus also are the faithful still justified by

Gen. 2. 24.

Rev. 13. 8.

Rom. 3. 12.

[k] ["Digest., lib. l. tit. 17. De diversis regulis juris antiqui. § 187. Si quis prægnantem uxorem reliquerit, non videtur sine liberis decessisse. Justin Instit., lib. i. tit. 13. § 4. Posthumi pro jam natis habeantur." This note is added from the Supplement of 1715, No. 13.]

[l] ["Instit., lib. i. tit. 12. § 5. Postliminium fingit eum qui ab hostibus captus fuerit, in civitate semper fuisse. So by the ancient Roman laws parents emancipated their children by imaginary venditions, which Justinian calls fictionem pristinam. Instit., lib. i. tit. 12. § 6. De emancipatione." From the Supplement of 1715, No. 13.]

[m] [See Tuschi, Practicæ Conclusiones Juris, tom. iii. pp. 441, sqq. Lugd. 1634.]

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Divine imputation, as it is written, "It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth?" Thus also the doctrine
Rom. 8. 34. of adoption is a Divine fiction in the Gospel, as it was a human fiction in the Roman civil law, and in both cases hath
Rom. 8. 17. all the effects of real and legitimate sonship. And therefore in answer to these men's objections, I hope it is no great or dangerous paradox to say, that by Divine fiction, or substitution, the bread is made the body, and the wine the blood of Christ in the holy mystery, and that by virtue of this substitution and mystical union between them, His body is supposed and deemed to be broken, and His blood shed and sprinkled in the holy Sacrament, as it was upon the cross; or in other words, that the offering and breaking of the bread is supposed to be the offering and breaking of His body, and the pouring out of the wine, the effusion and sprinkling of His blood; and in this mystical union and relation between them, and real identity as to all spiritual virtues and effects, the mystery of the holy Eucharist doth consist.

Sir, I have said all this upon supposition that Dr. Outram's definition of a Jewish sacrifice, as these objectors suppose, is general, adequate, and just. But they are much mistaken in arguing from it, as such; because it is not a definition of a Jewish sacrifice in general, but of one sort and species of it[n], as any man will be convinced who will peruse Dr. Bright's accurate tables of Jewish sacrifices or oblations, in which he will find sacrifices distinguished into those which were consumed, and those of which nothing was consumed[o]. Dr.

[n] [There is considerable obscurity in the argument of the following passage, and a seeming want of accuracy in Hickes' use of authorities. In this fifth answer to the objection, the question between Hickes and Outram is, whether consumption (partial or entire) is necessary to constitute a *Jewish* sacrifice. This leads to the further question, to what offerings was the term sacrifice properly applicable. Outram distinguished between an oblation, the general term, and sacrifice, the specific name, according to his view, for consumed oblations. Hickes held sacrifice and oblation to be synonymous. The difficulty as respects his references is, that he alleges against Outram, and as agreeing with himself, authorities who call particular offerings *corbans*, for which he substitutes the term sacrifices, which he himself held to be equivalent to it, which Outram denied, thus assuming the point in dispute. It ought to be added that קרבן in the Rabbinical writers is very frequently translated sacrificium, as by Buxtorf, (see below, p. 169,) and by Outram, as observed p. 162, note u.]

[o] [What Hickes here refers to are very large broad sheets, containing tables of the laws of Moses and of the Jewish sacrifices, published in London in 1680, under the title, Tabulæ Mosaicæ duæ, quarum altera præcepta legis Mosaicæ commoda methodo disposita; altera oblationum omnium ex efficiente, materia, consumptione, personis, signifi-

Outram therefore gives us too narrow a definition; a definition of the species, and not of the genus, and by consequence in their way of arguing, excludes not only the holy Eucharist, but many Jewish oblations from the nature and notion of sacrifice, as the offering of the first-fruits, of which it is said, Levit. ii. 12, "As for the oblation of the first-fruits, ye shall offer them unto the Lord, but they shall not be burnt[p] on the altar for a sweet savour." This oblation is called *corban* in the text, the general word among the Hebrews for an oblation or sacrifice[q], and is used in speaking of offerings by blood and slaughter, as well as other things. And Maimonides[r] reckons it among the sacrifices which were neither in whole nor in part consumed. It also excludes the red heifer out of the number of proper sacrifices (Numb. xix.) though it was brought to Eleazar, chief of the priests, and slain before his face, and he took of her blood with his finger, and sprinkled it directly before the tabernacle seven times, and had the whole essence of a piacular and expiatory sacrifice, as the Jews observe[s]; in a word, though it was one of the most eminent types of the expiatory sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, yet Dr. Outram by the restrictions of his own definition, excludes it out of the number of sacrifices, because it is not called *corban*, and slain at the altar as other sacrifices were. The learned Bishop Patrick, in his commentary[t] upon

ver. 5.

ver. 6.

Heb. 13. 11.

catu, tempore, distributiones varias continet. Authore Georgio Bright, S.T.P. Cantabrigiensi. The passage referred to is, Tabula ii. p. 1. Divisio iii. Ex adjuncto absumptionis; in quibusdam enim, 1. Partes omnes penitus consumptæ . . . 2. Tota caro et exta . . . 3. Interiora tantum quædam . . . 4. Nihil, uti in pane facierum לחם פנים appellato . . . It should be added that Bright speaks of oblationes: he rarely uses the word sacrificia, and he uses oblationes as equivalent to corbans.]

[p] Vatablus, in Lev. ii. 12. Non imponentur altari, ut incendantur exspiraturæ nidorem Domino; quia debent quidem offerri Deo primitiæ, sed non debent adoleri, quod cedant in cibum sacerdotum. [Crit. Sacr., tom. ii. col. 20.]

[q] [Lev. ii. 12. Hebr. קרבן ראשית חקריבו. For instances of corban used generally for things offered, see above, note x, p. 42. Outram admitted the first-fruits to be a corban, or oblation, but not a sacrifice; defining a sacrifice (as above) as a species of corban, namely '*προσφορὰ* rite consumpta.'—De Sacrificiis, lib. i. cap. 8. § 1, 2. p. 82, and § 10, p. 92; where he says, primitiæ illæ, *προσφοραὶ* seu ferta recte dici posse videntur; utpote quæ ante aram statuendæ erant. On this whole subject see the extracts made by Bp. Cosin, vol. i. pp. 108, 111—113.]

[r] De cultu Divino, v. Tract. c. 13. [There is not any reference to this subject in Tract. v. cap. 13, but in Tract. v. cap. 2. § 13, Maimonides says, Libamina non sumebantur nisi de communibus; non igitur sumebantur nec de oblatione, nec de decimis, nec de primitiis.]

[s] [See note u, p. 162.]

[t] [Patrick's words on the sprinkling of her blood, Numb. xix. 4, are, "Though this was not a sacrifice, yet

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the place, favours this opinion of Dr. Outram[u], against Abarbanel, who calls the red heifer an offering for sin. And as the testimony of that Rabbi, as to the nature and notion of sacrifices is great, so Dr. Bright, who is of the same opinion, reckons it among the animal sacrifices, and with a respectful correction of Dr. Outram's opinion, thinks it ought to be called a *corban*, or sacrifice, as you may see by his words in the margin[v]. It likewise excludes the scape-goat out of the number of sacrifices, because it was not slain and consumed by fire like the other goat, although they were both alike presented before the Lord at the door of the tabernacle, and both alike were presented for the same use and for the same end, to make atonement[x]. Nay, though the scape-goat, after

Lev. 16. 17. ver. 5.

it had something of that nature in it, and may be called a piaculum, an expiatory thing: though nothing was called corban, a sacrifice, but what was offered at the altar, as our Dr. Outram hath most justly observed against Abarbanel, who calls this red cow an offering for sin."—A Commentary on the Historical Books of the Old Testament, vol. i. p. 632. Lond. 1809.]

[u] [Outram's words are 'Erat,' inquit Abarbanel (ad Numb. xix.), 'Vacca rufa קרבן חטאת בעד כל העדה sacrificium piaculare totius cœtus.' Et paulo post 'erat, mea sententia, vacca rufa sacrificium pro toto cœtu filiorum Israelis, (קרבן בעד כל עדת בני ישראל) quo mundarentur a funeris pollutione, nequando forte sanctuarium, ejusve sacra inquinarent.' Cujus ego sententiam ita probo, ut vaccam illam piaculum, aut sacrum piaculare, recte quidem dici posse, at קרבן ex sacræ Scripturæ usu minime dici posse judicem. Neque enim קרבן dici solet nisi quod Deo pro ara ejus ritu solemni offerebatur.—De Sacrificiis, lib. i. c. 14. pp. 152, 153. It will be observed that Hickes wrongly represents Outram as saying "because it is not *slain* at the altar;" Outram denied it to be a corban, because it was not "*offered*" at the altar. It will also be observed that he admits it to be a "sacrum piaculare," as he says also c. 8. § 2. p. 83; classing with it the bird killed in the purification of the leper, Lev. xiv. 5. Abarbanel calls it קרבן, corban, which Outram himself translates sacrificium.]

[v] Hanc enim et קרבן 'oblationem' dici posse puto; aliter ac doctissimo Outramo et in istis scriptori diligentissimo visum est, (Libro de Sacrificiis, i. cap. 14.) quippe cujus sanguinis coram tentorio conventus aspersio Deo offerendi aliquid ritus haberi debeat, etiamsi ea ipsa nunquam aræ admota fuerit: Id quod in agno paschali manifestum; is etenim, etiamsi nunquam pro ara sisteretur, sed aspersum duntaxat super altare sanguinem haberet, et quidem juxta Judæorum nonnullos evaporatum adipem, oblatio tamen Dei, קרבן יהוה dicitur, Num. ix. 7, 13. [Bright, Tabulæ Mosaicæ, Tabula ii. p. i. Div. ii.]

[x] Fagius in Lev. xvi. 8. Hircus super quem ascendit sors pro עזאזל Azazel, statuatur vivus coram Domino, ut per eum expiationem faciat... Græcus interpres pro voce Hebraica עזאזל Azazel posuit ἀποπομπαῖον, quo nomine Græci vocant malorum depulsorem. Hinc et Deos, quos coluerunt ad depellenda mala, vocarunt ἀποπομπαίους, ἢ ἀποτροπαίους, aut etiam ἀλεξικάκους. Respexerunt ergo Græci eo, quod iste caper peccata populi, causam omnium malorum, in desertum auferret. Pontifex enim imprecabatur confessione sua capiti hujus capri omnia peccata Israelitarum, et emittebat eum postea in desertum, ut esset pro omnibus peccatis totius Israelitici populi expiatio. Hoc recte dicitur ἀποπομπαῖον esse ad auferenda, et expianda peccata populi. —[Crit. Sacr., tom. ii. pars ii. col. 251.]

the lot fell upon him to be sent away, was presented alive before the Lord a second time, and so was twice consecrated and devoted to God, to remove the sins of the congregation far from Him, and as it were to carry them out of His sight; yet for all this Dr. Outram will not allow it to be a proper sacrifice, because it was not consumed[y] according to his narrow definition, which is perfectly contrary to the opinion of Maimonides[z], and I believe of all other Jewish writers, who reckon both goats alike among the number of sacrifices, as do also our own writers, Mr. Ainsworth[a], Bishop Patrick[b], and Dr. Bright[c], who also reckons both goats among the public sacrifices of the Jewish Church.

ver. 10.
ver. 22.

[y] [Outram says that the scape-goat was a corban; and in his division of corbans or oblations he puts this first; Eorum autem quæ Deo pro ara offerebantur, alia dimissa et ablegata, ut hircus in deserta ductus; (De Sacrif., lib. i. c. 8. § 1. p. 81.) And again, after mentioning several things which were offered and consecrated but not consumed, and therefore, according to his definition, not sacrificed, he concludes, quod idem quoque statuendum de hirco isto qui Deo ante aram oblatus in deserta vivus abducebatur.—Ibid., p. 82. After this he proceeds; Jam vero quæ Deo ante aram, vel in mensa sacra in adyto exteriori posita, ita quidem offerrebantur ut rite consumenda essent, ea Judæi in numerum sacrificiorum censum referunt.—§ 3. ibid. Outram, it seems, admitted the first-fruits and scape-goat to be oblations, but not sacrifices; and the red heifer to be in one sense a sacrifice but not an oblation, (corban). Hickes' authorities only shew that these were all corbans.]

[z] [Maimonides,] de Cultu Divino, Tract. viii. [de solemni die Expiationis, cap. i. § i.] Præterea autem de publico offerebantur hirci duo [quorum alter, immolatus in hostiam pro peccato cremabatur, alter vivus emittebatur in solitudinem.] Itaque ad diem illum sacrificabantur bestiæ quindecim: jugia sacrificia duo, juvencus, [duo arietes, agni septem, et hi omnes in holocausta.] Præterea hirci duo in hostiam pro peccato: [quorum alterius sanguis respergebatur altari exteriori . . . alterius autem sanguis respergebatur intus in sancto p. 330. The two goats, 'hirci duo,' then, do not refer to the two goats on which the lots were cast, as Hickes seems to have supposed, and as the portions of the passage as it was printed by him would imply. The former is the goat for a sin-offering, mentioned Numb. xxix. 11, which Maimonides mentioned some lines before; the latter the fellow of the scape-goat. Maimonides does not therefore reckon the scape-goat among the number which were sacrificed, but rather excludes it; offerebantur probably means brought near, implying that it is an oblation, as Dr. Bright calls it.]

[a] [Ainsworth on Lev. xvi. 5, commenting on the words which speak of both as a sin-offering, says, "figuring Christ, who should be a sin-offering for His Church, . . . and these goats, the one was killed, the other sent away." Ainsworth does not call the scape-goat a sacrifice more explicitly than in these words: on Numb. xxix. 2, however, he enumerates the sacrifices of the day of expiation, and mentions the two goats, as Maimonides does in the words quoted in the last note. Hickes may have understood them, as he did when mentioned by Maimonides, of the two on which the lots were cast.]

[b] [Patrick on Lev. xvi. 10, says, "For this was a sin-offering, though not slain, no less than the other, as appears from ver. 5, which shews these two goats together made but one sin-offering, which was partly slain at the altar, and partly let go."—Commentary, vol. i. p. 447. ed. 1809.]

[c] In hunc porro publicarum oblationum censum reponimus . . . in die expiationis hircos duos. Quorum unus erat piacularis cæsus, alter emissarius

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I have said that I believe all Jewish writers reckon both goats alike amongst the number of sacrifices. For so I doubt not but the LXX did, who called the scape-goat *ἀποπομπαῖος*, that is, the piacular goat, because he was offered to be a piacle, and as such sent away into the wilderness laden with all the sins of the people. So St. Barnabas, who was a Jew, for this reason calls him *κατάρατος*, 'the accursed' goat, and as such saith that he was a type of Christ; "Hear," saith he[d], "the appointment of Christ; 'Take two goats unblemished and alike, and offer them, and let the high-priest take one of them for a burnt-offering.' And what must be done with the other? 'Let it,' saith he, 'be accursed.'" And afterwards[e]: "One was offered upon the altar, and the other to be accursed." Both then were offered; the one to be a sin-offering, the other for a piacle, to bear all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and the curses due unto them, in the type, as Christ our piacle in the antitype bore the sins of the whole world in His body upon the tree. If therefore a goat solemnly offered before the altar to be a piacle, and to make atonement and expiation for the transgressions of the people be a proper sacrifice, such was the scape-goat, though he was not slain, nor any of his blood put upon the horns of the altar, or poured out at the bottom thereof, nor his fat and kidneys consumed upon the altar by fire.

Lev. 16. 8, 10.

Lev. 16. 10.

So Justin Martyr; after he had said[f] that one of the goats was to be *ἀποπομπαῖος*, and the other to be slain *εἰς προσφορὰν*, speaks of the oblation of both of them in these words[g]: *καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἡ τῶν δύο τράγων τῶν νηστείᾳ κελευσθέντων προσφέρεσθαι, προσφορὰ οὐδαμοῦ ὁμοίως συγκεχώρηται γίνεσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἐπίστασθε.* So far was he from thinking the consumption of an offering, or any part of it upon the altar necessary to make it a sacrifice.

Sir, I hope I have now made it appear with what little

עזאזל pro expiatione sanctuarii, altaris, totiusque cœtus.—[Bright, Tabulæ Mosaicæ, tab. ii. p. 3.]

[d] [*πῶς οὖν ἐνετείλατο; προσέχετε· λάβετε δύο τράγους καλοὺς καὶ ὁμοίους, καὶ προσενέγκατε· καὶ λαβέτω ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἕνα εἰς ὁλοκαύτωμα· τὸν δὲ ἕνα τί ποιήσουσιν; ἐπικατάρατος, φησίν, ὁ εἷς· προσέχετε πῶς ὁ τύπος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φανεροῦται.*—St. Barnab. Epist., c. vii. Patr. Apost., tom. i. pp. 21, 24.]

[e] [*τὸν μὲν ἕνα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, τὸν δὲ ἕνα ἐπικατάρατον.*—Ibid., p. 24.]

[f] [*ὧν ὁ εἷς ἀποπομπαῖος ἐγίνετο, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος εἰς προσφοράν.*—S. Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph., c. 4. p. 137, B.]

[g] [Id. ibid., D.]

reason the holy Eucharist is denied to be a sacrifice, because Dr. Outram's narrow definition of a Jewish sacrifice is not applicable to the institution of it, nor the institution of it to that definition, which is neither so general as to answer the notion of a sacrifice common to all religions, or to take in all the sorts of Jewish sacrifices or oblations. I say of Jewish sacrifices, or oblations, because sacrifice and oblation are equivalent terms in the Old Testament, which I premise for the sake of those who, according to the more common use of the words in our language, make a distinction between them, restraining the word sacrifice to victims, or animal oblations, and oblation to the sacrifices of inanimate things, contrary to the usage of other languages and authors, and particularly of Dr. Outram himself, who makes sacrifice a genus to animal and inanimate sacrifices in these words[h]: *nos omnia sacrificia, quæ ex animantibus lecta erant, victimas, aut hostias appellabimus, reliqua autem ferta*[i], *aut dapes;* "I shall call all sacrifices of animals, victims, or hosts, and the rest meat-offerings, or feasts."

Sir, this observation, and the remarks I have made upon Dr. Outram's definition of a sacrifice, will perhaps make you think it incumbent upon me to give another definition of it, so general as may take in not only all sorts of Jewish, but Gentile sacrifices, and which, if it be a good definition, may also prove the holy Sacrament to be such. But if you expect such a definition of a sacrifice or oblation, as a genus to all sorts of sacrifices or oblations, from me, you expect a most difficult thing. For generical terms come so near to the nature of transcendentals, that they are seldom capable of a strict, proper, and exact definition, though the nature of the things signified by them may be clearly conceived. Such terms are usually described, rather than defined[j], and learned

[h] [De Sacrificiis, lib. i. c. 8. § 3. p. 84.]

[i] Fertum, Hebraice מנחה minchah; quod vocabulum [et generatim quodvis donum et munus sonat, et] speciatim sumitur [in scriptura] pro libi quodam genere, quod Deo sacrificabatur. Hoc vulgatus interpres simpliciter sacrificium nominat.—Compiegne de Veïl, in annot. in Maimon., [de cultu Divino, Tract. vii. c. 2. § 1. p. 146. See Grotius in Gen. xiv. 18, quoted p. 110, note l.]

[j] [Descriptionum usus, cum alias utilis, tum etiam sæpe est necessarius. Quoties scilicet aut res explicandæ occurrunt, quæ non sunt capaces perfectarum definitionum, qualia sunt transcendentalia, genera generalissima, entia rationis, &c.—Sanderson, Artis Logicæ Compendium, lib. i. cap. 17. § 6.]

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men content themselves with the unaccurate descriptions of them, because they can have no better. So the schools acquiesce in this definition of substance, *substantia est quod per se subsistit*, or *substantia est ens per se subsistens*[k], that is, "substance is what subsists by itself," or, "substance is a thing that subsists by itself," which is no more than, substance is substance, and so is rather a description than a definition, and a description rather of the name than the thing; and yet though we can have no better a definition of it, every illiterate as well as every learned man conceives what is meant by substance, and hath a clear notion of it, though he never heard it defined. The like may be said of *ens*, a being, or thing, defined to be *quod habet essentiam*, which is but a nominal definition, or explication of the term, though every vulgar understanding knows what a being or thing means, and would have a right idea thereof, though it had never been defined.

Sir, I have observed this to let you know you are not to expect an exact definition of a sacrifice from me, which contains under it so many and various species, and divisions, and subdivisions, as in examining Dr. Outram's too narrow definition of a sacrifice hath appeared. But then, Sir, though I cannot give you such a definition of a sacrifice in general as perhaps you expect; nay though I should give you none at all, yet I must profess I have a clear generical notion of it, as I have of time, though it is very hard to find terms to express it in. I instance in time, because all men alike have a clear notion of it, though the philosopher's definition of it in his Physics[l] is imperfect, and liable to exceptions, and short of the common notion thereof. Wherefore, Sir, I hope you will be content with any tolerable description of a sacrifice in general, because it is not capable of a perfect definition, and that you will consider the cases, in which the schools tell us we must take up with descriptions, particularly in the cases expressed in the margin[m]. Thus far, Sir, to

[k] [Sanderson, ibid., lib. i. c. 9. § 1.]

[l] [*τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος, ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως κατὰ τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον.*—Aristotelis (Physica) Nat. Ausc., lib. iv. c. 11. § 7.]

[m] Quoties ipsi inopia laboramus aut verarum differentiarum, aut verborum, quibus eas exprimamus: quorum utrumque ex eo sæpissime contingit, quod et rerum naturæ atque essentiæ sunt nobis plerumque parum satis cognitæ, neque suppetunt usque dictiones

bespeak your candour in censuring and examining the description I shall give of a sacrifice in general, which if I should describe but nominally, by the mere notation or etymology of the word, I think I might be excused. For there are some consecrated things that have a near alliance and resemblance with sacrifices, and yet are not sacrifices, though it is not so easy, for want of words, to express the difference between them.

But before I can define a sacrifice or oblation in general, you must give me leave to distinguish the words into their several acceptations. For they are sometimes used for the whole sacrificial administration, and sometimes for the *res oblata*, or 'thing sacrificed.' And therefore the administration of the holy Sacrament being called a sacrifice as well as the bread and wine, I shall give you two descriptions of a sacrifice, one, as it is taken for the ἱερουργία, or holy administration, and the other as it is taken for the matter of the sacrifice, the holy gift. But before I proceed to my two descriptions, or if you please you may call them explications of the word, I must beg leave to put in this previous caveat, that if they do not rightly answer the general conceptions we have of sacrifice in both senses, it is not for want of a true notion of them, but rather of words significant enough in our language to express them in.

In the first sense I define a sacrifice thus [n]: "A sacrifice is a religious action (or operation) of a priest, ordinary or extraordinary, by which a gift brought is solemnly offered according to the rites and observances of any religion in, before, at, or upon any place, unto any god, to honour and worship him, and thereby acknowledge him to be god and lord."

Sir, you will now easily imagine, that in the second sense I shall define a sacrifice in this manner: "A sacrifice is a gift brought, and solemnly offered by a priest, ordinary or extraordinary, according to the rites and observances of any religion in, before, at, or upon any place, unto any god, to

exprimendis animi conceptionibus satis idoneæ, &c.—Sanderson, [ibid., lib. i. c. 17. § 6.]

[n] ["To the same purpose J. Saubertus de Sacrificiis, c. 1. p. 13, (see note b, p. 59.) Sic definio sacrificium, sacram et externam actionem qua res quæpiam externa a certis personis, loco ritibusque certis, ad finem certum, dis aut deorum loco habitis consecrabatur et offerebatur."—Additional note from the Supplement of 1715, No. 14.]

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honour and worship him, and thereby acknowledge him to be god and lord."

If my first definition be good, the second must be so, and therefore let me observe to you, first, that it agrees to the notation of *sacrificium*, and answers to the terms of sacrificing, δρᾶν, ἔρδειν, ῥέζειν, ποιεῖν in Greek, עשה in Hebrew, and *facere* in Latin, as above explained[o]. The *summum genus* therefore of sacrifice, for sacrificing, must be action, and actions, as the schools tell us[p], must be defined by their subject, object, efficient, and end: all which I have endeavoured to comprise in the first definition, as well as the thing defined and the want of more proper words would bear. The subject of this holy action is 'a gift brought;' the object to whom it is brought is 'any god;' the efficient, who offers the gift brought, is 'a priest;' and the end of offering that gift is 'to worship that god to whom it is offered, and acknowledge him to be god and lord.' I have said 'a priest, ordinary or extraordinary,' to comprehend the holy administration of those who sacrifice, or offer *jure prophetico* upon particular occasions. As in the first definition I have made 'gift' the subject of offering or sacrificing, so in the second I have put it for the *genus proximum* of sacrifice according to the Hebrews, Greeks, and Latins, who call it in the proper, sacrificial signification, קרבן, δῶρον, *donum*[q], as distinguished from other gifts[r], which were upon any account hanged up in

[o] [See above, pp. 58, sqq.]

[p] [Definiendæ sunt . . . actiones per subjectum, objectum, efficientem et finem.—Sanderson, lib. i. c. 17. § 5.]

[q] Brisson. de formulis, p. 30. [Quæcunque autem deorum placandorum causa aris inferebantur, ea dona appellabant; of which he gives numerous instances.]

[r] Martinii Lexicon Philologicum in Donarium. [The passage occurs under the word donum: Gloss. Donum, δῶρον, χάρισμα, &c. Luc. xxi. 5. templum quod bonis lapidibus et donis ornatum dicitur; pro *donis* est in Græco ἀναθήμασι . . . ἀναθήματα autem proprie *donaria;*] Macrob. Saturn., lib. iii. cap. 11. [see note a, p. 72.] Ornamenta vero sunt clypei, coronæ, et ejusmodi donaria. Julii Pollucis Onomasticon, [lib. i. cap. 1. segm. 28.] περὶ ἀναθημάτων καὶ λοιπῶν προσφερομένων. [περὶ ἀναθημάτων· τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ στέφανοι, φιάλαι, ἐκπώματα, θυμιαματήρια, χρυσίδες, ἀργυρίδες, οἰνοχόαι, ἀμφορίσκοι.] Phavorini Glossarium in ἀνάθημα· [ἄγαλμα, κόσμος· ἀναθήματα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πόλυ λέγονται στέφανοι, φιάλαι, ἐκπώματα, θυμιατήρια, χρυσίδες, οἰνοχόαι, ἀργυρίδες, ἀμφόρισκοι. καὶ ἀναθήματα δαιτὸς, ἡ μολπὴ, καὶ ἡ ὀρχηστρίς· ὥσπερ γὰρ ναοῖς ἀναθήματα, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὰ κόσμος τις ἀνακείμενος τῇ δαιτί.] See the word in Suiceri Thesaurus, tom. i. col. 272. And in Budæi Comment. Ling. Græcæ, pp. 502, 503. [ἀνάθήματα, ἀφιερώματα, id est, donaria. Macrobius ornamenta, inquit, fanorum sunt clypei, coronæ et hujuscemodi donaria; neque enim donaria dedicantur eo tempore quo delubra sacrantur.—Herod., lib. i. cap. 14. Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα εἰς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὄλιγα.]

temples, or fastened to altars, which they called חרמים, *ἀναθήματα*[s], *donaria*, though among the Latins *donum* is sometimes used for *donarium*, as in that of Virgil, Æn., lib. xii. 768.

Servati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant[t].

So *ἀνάθημα* is rendered by *donum*, 2 Macc. ix. 16[u], but in chap. ii. 13, it is rendered by *donarium*[v], and again by *donum*, as in our translation, Luke xxi. 5[x]. But in 2 Macc. ii. 13, we render *ἀναθημάτων* by 'holy gifts;' for both sacrifices, and gifts signified by *ἀναθήματα* and *donaria* agreed in this, that they were consecrated, but then the latter were said to be dedicated, and not offered, as sacrifices or oblations are always said to be. Before the word 'gift' I have put the word 'brought,' as it is written, Gen. iv. 3, 4, "Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, and Abel brought of the firstlings of his flock an offering unto the Lord." Hence these scriptural words in Hebrew[y] הביא, הקריב, העמיד, for bringing to the priest and altar. This the Greeks express by *προσάγειν*[z], *ἀναβαίνειν* [*ἀναθεῖναι*], the Latins by *ducere*, and *admovere*, of which in the proper sacrificial sense see Brissonius at large; *De formulis*, pp. 15, 16[a].

I need say nothing of the word 'offered,' but that I mean by it 'actually offered,' and that joined with 'brought,' it denotes a sacrifice or oblation offered, or to be offered, as Buxtorf[b] saith קרבן, *corban, est oblatio, sacrificium quod offertur aut offerri debet.* But what is actually offered is most properly called a sacrifice or oblation: for as Gregory Nyssen some-

[s] [Hickes has been misled in translating חרמים donaria, by the interchange in the LXX of *ἀναθέματα* and *ἀναθήματα*. חרמים are 'things devoted' or 'accursed;' generally rendered in the LXX *ἀναθέματα*, e. g. Josh. vi. 17, 18; but in Lev. xxvii. 28, 29, erroneously by *ἀναθήματα*; as, on the contrary, in 2 Macc. ii. 13, (quoted below, note v,) and in Judith xvi. 17, *ἀνάθεμα* is used for *ἀνάθημα*.]

[t] [See also Martinius, quoted above, note r, p. 168.]

[u] [*καλλίστοις ἀναθήμασι κοσμήσειν.* Vers. LXX. 2 Macc. ix. 16; optimis donis ornaturum. Vulg.]

[v] [*ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθεμάτων*, Vers. LXX. 2 Macc. ii. 13; et epistolas regum et de donariis, Vulg.; "and the holy gifts," Eng. Vers.]

[x] [*ὅτι λίθοις καλοῖς καὶ ἀναθήμασι κεκόσμηται.* Luc. xxi. 5; quod bonis lapidibus et donis ornatum esset, Vulg.; "gifts," Eng. Vers.]

[y] [הביא, Gen. iv. 4, 'he brought;' הקריב, 'to bring near:' of sacrifice, Lev. iii. 1, 7, 8; העמיד, 'to cause to stand, to present' before the Lord, Lev. xiv. 11; and passively, Lev. xvi. 10, 'presented.']

[z] Jul. Pollucis Onomast., lib. i. cap. 1. segm. 29. *περὶ τῶν προσαγομένων ἱερείων.* [*ἱερεία προσάγειν*, and at the end *ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸν νεών*; for which *ἀναβαίνειν* in the text appears to be a mistake.]

[a] [Numerous instances are given by Brissonius at this place.]

[b] Lexic. Talm. [in voc. קרבן, p. 2122.]

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where speaks[c], "a sheep before it is offered is but a sheep, but being offered it becomes what it was not before, a sacrifice to God."

I have also said offered 'in, before, at, or upon[d]' any place to distinguish sacrifices from temples and altars, which are also said to be consecrated[e] and dedicated, upon which account they become holy, but are never said to be offered. I have used the word 'before,' because in religious ritualities it is all one as to the nature of a sacrifice, whether it be offered 'before,' or 'towards' the place of the special presence or residence of any deity, or 'in' it, if the pontifical laws and usages so direct or permit. So as I have shewed before, the red heifer which was slain before Eleazar the priest, who sprinkled her blood seven times directly before the tabernacle, was as ritual and perfect a sacrifice of expiation, as if she had been slain at the altar, and the priest had sprinkled her blood thereupon. Temples therefore and altars, properly speaking, are not gifts, or offerings, but only holy places in and at which gifts are offered; places, I say, for so Julius Pollux calls them, lib. i. segm. 6: *ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ θεραπεύονται*: of "the place in which the gods are worshipped," *καὶ τὸ μὲν χώριον, κ.τ.λ.*[f] "and the place in which we worship the gods is *ἱερον* and *νεώς*." So segm. 7[g], speaking of the altar, saith he, "the place upon which we sacrifice and burn the fire is *βωμὸς, θυσιαστήριον, ἑστία, κ.τ.λ.* And in segm. 8[h], he calls the *ἐσχάρα*, or grate of the altar, *ὁ δεκτὸς τόπος τῶν θυσιῶν*, "the place which receives the sacrifices."

Num. 19.

I have also added, 'according to the rites and customs of any religion,' because as there never was any religion with-

[c] [These words do not occur in St. Gregory Nyssen. For several similar analogies see his Oratio de Baptismo Christi, Op., tom. iii. pp. 369, 370; quoted above, p. 76, note p.]

[d] So Thomas Aquinas, Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod sacrificia offerri oportebat et in aliquibus locis, et per aliquos homines. [Summæ Theol. Prima Secundæ, Quæst. ci. Art. 4.]

[e] Brisson. de Form., pp. 113—115. [Brissonius among other authorities for the consecration of temples, quotes Varro de Ling. Lat., lib. ii. § 54. Hinc fana nominata, quod pontifices in sacrando fati sunt finem; Liv., lib. x. c. 23. Hanc ego aram, inquit, Pudicitiæ Plebeiæ dedico. Ovid. Fast., lib. i. 609. Sacra vocant Augusta patres; Augusta vocantur templa, sacerdotum rite dicata manu.]

[f] [Jul. Poll. Onomast., lib. i. cap. 1. segm. 6. *ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ θεραπεύονται· καὶ τὸ μὲν χωρίον ἐν ᾧ θεραπεύομεν τοὺς θεοὺς, ἱερὸν, καὶ νεώς.*]

[g] [Ibid., segm. 7. *περὶ θυσιαστηρίου· ἐφ' ὧν δὲ θύομεν, ἢ πῦρ ἀναιαίομεν, βωμὸς, θυμιαματήριον, ἑστία*: no edition reads *θυσιαστήριον*.]

[h] [Ibid., segm. 8. *ὁ δεκτὸς τόπος τῶν θυσιῶν· ἐσχάρα δ' ἰδικῶς δοκεῖ μὲν ὧδε ὠνομάσθαι, κ.τ.λ.*]

out priests and some sacrifice, so every religion has its ritual, or pontifical observations, not to be omitted or transgressed.

The end which I have assigned of sacrifices or oblations in general, is 'to honour or worship the god to whom they are offered, and to acknowledge him for god and lord.' To this purpose also speaks Thomas Aquinas[1], *Secundum enim quod sacrificia ordinabantur ad cultum Dei, causa sacrificiorum dupliciter accipi potest,* &c. "For as sacrifices were appointed for the worship of God, the cause of them may be conceived two ways. In one, as we conceive that the disposition of the offerer's mind towards God was represented by them. But this is requisite to the right disposition of a man's mind towards God, that he acknowledge that all he hath comes from God, as the first principle, and ought to be referred to Him, as the ultimate end. And both these were set forth in oblations and sacrifices, because a man was understood to offer those things by way of acknowledgment to God from whom he had them. According to what David speaks, 1 Chron. xxix. 14, 'All things come of Thee, and of Thine own have we given Thee.' And therefore in offering sacrifices a man protested that God was the first principle of all things, and the ultimate end to which all things ought to be referred. And because it belongs to the right disposition of a man's mind towards God, that he acknowledge no other but God to be the first cause of all things, and the ultimate end to which they are to be referred, and had no other end but Him: therefore in the law it was forbid to offer sacrifice to any other but to God, according to what is written,

[1] [Secundum enim quod sacrificia ordinabantur ad cultum Dei, causa sacrificiorum dupliciter accipi potest. Uno modo secundum quod per sacrificia repræsentabatur ordinatio mentis in Deum, ad quam excitabatur sacrificium offerens. Ad rectam autem ordinationem mentis in Deum pertinet, quod omnia quæ homo habet recognoscat a Deo tanquam a primo principio, et ordinet in Deum tanquam in ultimum finem; et hoc repræsentabatur in oblationibus et sacrificiis, secundum quod homo ex rebus suis quasi in recognitionem, quod haberet ea a Deo, in honorem Dei ea offerebat: secundum quod dixit David, 1 Paralip. xxix. 'Tua sunt omnia, et quæ de manu tua accepimus, dedimus tibi;' et ideo in oblatione sacrificiorum protestabatur homo, quod Deus esset primum principium creationis rerum, et ultimus finis, ad quem essent omnia referenda. Et quia pertinet ad rectam ordinationem mentis in Deum, ut mens humana non recognoscat alium primum auctorem rerum, nisi solum Deum, neque in aliquo alio finem suum constituat: propter hoc prohibebatur in lege, offerri sacrificium alicui alteri, nisi Deo, secundum illud Exod. xxii. 'Qui immolat diis occidetur, præterquam Domino soli.'—Summa Theol. Prima Secundæ, Qu. cii. Art. 3.]

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Exod. xxii. 20, 'He that sacrificeth to any God save unto the Lord[k] only, he shall be utterly destroyed.'"

This shews that the common end of all sacrifices was 'to honour and worship and do homage to the god to whom they were offered, and acknowledge him to be lord,' as Brisson[l] also shews at large out of human authors. And indeed the bare act of offering in itself, without speaking a word, is an act of religious homage, and of honour, worship, and recognition of the god to whom the offering is made. And therefore to honour, worship, and recognise Jehovah as the only true God, and supreme Lord, being if not the only, yet the chief end of burnt-offerings[m], the Jews permitted the Gentiles to bring or send such offerings, but of no other sort, to be offered unto God.

Having now explained the terms used in my definitions of sacrifice or oblation in general, I hope, the difficulties abovementioned being considered, they may pass for sufficient definitions. I believe they are as good as many hundred definitions among the schoolmen and writers of civil law, among whom, considering how hard it is to find proper terms to define many notions in, they are fain to excuse themselves by that common saying in the margin[n], which shews how difficult and nice things general definitions are, and that allowances ought to be made for them in many cases upon that account. Wherefore if mine are sufficient definitions of sacrifice in general, they must comprehend all sorts of sacrifices howsoever distinguished in sacred or profane writers, especially in the sacred code: voluntary or commanded; animate or inanimate, the oblation of the Levites in Numb. viii.[o] not excepted; consumed in whole or in part upon the altar, or not to be so consumed; public or private;

[k] In the original, "except unto Jehovah."

[l] De Formulis, lib. i. pp. 29, 30. [See above, note b, p. 28.]

[m] Thomas Aquinas. [Holocaustum offerebatur Deo specialiter ad reverentiam majestatis ejus ... et ideo totum comburebatur, ut sicut totum animal resolutum in vaporem, sursum ascendebat, ita etiam significaretur totum hominem et omnia quæ ipsius sunt, Dei dominio esse subjecta, et ei esse offerenda ... totum comburebatur in honorem Dei: et nihil ex eo comedebatur.—Summa Theol. Prima Secundæ, Quæst. cii. Art. 3.]

[n] Definitiones rerum sunt omnium periculosissimæ.

[o] [See Num. viii. 11. "And Aaron shall offer the Levites before the Lord for an offering of the children of Israel, that they may execute the service of the Lord."]

daily, weekly, monthly, or anniversary sacrifices; principal or annexed; more holy, or less holy sacrifices; burnt-offerings, sin-offerings, trespass-offerings, and peace-offerings, and that which succeeded in the room of them all under the New Testament, the propitiatory oblation of the Eucharist as treated of in the learned and judicious discourse whose title is set down in the margin[p]. Nay, I do not doubt but it is fairly applicable to the grand expiatory sacrifice upon the altar of the cross, the sacrifice of our Lord, of which the legal sacrifices were types, and the Eucharistical a representative commemoration, as I have proved by many testimonies: for He being a priest after the order and similitude of Melchisedec, "there was a necessity that he should have something also to offer," which was the sacrifice of Himself, that one sacrifice for sin, the one offering which He offered but once, and by which He hath perfectly cleansed us from the guilt of sin. And as there was a necessity that He should have something to offer, so there was a necessity that He should have something to offer Himself upon, which by the determinate counsel of God was the cross; and therefore I make no difficulty to call it an altar, being the appointed fabric or place upon which (ἐφ' οὗ, as Julius Pollux speaks[q]) He was to offer Himself "an offering, and a sacrifice to God, for a sweet-smelling savour."

Heb. 8. 3.

Eph. 5. 2.

But, Sir, there yet remains another objection to be answered, taken also from the opinion of another of our learned divines, Dr. Cudworth, who in "A Discourse concerning the true notion of the Lord's Supper[r]," asserts, that "it is not a sacrifice, but *epulum ex oblatis*[s], 'a feast upon a sacrifice,' or else

[p] The Propitiatory Oblation in the Holy Eucharist truly stated and defended from Scripture, Antiquity, and the Communion-Service of the Church of England, in which some notice is taken of Dr. Hancock's Answer to Dr. Hickes. London, printed 1710. [See above, note u, p. 71, and vol. i. p. 2, note h.]

[q] [See note g, p. 170.]

[r] [A Discourse concerning the true notion of the Lord's Supper, by R. C. (Ralph Cudworth, then M.A. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and rector of North Cadbury, Somersetshire.) Cambridge, 1642. This was Cudworth's first publication. In 1644 he was made master of Clare Hall by the Parliamentary Commissioners.]

[s] Cudworth, ibid., chap. 5. pp. 54, 55. [Cudworth's words, at the beginning of ch. 5, are, "Thus having declared and demonstrated the true notion of the Lord's Supper, we see how that theological controversy, which hath cost so many disputes, whether the Lord's Supper be a sacrifice, is already decided; for it is not *sacrificium*, but *epulum ἐκ τῆς θυσίας*; not a sacrifice, but a feast upon sacrifice; or else," &c.]

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in other words, not *oblatio sacrificii,* but as Tertullian[t] excellently speaks, (saith he,) *participatio sacrificii,* not the offering of something up to God upon an altar, but the eating of something which comes from God's altar, and is set upon our tables." And then in contradiction to all antiquity, he asserts, that the notion of a Sacrament's being a sacrifice is "a mistake[u]" for what is the true notion, of its being a feast upon a sacrifice, and that it grew up "by the degeneration of this truth," as he expresseth himself; adding, "There is a sacrifice in the Lord's Supper symbolically, but not as there offered up to God, but feasted on by us, and so not a sacrifice, but a sacrificial feast, which began too soon to be misunderstood." In another place he expresseth himself in this manner: "The[x] eating of sacrifices was a due and proper appendix unto all sacrifices one way or other, either by the priests" (whom he owns to be the owners' "mediators unto God, and as their proxies[y]") "or (by) themselves, when the person that offered was capable thereof;" that is, "when he had no uncleanness upon him, and was perfectly reconciled to God[z]," as he also expresseth himself. In a word, from analogy to this ancient rite of feasting upon things sacrificed, and eating of those things in person or proxy which they had offered up to God, he takes his new notion of the Lord's Supper being a feast upon a sacrifice, and not a sacrifice itself. To this purpose he speaks in another place[a]: "the very concinnity and harmony of the thing itself leads me to conceive, that that Christian feast under the Gospel, called the Lord's Supper, is the very same thing, and bears the same notion in respect of the true Christian sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, that those did to the Jewish and heathenish sacrifices, and so is *epulum sacrificiale,* a sacrificial feast, I mean a feast upon sacrifice, or *epulum ex oblatis,* a feast upon things offered up to God. Only this difference arising in the parallel, that because those legal sacrifices were but types and shadows of the true Christian sacrifice, they were often repeated and re-

[t] [Tertull. De Oratione, cap. 14. Op., p. 136; quoted below, p. 181, note z.]

[u] Cudworth, ibid., p. 56. [Cudworth's words are, "Having thus discovered the true notion of the Lord's Supper, we may from hence discern also, how that mistake grew up, and that by the degeneration of this truth."]

[x] Ibid., chap. 1. p. 5.

[y] [Ibid., p. 4.]

[z] [Ibid., paulo supr.]

[a] Ibid., p. 15.

newed, as well as the feasts which were made upon them; but now the true Christian sacrifice being come, and offered up once for all, never to be repeated, we have therefore no more typical sacrifices left among us, but only the feast upon the true sacrifice, still symbolically continued and often repeated in reference to that one great sacrifice, which is always as present in God's sight and efficacious, as if it were but now offered for us."

Now, Sir, in answer to the objection taken from this learned man's new notion of the Lord's Supper, it will be convenient to distinguish in this sacrificial feast of Christians between the matter, or entertainment of it, and the eating and participation thereof in the holy feast, that it may appear in what this opinion agrees, and how it differs from the ancient and common notion which the Church had of it in the primitive and purest times. First, then, as to the matter of it, the bread and wine; it must be granted that by Christ's own institution, they are symbols of His natural body and blood, and by His appointment are to be deemed, reputed, and received as His natural flesh and blood in the holy feast. And, secondly, it must be granted that the participation of them is a federal rite, and hath all the moral effects between God and the faithful communicants, as if they did eat and drink of His natural body and blood, which was sacrificed for us upon the cross. Those moral effects are the solemn and comfortable commemoration of His all-sufficient sacrifice upon the cross, and representing it before God on earth, as He represents it before Him in heaven, together with a confirmation and ratification of the covenant between God and the communicants; and the signification and assurance of God's pardon, and of peace, reconciliation, and fellowship between God and the worthy partakers, who eat and drink the mystical and vicarious body and blood of Christ, according to what St. Ignatius[b] said of the heretics, who asserted that Christ was not a real man, but only in appearance: "They abstain (saith he) from the Eucharist, and (the Eu-

[b] εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, [διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν, ἣν τῇ χρηστότητι ὁ πατὴρ ἤγειρεν.—S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn., § 7. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 36.]

Multa et gravia peccat ad hunc locum oppugnator epistolarum nostrarum. 1. Perperam accipit vocem προσ-

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charistical office of) prayer, because they do not confess the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father of His goodness raised again." The true sense of which passage is explained by Tertullian[c] in the fortieth chapter of his fourth book against Marcion, to which I refer you. Thirdly, it must be acknowledged that the one great sacrifice of Christ upon the cross is the only true and proper sacrifice of the Christian religion, as by one true sacrifice is understood the one great sacrifice of propitiation for sin, which was the truth and completion of all the typical sacrifices; but then his opinion

ευχῆς latissimo modo pro omni prorsus oratione: cum Ignatius aut loquatur de prece mystica, aut oratione solemni, qua corpus Christi conficitur. S. Hieronym. Epist. 85. [Ad quorum preces Christi corpus et sanguis conficitur.—Epist. 146, ad Evangelum, Op., tom. i. col. 1075, A. ed. Vallars.;] et Sophoniæ, cap. 3. [Sacerdotes impie agunt in legem Christi, putantes *εὐχαριστίαν* imprecantis facere verba, non vitam, et necessariam esse tantum solennem orationem et non sacerdotum merita.—S. Hieron. Comment. in Soph., cap. 3. Op., tom. vi. col. 718, C.] S. Aug. de Trinitate, lib. iii. cap. 4. [Illud quod ex fructibus terræ acceptum, et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus.—Op., tom. viii. col. 798, B, C.] *εὐχὴ* appellatur a Justino Mart. Apol. 2. [Apol. 1. c. 65 and 67, pp. 82, E. 83, D. quoted above, pp. 105, 106, notes f, g], et Origene, tum contra Celsum, lib. viii. [c. 33. *τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν, σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἁγιόν τι καὶ ἁνίαζον τοὺς μετὰ ὑγιοῦς προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρωμένους.*—Op., tom. i. p. 766, D, E.], tum ad Matt. xv. 17. [*τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως.*—Ibid., tom. iii. p. 499, C.] *προσευχὴ* ab Augustino, Epist. 59. ['Sed eligo in his verbis (1 Tim. ii. 1) hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pæne omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut *precationes* (*δεήσεις*) accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici; *orationes* (*προσευχὰς*) cum benedicitur, et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis Ecclesia Dominicâ oratione concludit.'—S. Aug. Epist. 149. ad Paulinum, § 16. Op., tom. ii. col. 509, C. ed. Ben.] Aut potius intelligat preces liturgicas [sive missam] juxta constitutiones Apostolicas, lib. ii. c. 54. [See above, note c, p. 44.] Cyrillum Hierosolym. Catechesi Mystagog. 5. [§ viii. sqq. pp. 327, D, sqq. See above, notes b, 121, and x. p. 134.] Zonaram ad canones Apostolicas ii. [*τὸ συνεύξασθαι ἀντὶ συνιερουργῆσαι παραληφθήσεται.*—ap. Bevereg. Pandect., tom. i. p. 7, E.] et Neocæsariensem 13. [*οὔτε ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον δοῦναι ἐν εὐχῇ, τουτέστιν οὐδὲ τῶν ἁγίων δώρων ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς μεταδιδόναι τῷ λαῷ ἐν εὐχῇ, ἤτοι ἐν ἱερουργίας καιρῷ.*—Ibid., p. 413, C.] *Sacrificiorum orationes* in Tertulliano lib. de Oratione, cap. extremo; ['similiter stationum diebus non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum.'—c. 14. Op., p. 135.] 'In oratione quando offerimus sacrificia Deo.' —S. Epiphanii Joanni Hierosolymitano [Episcopo Epistola; extat tantum Latine, S. Hieronymo interprete.—S. Epiphanii Op., tom. ii. p. 313, B.] Recta itaque etiam allegatio Theodoriti Dialog. 3, sed ex sensu magis, quam ad verbum, *εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσφορὰς οὐκ ἀποδέχονται.*—[Theodoret. Op., tom. iv. p. 154, D, where this passage of Ignatius is thus quoted. Cotelerius, Annott. in locum, ibid.]

[c] [Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit, 'Hoc est corpus meum' dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Cæterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset.—Tertull. adv. Marc., lib. iv. c. 40. Op., p. 458, A.]

that there is no other external material oblation in the Christian religion, no "offering at God's altar, but only eating something that comes from it," and that the mystical or sacramental body and blood of Christ, of which we partake at the Lord's table, "are not there offered up unto God," if there were no other reason, is to be rejected as of no authority, because it is new, and contrary to the consentient belief and practice of all Churches for above fifteen hundred years. Of what weight, Sir, can the opinion of a modern single man, though never so learned, be, if put into the scale against such a tradition? But why do I say against such a tradition? when it is of no weight against the single testimony of St. Clement, who in his Epistle to the Corinthians, as I have often observed[d], calls the ministers of the Church *προσενέγκοντες τὰ δῶρα*, 'offerers of gifts,' or 'sacrifices[e]:' as it was said by our Lord, "If thou bring thy gift (*τὸ δῶρόν σου*) to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." Matt. 5. 23. In the same Epistle, as I have also noted, he exhorts the Corinthians to "perform their oblations and public ministrations at the appointed times[f]." This holy apostolical author laboured in the Gospel with St. Paul, and it is no reflection to say that he understood the Apostle's writings, and the mind of God in them, better than Dr. Cudworth, or your late writer. And, Sir, I dare appeal to you, or any other divine who is as well versed in the fathers and councils as you, which of the two it is most reasonable to believe. Indeed, Sir, I cannot but think if Dr. Cudworth had been as well acquainted with the ancient Christian writers as he was with the Rabbinical and Platonic, and as well skilled in the primitive customs and practices of the Church, as in other theories, that he would not have vented an opinion, which, to repeat but one instance more, is a perfect contradiction to Justin Martyr's description of the holy Eucharist, as administered in those early times[g]; and if these holy men's notion and description of it as a

[d] [S. Clem. R. Ep. i. ad Cor. and c. 44. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 173. See above, pp. 64, 88, note x, 141, note.]

[e] See Bishop Fell's learned notes on the place, [see above, p. 88, note y.]

[f] [S. Clem. Rom. ibid., c. 40. p. 170. quoted above p. 87, note t.]

[g] [See above, pp. 105, 106, notes f, g.]

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sacrifice be, as he affirms, a mistake, it is as ancient as the time of the Apostles, and stood uncorrected for almost sixteen hundred years. I cannot also but believe that St. Clement in particular understood the tenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and the parallel which the Apostle there makes between Jewish and Gentile sacrifices and the Lord's Supper, where the very analogy requires that the bread and wine with which we are entertained at the Lord's table, must be, as he calls it, "an oblation," and the priest who administers, "the offerer" thereof. This I could not but observe again, because he turns the Apostle's parallel to another meaning, making[h] the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, and not the offering of bread and wine, (which, contrary to fact, he asserts was not offered at the Lord's Supper[i],) to be the only sacrifice of which the Christians were partakers at the Lord's table. But I may challenge him and all the world, to shew me that any priests or people of what religion soever, ever feasted of any sacrifices which they did not offer before; and therefore he, granting that the Lord's Supper was a feast upon a sacrifice, it was a singularity of his own, without any concinnity to the nature of sacrificial feasts, or the practice of eating of them, to assert, against fact, that the mystical body and blood of Christ, of which we are partakers at the Lord's table, were not first solemnly offered up.

1 Cor. 10. 13.

To confirm his opinion, he asserts that we have no altar to offer upon[k]: "It was never known, saith he, among the Jews or heathens, that the tables upon which they ate their sacrifices were called altars." But I have shewed at large before[l], that holy tables in the heathen temples were used as altars, especially in meat and drink-offerings; and therefore it is no wonder that the Christians called the Lord's table an altar,

[h] Cudworth, pp. 52—54, 70. [Cudworth is here discussing the parallel in 1 Cor. x. 14—21. He says, "Which he (the Apostle) doth illustrate from a parallel rite in Christian religion: where the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ, offered up to God upon the cross for us, is a real communication in His death and sacrifice."—p. 53. And again, "To eat the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, is to be made partakers of His sacrifice offered up to God for us."—Ibid. And again, "To eat of the sacrifice of Christ, once offered up to God, in the Lord's Supper, is to have federal communion with Him."—Ibid., p. 70.]

[i] [Cudworth, chap. 5. p. 55. See above, "not the offering of something up to God," &c. p. 174.]

[k] Cudworth, chap. 5. p. 55.

[l] [See above, p. 72, note a, and pp. 77, sqq.]

which they used as an altar in offering up the bread and wine upon it, it being very common for things to have several names, according to the several uses in which they are employed. Thus he himself grants, that the "altar" at Jerusalem "was a table," and so called, "because it was a table upon which God Himself did eat in consuming the sacrifices[m] with His holy fire[n]." And if that altar was a table, and is so called, not in Scripture only, but by the Talmudical writers[o], because the sacrifices were eaten upon it; why should not the holy table[p] of the Lord be called an altar, because the meat and drink of the holy feast are solemnly offered upon it, before the priest and people participate thereof? He farther saith[q], that "St. Paul, speaking of the feasts upon idol sacrifices, calls the places on which they were eaten the tables of devils, because the devils' meat was eaten upon them, not the altars of devils; and yet doubtless (saith he) he spake according to the true propriety of speech, and in those technical words which were then in use among them. And therefore keeping the same analogy, he must needs call the communion-table by the name of the Lord's table; i. e. the table upon which God's meat is eaten, not His altar upon which it is offered." To which I answer, that St. Paul spake indeed properly when he called the places upon which the idol sacrifices were eaten the "tables of devils," and with the same propriety he called the place upon which the bread of God was eaten "the Lord's table;" but then as the prophets Ezekiel and Malachi calling the Jerusalem altar the "table of

[m] Therefore the sacrifices which God so ate in whole or in part, are called His "meat," Malachi i. 12; and His "bread," i. e. His food, Isa. iii. 7.—Lev. iii. 11, ["the food of the offering made by fire unto the Lord." See] xxi. 6, 8, 17, 21, 22; xxii. 25, ["the bread of their God."]

[n] [Cudworth's words are, "An altar is nothing but a table, but it is a table upon which God Himself eats, consuming the sacrifices by His holy fire." —Ibid., c. 5. p. 55.]

[o] Joh. Lightfoot, in 1 Cor. xi. 21. [Hebrew and Talmudical exercitations upon the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Works, vol. ii. p. 769. fol. 1684. Lightfoot merely states the fact that "'The table of the Most High' is a phrase not unusual in the Talmudists for the altar."]

[p] As it was indifferently called by both names in the ancient Catholic Church, (see above, pp. 76, 77,) and is called by both in the Rubric of the holy Communion of the first Liturgy of King Edward VI. [In the second Rubric before the Communion Service in this Book, there are the words, "not to presume to the Lord's table;" in the third, "to be partakers of the Lord's table;" in the Rubric after the *Kyrie Eleison*, and before the prayer, "We do not presume," &c., "Then the priest, standing at God's board," and "turning him to God's board;" excepting in these places the word "altar" is used in the Rubrics. See Appendix, No. I.]

[q] [Cudworth, ibid., c. 5. p. 55.]

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the Lord[r]," did not imply that it was not an altar, so the Apostles calling the place upon which the bread of God was eaten in the Christian temples "the Lord's table," did not imply that it was not an altar, upon which it was offered before it was eaten and consumed. He owns it was God's meat that was eaten upon it; and, I profess, I cannot well understand how the materials of that holy feast came to be God's meat, without being first offered unto Him, and thereby made His meat in the most special sense; as St. Ignatius[s] calls the Eucharistical bread the "bread of God," not in the common sense as all bread is, but as all material things by being offered to Him, became His. He talks much of "analogy," and "concinnity," and if that must be the rule by which to judge in this late controversy, which was none for sixteen hundred years, then I am sure, whether we consider the sacrificial feasts of Jews or Gentiles, it will prove that the external materials of the holy Christian communion must be a sacrifice or oblation, before they could be a sacrificial feast. Wherefore the primitive Christians, as I must often inculcate, solemnly offered up the bread and wine upon the Lord's table, and as in offering them up they used it as an altar, so they esteemed and called it an altar, as I have shewed[t] St. Paul did in saying "we have an altar," that is, we have an altar-offering, "of which they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle." Wherefore not to recite the testimonies of St. Ignatius and other writers, who so often call the Lord's table an altar[u], and many others which might be brought[x], the holy Eucharist is an altar-offering, before it

Heb. 13. 10.

[r] [See above, note m, p. 76.]

[s] [S. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes., c. 7. ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ.—Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 13. See above, p. 78.]

[t] [See above, pp. 70, sqq.]

[u] [See above, pp. 78, sqq.]

[x] As that in Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. x. cap. 4. versus finem, in his description of all the parts of the altar, σεμνὸν δὲ καὶ μέγα καὶ μονογενὲς θυσιαστήριον, [ποῖον ἂν εἴη, ἢ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἱερέως τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ εἰλικρινὲς καὶ ἁγίων ἅγιον· ᾧ παρεστὼς ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ὁ μέγας τῶν ὅλων ἀρχιερεὺς, αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ παρὰ πάντων εὐῶδες θυμίαμα, καὶ τὰς δι' εὐχῶν ἀναίμους καὶ ἀΰλους θυσίας, φαιδρῷ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ ὑπτίαις ὑποδεχόμενος χερσὶ, τῷ κατ' οὐρανὸν πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ τῶν ὅλων παραπέμπεται.—Hist. Eccl., tom. i. p. 479.] "But the august, great, and one altar, what can it signify but the most pure and most holy soul of the common Priest of all: at whose right hand stands the great High-Priest of the whole world, Jesus Himself, the only begotten Son of God, who with a cheerful look and hands stretched out, receiveth from all that sweet-smelling incense, and unbloody and immaterial sacrifices by prayers, and transmits them to His heavenly Father, the supreme God." [The passage appears to be wrongly translated.]

is the Lord's Supper; and the holy table, like the altar at Jerusalem, is used in every communion as an altar for sacrifice, before it is employed as a table for the sacrificial feast. St. Hierome, in the forecited place, calls it by both names[y]; "we pollute," saith he, "the bread of God, i. e. the body of Christ, when we come unworthily to the altar, and we declare the table of the Lord to be contemptible, when being impure we drink His pure blood." I must farther observe, that Dr. Cudworth hath not one testimony, divine or human, for his new opinion; *participatio sacrificii*, which he cites with an eulogy out of Tertullian, being to be understood of the participation of the bread and wine offered as sacrifice upon the Lord's table, as is plain from the place cited in the margin[z], and from many others, collected out of his other tracts by Rigaltius in his first note upon his tract Of Prayer, some of which I have also put in the margin[a].

I could say more to refute this learned man's opinion, were it needful or convenient to enter into a theory of the Jewish sacrifices, but I think it is time to dismiss this cause, and therefore to conclude, as this notion of the Lord's Supper being only a feast upon the sacrifice of Christ is new and

[y] ['Polluimus panem,' id est, corpus Christi, quando indigni accedimus ad altare, et sordidi mundum sanguinem bibimus; et dicimus, 'mensa Domini despecta est,' non quod hoc aliquis audeat dicere, . . . sed opera peccatorum despiciunt mensam Dei. — S. Hieron. Comm. in Malach. cap. 1. Op., tom. vi. col. 949, A.]

[z] Quæ oratio cum divortio sancti osculi integra, quem Domino officium facientem impedit pax? Quale sacrificium est, a quo sine pace receditur? . . . Similiter et stationum diebus, non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum, quod statio solvenda sit accepto corpore Domini. Ergo devotum Deo obsequium Eucharistia resolvit? An magis Deo obligat? Nonne solennior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris? Accepto corpore Domini, et reservato, utrumque salvum est, et participatio sacrificii, et executio officii.—[Tertullian. de Oratione, c. 14. Op., p. 135, A, B.]

[a] [This note is one of Pamelius', (see above, note l, p. 116.) It is on the title of the tract, De Oratione; and begins, Etsi initio *orationis* vox a Tertulliano accipiatur in genere, post nihilominus explicationem Orationis Dominicæ fere usurpatur pro oratione mystica, seu sacrificio Christiano, ut illi sint idem *oratio* et *sacrificium*. After treating further on this prayer and the word Missa, he gives, among others, the instances quoted by Hickes.] Oblationes reddere, offerre, et commemorare per sacerdotem [Exhort. Castit. c. 11. p. 523, D. Pamelius reads commemorabis for commendabis.—Tertull. Op., p. 567. ed. Pamelii Franc. 1597.] Sacrificium offerri [De Cultu Fœminarum, lib ii. c. 11. p. 159, C.] Offerri calicem [Incerti auctoris adv. Marc. libri v. carmine conscripti, lib. i. Tert. Op., p. 631. col. 1.] Ne prius ascendamus ad altare [De Oratione, c. 10. p. 133, B.] Quo modo audebit orationem ducere ad altare [Exhort. Cast., c. 10, so read by Pamelius, p. 567; the reading of Rigalt's text, p. 523, C, is ducere ab illa. He conjectures, deducere ad altare.] Celebrat et panis oblationem [De Præsc. Hær., c. 40. p. 216, D.]

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singular, and as I have shewed, contrary to Catholic tradition both in belief and practice; so is it a nice notion, and of no use or service that I know of to religion. First, it is a very nice notion and vain imagination thus to separate the table from the altar, the sacrament from the sacrifice, and the outward offering of the one from the federal feast of the other, in the Lord's Supper. This is to put asunder what God hath joined together, and in effect to declare, that if the bread and wine be first made an oblation to God they cannot become the mystical flesh and blood of His Son. Secondly, as this is a nice and new notion, so is it of no use or service to the Church. On the contrary, it disserves religion, and is of dangerous consequence to this holy Sacrament itself; for by the same liberty this author, I am sure without any ill intention, hath taken away the solemn offering of the bread and wine from the holy mystery, others, after his example, have presumed to take away the solemn consecration of them, and so have reduced it, in their blasphemous language, to nothing but "a health[b]." So dangerous it is for learned, though never so good men, to remove the old landmarks, and advance new notions destructive or tending to the destruction of the old. I believe this author might really intend by this notion to secure the holy Eucharist from the popish notion of it; for if it is not a real sacrifice at all, most certainly it cannot be such a sacrifice as the papal Church defines it to be[c], to wit, "a proper propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, in which the body and blood of Christ, with His soul and Divine Nature, is in truth, reality, and substance, offered up for the living and the dead, the whole substance of the bread being converted into the body, and the whole substance of the wine into the blood of Christ." But this is running from one extreme to the other without any reason, because the ancient notion of this holy

[b] [See above, vol. i. p. 212, note y; and the Rights of the Christian Church, &c., p. 105.]

[c] [This is an extract from what is commonly called the Creed of Pope Pius IV. The original words are; Profiteor pariter in missa offerri Deo verum, proprium et propitiatorium sacrificium pro vivis et defunctis; atque in sanctissimo Eucharistiæ sacramento esse vere, realiter, et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem, una cum anima et divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi; fierique conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, &c.—Professio Fidei apud bullam Papæ Pii IV. Concilia, tom. xx. col. 221, D.]

Sacrament's being a commemorative sacrifice, in which we represent before God the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, perfectly secures the holy mystery from that corrupt and absurd notion, it being impossible that a solemn commemoration of a fact or thing should be the fact or thing itself; or to speak otherwise with respect to the holy symbols by which we make the commemoration, that what represents should be the thing represented, the figure the verity itself, or the sign that which is signified thereby[d].

Sir, I have said all this in defence of the old against the Doctor's new notion of the holy Eucharist, much more out of love to that old truth than to prove Christian ministers to be proper priests. For as it will follow from that that they are in the literal sense *θῦται*, true "sacrificing priests," as Gregory Nazianzen[e] calls bishops; so it will follow even from this that they must be proper priests, because, as none but a priest can offer a sacrifice, so none but a priest can preside and minister in such a sacrificial feast as he allows the holy Sacrament to be. Who but a priest can receive the elements from the people, set them upon the holy table, and offer up to God such solemn prayers, praises, and thanksgivings for the congregation, and make such solemn intercessions for them, as are now and ever were offered and made in this holy Sacrament? Who but a priest can consecrate the elements by solemn prayer, and make them the mystical body and blood of Christ? Who but a priest can stand in God's stead at His table, and in His name receive His guests? Who but a

[d] [For the fuller statement of the doctrine by the council of Trent, see Concil. Trident. Sessio xxii. cap. 1. Dominus noster . . . ut . . . relinqueret sacrificium, quo cruentum illud semel in cruce peragendum repræsentaretur, ejusque memoria in finem usque sæculi permaneret, atque illius salutaris virtus in remissionem eorum, quæ a nobis quotidie committuntur peccata applicaretur, corpus et sanguinem suum sub speciebus panis et vini Deo Patri obtulit, ac sub earundem rerum symbolis apostolis . . . ut offerrent præcepit . . . Novum instituit pascha, seipsum ab ecclesia per sacerdotes sub signis visibilibus immolandum.—cap. 2. In divino hoc sacrificio . . . idem ille Christus continetur, et incruente immolatur, qui in ara crucis semel seipsum cruente obtulit . . . una enim eademque est hostia, idemque nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio, qui seipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, sola offerendi ratione diversa; cujus quidem oblationis, cruentæ inquam, fructus per hanc incruentam uberrime percipiuntur; tantum abest ut illi per hanc quovis modo derogatur. See further the words of Maldonatus on this subject, transcribed by Bishop Cosin, vol. i. note s, pp. 108, sqq.]

[e] *οὐδὲ θύτας καθαροὺς, ἀλλὰ προστάτας ἰσχυροὺς ζητοῦσιν.*—[S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xlii. (al. xxxii.) § 24. Op., tom. i. p. 765, E.]

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priest hath power to break the bread, and bless the cup, and make a solemn memorial before God of His Son's sufferings, and then deliver His sacramental body and blood to the faithful communicants, as tokens of His meritorious sufferings and pledges of their salvation? A man authorized thus to act "for men in things pertaining to God," and for God in things pertaining to men, must needs be a priest, and such holy ministrations must needs be sacerdotal, whether the holy table be an altar, and the Sacrament a sacrifice, or not. This, Sir, I have proved[f], and therefore now shall content myself only to say so much upon the subject of priesthood as is sufficient to put you in remembrance of what I said before.

Having now, Sir, got over the objections taken from the writings of these two learned men against the Eucharist's being a sacrifice, I desire your late writer, and such gentlemen as he, who have been led into their errors by these and other writers since the Reformation, to consider, that if the holy Eucharist be a sacrifice, as the Catholic Church believed in all ages before that time[g], how far the defect, in administering of it only as a Sacrament, may affect the holy office and the ministration of it; and whether the communion administered by a priest, who neither believes himself to be such, nor the Sacrament to be an oblation or sacrifice, can be a communion in or with the Catholic Church? I say, I leave it to themselves to consider these things, and I think they

[f] [See above, sect. ii. pp. 14, sqq.]

[g] Vincent. Lirin., cap. 3. In ipsa Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est, hoc est enim vere proprieque Catholicum.—[Commonitorium, c. 2. Bibl. Patr., tom. x. p. 103. col. ii. C.] Cap. 38. Hoc facere magnopere curabunt... ut divinum canonem secundum universalis Ecclesiæ traditiones, et juxta Catholici dogmatis regulas interpretentur; in qua item Catholica Apostolicaque Ecclesia sequantur necesse est universitatem, antiquitatem, consensionem. Et si quando pars contra universitatem, novitas contra vetustatem, unius vel paucorum errantium dissensio, contra omnium vel certo multo plurium Catholicorum consensionem rebellaverit, præferant partis corruptioni universitatis integritatem, &c.—[Ibid., c. 27. p. 114. col. i. D, E.] Cap. 39. Quicquid vel omnes, vel plures uno eodemque sensu manifeste, frequenter, perseveranter, velut quodam consentiente sibi magistrorum concilio, accipiendo, tenendo, tradendo firmaverint, id pro indubitato, certo, ratoque habeatur.—[Ibid., c. 28, ibid., col. ii. D.] Cap. 41. Quicquid uno sensu atque consensu tenuisse invenirentur, id Ecclesiæ verum et Catholicum absque ullo scrupulo judicaretur.—[Ibid., c. 29. p. 115. col. ii. A;] see also cap. 42. pp. 140—142. [Ibid., c. 31. p. 116. col. i. B—E. Hickes' references are made to an edition of the Commonitorium, published at Oxford, impensis Gul. Webb. 1631.]

deserve their consideration, and hope they will seriously and impartially ruminate upon them, lest they should not "rightly and duly administer that holy Sacrament." The best of the Jewish writers tells us[h], that it was a profanation of a sacrifice, if the priest thought when he offered up one sacrifice that it was another; as if when he offered a burnt-offering he thought it was a peace-offering, or if when he offered a peace-offering he thought it was a burnt-offering. Whether that obliquity of thought, when it happened, had such an effect or no, I shall not now enquire; but this I dare say, if a Jewish priest, who did not believe himself to be a proper priest, nor the Jewish altar a proper altar, nor the sacrifices of the law true and proper sacrifices, had presumed to offer while he was in this unhappy error, that he had profaned the sacrifice as far as he was concerned in it, and not offered it up *ὁσίως καὶ ἀμέμπτως*[i], according to the will of God, though according to all the appointed rites, nor in unity of communion and conjunction with the Jewish Church. For the Jewish Church would not have suffered such priests, if known, to minister among the sons of Aaron and Zadok; nor would the ancient Catholic Church have endured bishops and presbyters without censure, who durst have taught that the Christian ministry was not a proper priesthood, the holy Eucharist not a proper sacrifice, or that Christian ministers were not proper priests.

But to finish this part of my discourse about the holy Eucharist, and to prevent, as much as in me lies, the sinister censures and constructions of suspicious or ill-minded men, I conclude it with the words of Dr. John Forbes in his *Irenicum*[k], where he treats of the Lord's Supper.

[h] Maimonides de Cultu divino, Tract. vii. cap. 13. art. 1. [Tria cogitationum erant genera, quibus temerabantur victimæ: hoc erant, si cogitando mutaretur nomen: si cogitando mutaretur locus; si cogitando mutaretur tempus. Jam cogitando mutabatur nomen si victima non immolaretur suo nomine; ut si quis immolando holocausto cogitaret immolare victimam pacificam, si primo aditu victimam immolaret nomine holocausti, et nomine hostiæ pacificæ, contrave.—p. 300. Par. 1678.]

[i] [S. Clem. Rom. Ep. i. ad Cor. c. 44, quoted note x, p. 88.]

[k] [The title of this work is, Irenicum amatoribus veritatis et pacis in Ecclesia Scoticana. Prece et studio Joannis Forbesii, S.S. Theol. Doct. et ejusdem Profess. in Acad. Aberdoniensi; it was first printed at Aberdeen, 4to. 1631, and reprinted in the first volume of the edition of his collected works, fol. Amsterdam, 1703, to which last the references are made.]

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"The holy fathers[1], who used the words sacrifice, priesthood, altar, oblation, and mass, were far from the error of those mass-mongers, who blasphemously boast that they properly and truly offer unto God Christ Himself, included under the species of bread and wine, as a truly propitiatory sacrifice. But nothing of this nature is found among the fathers."

To which let me add what he saith by way of introduction to what he writes of the Lord's Supper, immediately after the words above cited.

"I will not speak[m] of the oblation of the elements, which was made by the people, and how the pastors, taking the oblations from their hands, placed them upon the Lord's table, and with humble prayers offered them to God, that they might be sanctified and consecrated into a Sacrament of salvation to the communicants. Nor will I mention the Eucharistical sacrifice of praise which the faithful offered to God in the commemoration of the death of our Lord," &c.

Here is as perfect a description of a sacrifice as can be made. First, the people's offerings in bringing the gifts: secondly, the priest's receiving them from their hands, and setting them upon the Lord's table: thirdly, his offering them to God by prayer, to be sanctified into a Sacrament for the people; and, lastly, the solemnization of the action with a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which the people by the minister's mouth offered up to God. And if this be not a description of a most solemn oblation or sacrifice, I must confess I am not able to know what is. It exactly agrees with the order of administration of the Lord's Supper in the Scottish Liturgy, which was framed according to this description of the holy Eucharist, and that of Justin Martyr; and I have often wondered how this writer came to make

[1] [Sancti illi patres, qui vocabulis sacrificii, sacerdotii, altaris, oblationis, missæ, usi sunt, procul erant ab errore istorum missificorum, qui blasphemantes jactant se proprie et vere offerre Deo ipsum Christum, speciebus panis et vini inclusum, in sacrificium vere propitiatorium. Nihil hujusmodi invenitur apud patres.—Forbesii Irenicum § 20. p. 441. col. ii.]

[m] [Ut omittam oblationem elementorum a populo factam, et quod res a populo oblatas acceperint ex offerentium manibus pastores, easque in mensa Dominica collocarint, et prece supplice eas Deo obtulerint sanctificandas et consecrandas in sacramentum salutare populo. Ut etiam omittam Eucharisticum sacrificium laudis, quod pii, in illa commemoratione mortis Domini, Domino offerrebant, &c.—Ibid., § 21. p. 441. col. ii.]

such an introduction to a discourse, wherein he endeavoured as much as he could to prove that the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was only an improper metonymical sacrifice, and the Lord's table an altar only in a metaphorical sense. But in that discourse he hath more such inconsistencies; as where he saith[n], "The third consideration of a spiritual sacrifice and oblation in the holy Eucharist, is obvious in the oblation, by which the faithful did not only offer up to God the symbols to be consecrated, but themselves also, coming to the table of the Lord, and there professing themselves to be His servants, and vowing all holy obedience to Him by right of redemption, as being redeemed by His blood." But were not the symbols, which the faithful so solemnly offered up to God with themselves, by the ministration of the bishop or presbyter, an external material oblation? And was not the table to which they approached, and upon which their oblations were offered up in most solemn manner, used as an altar? and from that constant use of it, to which it was set apart, did it not, as things are denominated from their use, properly deserve that name? But indeed this learned man in that discourse confounds the notions of a real, or proper, and propitiatory sacrifice, one with the other, as likewise the notions of a truly proper and spiritual oblation, as if the Lord's Supper could not be the one, because it is sometimes called the other.

SECT. XI.

Christian Ministers Priests, as representing the true Melchisedec.

XI. From hence, Sir, I proceed to my last argument, which I shall produce out of the writings of the New Testament, to prove bishops and presbyters, but more especially bishops, to be proper priests, because they are ministers of the archetypal Melchisedec in His priestly kingdom upon earth, who was made priest with an oath by His Father, who sware unto Him, "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec." Being therefore ministers under Him, who is a priest after the order and similitude of Melchisedec, who was both king and priest, they must represent Him in His priestly as well as His kingly capacity, and by consequence be invested

Ps. 110. 4.

[n] [Tertia consideratio sacrificii, et oblationis spiritualis in Eucharistia, occurrit in ea oblatione, qua fideles, non solum symbola consecranda, sed etiam seipsos Deo offerunt: accedendo ad mensam Dominicam, seque Domini sanguine redemptos, et redemptionis jure servos Domini profitendo, et fidele servitium vovendo.—Ib., § 27. p. 143. col. i.]

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by Him with sacerdotal as well as regal power. As His ministers, or stewards, or ambassadors, or lieutenants in His kingdom upon earth, they must be His vicegerents in all His three offices, as priest, prophet, and king. I believe, Sir, your late writer will not deny that they represent Him in His prophetical office, as prophet is taken for a teacher, or that by their office they are proper prophets or teachers, whom He hath appointed to instruct His people in the mysteries of His kingdom unto the end of the world. For the same reason, unless the unhappy subject upon which he writes oblige him to deny it, I believe he will grant that they represent Him also in His regal office, in virtue of which He is supreme rector or governor of His kingdom; and that as His vicegerents in it, they are proper governors of His Church. For what reason then should he deny them to be proper priests, who represent Him as really in His priestly as in His kingly and prophetical offices, and, like the Jewish priests, are His vicegerents in that, as truly and properly as they are in these. To illustrate this truth as much as I can, let us suppose that the typical Melchisedec, the sacerdotal king of Salem, like the Lord in the Gospel, had gone a long journey into a far country, and had called one of his subjects unto him, and given him authority in his absence to administrate his kingdom for him, with a particular power to perform all Divine worship duly, and more especially to offer sacrifice in the appointed times and place; upon such a supposition, Sir, I would ask your late writer whether such a minister of Melchisedec would not have been his vicegerent in both offices, and really invested with the sacerdotal, as well as the regal power? Would he not have been a vice-high-priest as well as a viceroy? and would not the people of Salem, when he prayed and sacrificed for them, have looked upon him as a true and proper, though a deputed high-priest? Sir, it is not without ground that I make this familiar comparison, because the antitypal Melchisedec so often compares Himself in the Gospel to a man taking a far journey, or travelling into a far country, who leaving his house gave authority to his servants, as He did to His Apostles and their successors, before He was parted from them and carried up into heaven. He committed the government of His sacer-

dotal kingdom in whole, and in part, jointly and severally to them. "As My Father sent Me (saith He) even so I send you; and when He had said this He breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." Or as their commission is expressed, Matt. xxviii. 18—20, "And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto Me both in heaven and earth. Go ye therefore and make all nations My disciples, baptizing them in the name of the Father, &c., and teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you, and I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." This commission He gave them upon the mount, when He was ready to ascend, as it is also written, "When He ascended up on high, He led in triumph a great multitude of captives, and gave gifts unto men, that some might be Apostles, some prophets, &c., for perfecting the body of the saints, or Christians, made up of Jews and Gentiles, for the work of the ministry in doctrine, worship, and discipline, for the edifying the whole body of Christ, till we all, both Jews and Gentiles, come in the unity of the faith and knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect manhood, unto the full measure of the stature of Christ."

John 20. 21—23.

Ps. 68. 18. See Eph. 4. 18—23.

Wherefore, Sir, this eternal archetypal and antitypal Melchisedec going up into the Heaven of Heavens, as it were into a far country, and leaving His Apostles and their successors as His stewards and vicegerents, invested with full power and authority to administrate His sacerdotal kingdom, is it not reasonable to believe that their ministry is truly and properly sacerdotal as well as regal, and a communication, or commission of the sacerdotal powers to mediate and make intercession for the people by prayers and sacrifices, as well as by their prophetical to teach, or by their rectoral[o] or ruling authority, which they derive from Him as a spiritual king, to govern His kingdom? which in the second place is therefore called a royal priesthood, as I have already observed, because

[o] S. Ambros. de Dignitate Sacerdotali; Quas oves, et quem gregem non solum tunc beatus suscepit Apostolus Petrus, sed et [nobiscum eas accepit, et] cum illo eos nos accepimus omnes. Unde quia regendæ sacerdotibus contraduntur, merito rectoribus suis subdi dicuntur.—[S. Ambros. Op., tom. ii. App., p. 359, C. opus spurium. See above, vol. i. p. 195, notes p, q.]

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like that of the Jews, it is governed by priests under Him the invisible Head and High-Priest[p] of His Church. St. Ignatius in his Epistle to the Magnesians, calls God the Father the invisible bishop, and the bishop of that flock their visible bishop[q]: "Submit," saith he, "to your young bishop, or rather not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, the bishop of us all. It therefore behoves you for His honour whose pleasure it is you should do so, to obey him with all sincerity, because he that doth not so, deceives not so much the visible bishop, as he endeavours to put tricks upon the invisible. But whatsoever is done in this manner, reflects not upon a man, but God, who knoweth all secrets." What I collect from hence is this, that as Jesus Christ is a most proper bishop over His Church by commission from His Father, so the visible bishops are proper bishops of it, by mission, or commission from Him. This, I suppose, your late writer will also grant; and if he will, let him give any good reason, if he can, why by mission or commission from Christ the High-Priest of our profession, they are not also proper priests. The same saint thought them so, when speaking of Christ in his Epistle to the Philadelphians, under the character of High-Priest, and of His ministers as priests by mission from Him[r]: "Honourable (saith he) are the priests, but much more honourable is the High-Priest, to whom the holy of holies is committed, and to whose trust alone are committed the secrets of God. He is the door of entrance to the Father, by which Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets, and the Apostles, and the Church enter in." He is also the Apostle as well as High-Priest of our religion, as it is written, "Consider the Apostle and High-Priest of our profession, Jesus Christ;" and therefore,

Heb. 9. 12, 14.

Heb. 3. 1.

[p] Per Christum Jesum catholicum Patris sacerdotem. — Tertull. contra Marcion., lib. iv. [c. 9. Op., p. 420, A.]

[q] [οὐ προσειληφότας τὴν φαινομένην νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ὡς φρονίμους ἐν θεῷ συγχωροῦνταις αὐτῷ· οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ, ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ. εἰς τιμὴν οὖν ἐκείνου τοῦ θελήσαντος, ἡμᾶς (ὑμᾶς potius) πρέπον ἐστὶν ἐπακούειν κατὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκρισιν· ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾶ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον, οὐ πρὸς σάρκα ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν, τὸν τὰ κρύφια εἰδότα.—S. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes., c. 3. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 18.]

[r] [καλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς· κρεῖσσον δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ· αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς, δι' ἧς εἰσέρχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ, καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ ἡ ἐκκλήσια.—Id. Epist. ad Philadelph., c. 9. ibid., p. 32.]

as the Apostles whom He sent, as His Father sent Him, were, truly and properly speaking, Apostles under Him; so under Him, truly and properly speaking, were they also priests. As He is a priest, and His kingdom is a sacerdotal kingdom: so His ministers must be priests or sacerdotal ministers, as well as ministers to govern and teach His people.

To prove which yet more abundantly, let us enquire what it was, in which the exercise of the priest's office did in the former ages of the Church more eminently, and more especially consist. But before I enter on this enquiry, I must observe, that as God was always pleased in some measure to limit the holy priesthood, first to princes of tribes, and fathers or elder sons of families, then to a separate tribe, and last of all to a separate order of men: so He was not tied up to His own rules, but thought fit sometimes to give extraordinary commissions to other men, to execute the sacerdotal office upon particular occasions. For as in all kingdoms where there are public ministers of justice, as the twelve judges in this, whose office it is, as a separate order of men in civils to do justice and judgment to the people, the sovereign sometimes grants private persons commissions upon extraordinary occasions to hear and determine causes: so in the patriarchal and Jewish times God now and then empowered and commanded persons who were not priests, to do priestly acts, as He was pleased to move Balaam, the Chaldean diviner, whom He overruled by His own Spirit, to build altars and sacrifice to Himself, as Balak again and again urged him to do. Thus Gideon by God's direction built an altar, and sacrificed upon it. Thus also Manoah, the father of Samson, offered a burnt-offering and meat-offering unto God by the direction of an angel, whom they took for a prophet sent from God. For when Manoah and his wife saw that angel ascend up to heaven in the flame of the altar, "they fell on their faces to the ground, and Manoah said unto her, We shall surely die, because we have seen God." Such extraordinary commissions as these, to execute the priest's office by those who were not priests, the Hebrews call 'the law of an hour,' because they lasted no longer than the time or occasion for which they were

See Numb. 3. 12; 8. 16.

Numb. 23. 1, 2, sqq.

Judg. 6. 26, sqq.

Judg. 13. 19, 20, 22.

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given. So prophets by special command, or prophetical inspiration from God, often sacrificed and prayed, as others also did by special direction from them; thus King David built an altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah by the direction of the Prophet Gad, "and offered burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings," so that "the Lord was entreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel." So King Solomon who was a prophet, and as a prophet had secret intercourse with God, who appeared several times to him in dreams, dedicated the temple, and hallowed the court, and kneeling before the altar blessed the people, and made supplication for them. But other kings, who were not prophets, and had no such prophetical directions or commands as David and Solomon had, could not execute any part of the priest's office without sacrilege, nor could they presume to do it without sin at any other times but when they were authorized by God. Of this we have two remarkable examples, one of King Saul, who having not patience to stay until Samuel the priest came, presumed to sacrifice and make supplication to the Lord, by which transgression he provoked God to seek out another man after His own heart to be king. The other is of King Uzziah, who presumed to go into the temple of the Lord, and offer incense upon the altar; but while he held the censer in his hand, the high-priests and the priests withstood him, and told him, it did not belong to him to burn incense upon the altar, but to the priests the sons of Aaron, who were consecrated to burn incense; and while they spoke thus, the leprosy rose in his forehead in the house of the Lord, for which they thrust him out thence, and continuing a leper to the day of his death, he was cut off from the house of the Lord, so that the kingdom was administered by Jotham his son.

2 Sam. 24. 18—25.

1 Kings 9. 2.

1 Sam. 13. 8—10.

2 Chron. 26. 16—21.

SECT. XII.

That Christian Ministers are Priests, argued from the nature of their office.

XII. Having premised this, I proceed to enquire what it is in which the exercise of the priest's office doth more eminently consist, to prove more abundantly thereby that Christian ministers are proper priests. I have in part shewed before[s], that one of the most noble, divine, and proper acts of the priest's office, is to mediate[t], and make intercessions for

[s] [See above, sect. ii. p. 16, sqq.]

[t] Claud. Espencæus de Mediatore, ac Redemptore, [ad id 1 Tim. ii. 'unus Mediator Dei et hominum']; cap. 1.—

the people. And when I have shewed this more fully, and that it is part of the office of Christian liturgs or ministers to be mediators and intercessors with God; then I hope your late writer will see reason enough to think as you and I do, that they are proper priests.

As to the first, he cannot doubt of it; but however, because it is a truth which is now turned into ridicule among us, and by the sinful silence of our priests upon this subject is not understood by some, and worn out of the minds of others, I think I shall do God and His Church service, by shewing from the consent of all nations, and the common notion and belief of all mankind who were not perfectly barbarous, that priests by their office were ever taken to be mediators and advocates, or intercessors with the god whose priests they were. This I shall shew with as much brevity as I can, from

Christus solus verus, ac perfectus Mediator. Nihil tamen prohibet mediatores tum angelos, tum homines suo quoque modo, et esse et dici, quatenus ad hominum salutem, hoc est cum Deo unionem, Deo et Mediatori cooperantur et ministrant. Illos, [inquam, inter Deum et hominem medios . . . qui virtutes subvehendo, superiora inferioribus jungant et hominibus ministrent]; hos autem utriusque testamenti ministros, veteris quidem, quod verum Mediatorem figurant et prænunciant; novi autem, quatenus ejusdem Christi salutaria ipsius tum verba, tum Sacramenta hominibus exhibent, atque dispensant. Si sic aiebat Moses fuisse se ac stetisse sequestrum, ac medium inter Deum et Israel, &c. . . . . Quid multa? Prophetarum Apostolorumque singuli mediatores fuerunt. Sic ad Fabiolam de veste sacerdotali Hieronymus [Epist. 64. § 5. Op., tom. i. col. 365, C.] et ad Malach. cap. ii. [Comm. in Malach., Op., tom. vi. col. 960, A.; see below.] Pontifices, episcopos, sacerdotes, Dei et hominum sequestres; Theophylactus ad Joan. cap. iii. [Op., tom. i. p. 548, E.] . . . . Chrysostomus Homil. de verbis Isaiæ [Hom. v. § 1. Op., tom. vi. p. 132, C.]; Lib. vi. de Sacerdotio. [Id. Op., tom. i. p. 424, A.] —Ambrosius, Oratione priore præparatoria ad Missam [§ 5. apud Op., S. Ambr., tom. ii. App., p. 491, C. opus spurium.]—Nazianzenus in Apologetico [S. Greg. Naz. Orat. ii. § 91. Op., tom. i. p. 55, B.], et Monodia in Basilium, [Id. Carm., lib. ii. sect. ii. Epitaph. 119 in Basilium, l. 24. Op., tom. ii. p. 1157.] Nec dubito quin plerique alii, qui nunc non occurrunt, non verentur sacerdotes appellare pro universo terrarum orbe, Deique et hominum, seu inter hos et illum, mediatores, medios, sequestres, legatos, deprecatores, intercessores. [Claudii Espencæi, Doctoris Parisiensis, Opera; pp. 267. col. ii. C.; 268. col. i. A.; and col. ii. C. D. fol. Par. 1619.] I desire the reader to observe, that Espencæus here speaks of angels as mediators for men with God, according to the corrupt doctrines and practice of the Roman Church, in praying unto angels.

So in St. Hierome, adversus Luciferianos; [§ 5.] 'Sacerdos quippe pro laico offert oblationem suam, imponit manum subjecto, reditum Sancti Spiritus invocat, atque ita eum, qui traditus fuerat Satanæ in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus fieret, indicta in populum oratione, altario reconciliat.' [S. Hieron. Op., tom. ii. col. 175, A.] So on Malachi ii. 7; 'Exponit nomen suum Esdras sacerdos Dei, hoc est Malachi, quod angelus Dei interpretatur. Angelus autem, id est, nuncius, sacerdos Dei verissime dicitur, quia Dei et hominum sequester est, ejusque ad populum nunciat voluntatem, et ideirco in sacerdotis pectore rationale, [et in rationali doctrina et veritas ponitur,] ut discamus sacerdotem doctum esse debere, et præconem Dominicæ veritatis.—[Id., Op., tom. vi. col. 960, A.]

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the agreeing practice of heathens, and of the Church of God under the patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian dispensations; among whom the priests ever acted, and were ever esteemed, as mediators between God and men.

I shall give but two examples, though I might give more from heathen authors. The first is that of the Persian priests[u], who at their sacrifices put up prayers not only for themselves, but for all the Persians, and especially for the king. The second is that of Apollo's priest in the first book of Homer's Iliads. The story in short, you know, Sir, is this; the Grecians among other captives had carried away the daughter of Chryses the priest of Apollo, whom King Agamemnon took for his prey, as the custom of war was in ancient times, according to the song of Deborah and Barak,

Judg. 5. 30. "Have they not divided the prey, to every man a damsel or two?" Upon this, the priest arrayed in all his pontificals, and holding a golden sceptre, the ensign of his god, in his hand, goes to the Grecian camp, supplicating, and offering ransom for his daughter. But King Agamemnon treated him very roughly, and without any respect shewed to his character, sent him away without her. Chryses upon the repulse and affronts he received, prayed to his god to revenge him on the Grecians, upon which Apollo shot his arrows[v] of pestilence among them, which first brought a murrain among their cattle, and then a grievous mortality among the men. This obliged them to consult Calchas the augur, to know what was the cause of Apollo's anger, who upon security and protection promised by Achilles, told them, it was not

[u] [It does not appear to be the priests, but the person who gives the sacrifice, who is meant. *τῶν δὲ ὡς ἑκάστῳ θύειν θέλει . . . . ἑωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθά· ὁ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσῃσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.*—Herod., lib. i. cap. 132.]

[v] Il. i. 42—52.

Τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.

Ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὀϊστοὶ ἐπ' ὤμων χωομένοιο.

Μετὰ δ' ἶον ἔηκεν
Δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοιο.

Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἀφιεὶς
Βάλλ'.

110.

Ὡς δὴ τοῦδ' ἕνεκά σφιν Ἑκηβόλος ἄλγεα τεύχει.

So Psalm xci. 5. *οὐ φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτερινοῦ, ἀπὸ βέλους πετομένου ἡμέρας.* vers. LXX.

Οὐδὲ μεθημέριον πταμένου ῥοιζηδὸν ὀϊστοῦ.—Apollinarii Episc. Laod. Interpretatio Psalmorum [versibus heroicis, Ps. xc. l. 11. Biblioth. Patr., tom. v. p. 417, E. It is uncertain whether this translation was made by Apollinarius the father, of Alexandria, who flourished A.D. 362, or by the son, fl. 370. See Cave, tom. i. p. 225.]

for any want of supplication or sacrifice, that his deity was angry at them, but that he was provoked by King Agamemnon's ill usage of his priest, and refusing to restore his daughter, and farther assured them, that the plague would not stop till they had freely restored to Chryses his daughter, and sent him an hecatomb to offer to his god. With great unwillingness and difficulty King Agamemnon was brought to part with his beloved captive Chryseis, for so was she called; but at last his majesty sent her back very honourably to her father, with an hecatomb for Apollo, to pacify[x] his wrath, both which Ulysses with all respect and humble language presented to the priest. Having received his daughter with great joy, he proceeded to offer the sacrifice which the Grecians sent to Apollo, whose deputies joined their pæans of praise with his intercessions, and so the plague was stayed in the Grecian camp.

Sir, one cannot but observe here how Homer Hebraizes, and how the plague is described by him to have been stayed by the mediation of Chryses, from wasting the Grecian army, as that which arose in the congregation of Israel upon the rebellion of Korah, was stayed by the atonement which Aaron made[y], after it had destroyed fourteen thousand and seven hundred men. This brings to my remembrance that passage of our learned countryman Alcuin, proper to this subject, in his epistle to his scholar Eanbald[z], when he was archbishop of York. *Ut omnia fiant acceptabilia Domino Deo, qui te elegit sibi sacerdotem,* . . . . . "That all things (saith he) may be acceptable to the Lord God, who hath chosen thee to be His priest. 'For every high-priest taken

Numb. 16. 47—49.

[x] *Φοίβῳ θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην*
Ῥέξαι ὑπὲρ Δαναῶν, ὄφρ' ἱλασόμεθ' ἄνακτα.—[Il. i. 443, 444.]

[y] S. Ambros. in Hebr. cap. vii; Tanta quippe erat sacerdotii excellentia, ut etiam qui similis essent honoris progenitoribus, et eundem haberent progenitorem, tamen ut multo amplius meliores essent fratribus suis, quo sacerdotio digni efficerentur, velut Aaron inter vivos et mortuos, ut Dei iram placaret quæ exarserat, stare legitur: quod propterea unus ex populo facere poterat (licet omnes unum haberent progenitorem) quod sacerdos esset.—[S. Ambros. Op., tom. iii. p. 499, A. ed. Rom. 1579; (see above, note h, p. 33.) See Rabanus M. Op., tom. v. p. 553, E. Alcuin. Op., tom. i. p. 686. S. Chrysost. Op., tom. xii. p. 123, A. *τοσαύτη, φησὶ, τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἡ ὑπερβολὴ, ὥστε τοὺς ὁμοτίμους ἀπὸ προγόνων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχοντας προπάτορα, πολλῷ βελτίους εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων.*]

[z] [B. Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Abbatis, Epist. 50. (scr. A.D. 796.) ad Eanbaldum Episcopum. Dilectissimo in Christo filio Eanbaldo Archiepiscopo devotus per omnia pater Albinus salutem. (Hic Eanbaldus idem fortassis est, quem Epist. 6. vocat Presbyterum ac paulo post electus est episcopus Eboracensis Ecclesiæ. Annott. in locum.) Ut omnia acceptabilia fiant Domino

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from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God.' Aaron stood with the censer of his office between the living and the dead, that the anger of God should not burn longer against the people. For the priest of God ought to be the preacher of His will to the people, and an intercessor for the people to God, as a mediator between God and men." So saith St. Ambrose, *in Epist. ad Hebr.*, cap. v.[a] *Pontificis officium est, inter Deum stare et populum, et Deum deprecari pro populi delictis. Hoc enim Christus fecit, seipsum offerens pro peccatis nostris, semper vivus ad interpellandum pro nobis:* "It is the office of a priest to stand between God and the people, and to pray unto Him for the forgiveness of their sins, which Christ did who ever lives to make intercession for us, when He offered Himself upon the cross." According to this common notion that all religions had of priests, he saith in his words cited in the page foregoing[b], "that the priests were more excellent than their brethren, upon the account of the priesthood, and that Aaron made atonement for the people, standing between the living and the dead, because he was a priest." Indeed it is difficult not to observe, how the very heathens, though so bewildered in polytheism by the delusions of devils, yet with the original notions of temple, altars, and sacrifices, retained that of priests, and believed that their intercessions as such were most powerful to remove Divine judgments, and impetrate Divine blessings and favours, and that the anger of heaven was more easily atoned by their prayers, than those of other men. They also esteemed priests as holy persons, and the affronts and indignities which men put upon them, they understood to be put upon their gods. These first notions of religion, and some others, as of blasphemy and sacrilege, they held in common with the Church of God, and therefore they offered all their sacrifices for the public safety by the priests only, and to them they had recourse when any public calamity was

Deo, qui te elegit sibi sacerdotem. Omnis namque pontifex ab hominibus assumptus pro hominibus constituitur in his quæ sunt ad Deum. Aaron stabat cum turribulo dignitatis suæ inter vivos ac mortuos, ut ira Dei non ardesceret plus in populo. Sacerdos vero Dei (verbi) et voluntatis illius prædicator debet esse in populum, et intercessor ad Deum pro populo, quasi mediator inter Deum et homines.—B. Alcuini Op., tom. i. pp. 63, 64.]

[a] [S. Ambros. Op., tom. iii. p. 491, D. ed. Rom. 1579. Rabanus M., tom. v. p. 548, E. Alcuin., tom. i. p. 678.]

[b] [See note y, p. 195.]

to be averted, or any great and public blessing was to be obtained, accounting them as the immediate ministers of the gods, by whom they dispensed their favours to men. For this reason they called them καθαρταὶ[c], i. e. 'purgators,' or 'cleansers,' because by their sacrifices and intercessions they thought they were cleansed and purified from their sins, and delivered from the punishments due unto them. That Greek word comes from καθαίρω, which in common acceptation literally signifies to 'purge, cleanse, or purify,' as John xv. 2, but in its religious and tropical sense it signifies to 'expiate,' Heb. x. 1, 2, "The law can never with those sacrifices which they offered year by year continually make the comers thereunto perfect; for then would they not have ceased to be offered? because that the worshippers once purged should have no more conscience of sins." This is otherwise expressed by καθάρισμον ποιεῖν, Heb. i. 3, "Who when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high." It is likewise expressed by καθαρίζω, chap. ix. 13, 14, "For if the blood of bulls and goats sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered up Himself without spot to God, purge your consciences from dead works?" He, as our sovereign pontiff, who put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself, is our great purgator in the primary and most principal sense of the word, as it is written 1 John i. 7, "The blood of Jesus Christ His Son cleanseth us from all sin." But then according to His holy will and ordinance, and in virtue of His all-powerful expiation, His priests are also καθαρταὶ, 'purgators,' and in a secondary ministerial sense expiate the sins of the people. This was true of the Levitical priests, who had power not only to purify the flesh, as in case of the leprosy, but to expiate the sins of a ruler, of any one of the common people, nay of the whole congregation, as it is written, "The priest shall make atonement[d]," or "the priest shall make atonement be-

Lev. 4. 22, 27, 13, 26, 31, 20; 6. 7.

[c] Jul. Poll. Onomasticon, lib. i. c. 1. segm. 14. [καθαρταὶ follows ἱερουργοὶ in the passage, part of which was quoted note i, p. 20.]

[d] The Hebrew לכפר, which we render 'to make atonement,' and other versions 'to make expiation,' or 'to propitiate,' 'expiate,' 'pacify,' or 'reconcile,' [so the Vulgate, see below, note g, p. 209,] the Spanish translation of the Jews renders by such expressions, perdonar, por perdonar sobre, [Lev. i. 4,] para perdonar sobre, [Exod. xxx. 16;] and by perdonanças, as de sangre

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fore the Lord, and it shall be forgiven him." So the evangelical ministers are all 'purgators,' or 'atoning ministers[e],' all their offices being instituted for the "pardon or remission of sins." Their baptism is for the washing away of sins, as it
Acts 22. 6. was said by Ananias to Saul, "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord." The office of the holy Eucharist is all of an atoning nature; for it is a commemorative sacrifice of that which Christ offered upon the cross, and the priest delivers it to the faithful communicants, as a pledge of their salvation, and a seal of the pardon of their sins. The office of absolution in His name and by His authority, as well as in the virtue of His all-sufficient merits, is also for the purging and putting away of
John 20. 23. sin, as it was spoken by His own blessed lips, "Whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained, and whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them;" and let us glorify God, who hath given such ministerial power of pardoning unto men. But this by the way of the Jewish and Christian ministry or priesthood, of which my undertaking will oblige me to speak again. And therefore to proceed from heathenism to the patriarchal religion; in the times of the patriarchs, the priests, and prophets empowered to act as priests, were also 'purgators' by God's appointment to expiate sins.

So when Abimelech king of Gerar had taken Sarah Abraham's wife, God said unto him in a dream, "Restore the man his wife, for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live;" and so Abraham, who was a priest[f],

de limpieza de las pardonanças, [Exod. xxx. 10,] plata de las perdonanças, [ibid., ver. 16,] &c., that is to say, 'to procure pardon or forgiveness,' 'the sin-offering of pardon or forgiveness,' 'the pardon or forgiveness-money,' or 'atonement money.'—[The translation referred to is entitled, Biblia en lengua Espanola; traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad Hebrayca, por muy excelentes letrados. ed. 2. Amsterd. Anno 5471. (A.D. 1661.)]

[e] Const. Apost., lib. viii. cap. 5. δὸς . . , ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόνδε, ὃν ἐξελέξω εἰς ἐπίσκοπον, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἁγίαν σου ποίμνην, . . . καὶ ἐξιλασκόμενόν σου τὸ πρόσωπον, κ.τ.λ. "Give unto this Thy servant, who is chosen by Thee to be a bishop, grace to feed Thy holy flock, . . . and by making atonement in Thy presence," &c.—[Concil., tom. i. p. 461, quoted at length, note y, p. 140.]

[f] [ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν] ὁ σεμνὸς Ἀβραὰμ οὗτος, ὁ πατριάρχης . . . ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς κανὼν, ἡ τῆς ἱερωσύνης τελείωσις, ὁ τὴν ἑκούσιον θυσίαν προσάγων τῷ κυρίῳ σήμερον, τὸν μονογενῆ.—S. Greg. Nazianz. [Orat. i. (al. xli.) § 7. Op., tom. i. p. 6, A.] This he spake of his father in allusion to Abraham, of whose sacrifice he speaks properly; μέγας ὁ Ἀβραὰμ, [καὶ πατριάρχης, καὶ θύτης καινῆς θυσίας, τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῷ δεδωκότι προσαγαγὼν, ἱερεῖον ἕτοιμον καὶ πρὸς τὴν σφαγὴν ἐπειγόμενον.—Orat. xliii. (al. xx.) § 71. ibid., p. 825, C.] καὶ τὴν Ἀβραὰμ θυσίαν [πάντως ἀκήκοας. — Orat. xvii. (al. xiii.) § 10. ibid., p. 323, E. In the third edition the last reference was repeated, perhaps instead of Ἀβραὰμ . . .

as well as a patriarch and prophet, prayed unto God for him, and God healed him and his house. So Cosmas Indicopleustes describes Melchisedec as an intercessor by virtue of his priestly office, in these words: *οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς, κ.τ.λ.*[g] "This is the king who instructed the people committed to him to be conversant in these things, and by ministering in holy things in this order (of the priesthood) made atonement for his own people. And this man, first as a priest having blessed Abraham, and offered up thanks to God, took tithes of all that Abraham had." Nay, I might have begun with Abel[h], Enoch, and Noah, who were all priests as well as patriarchs[i], and as such offered up sacrifices of atonement

θύει θυσίαν ξένην, καὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἀντίτυπον.—Orat. xxvii. §18. ibid., p. 509, B.] *ὦ τῆς Ἀβραμιαίου θυσίας [ἐκείνης εἰ μή τι τολμητέον καὶ μεῖζον.*—Orat. xxv. § 4. ibid., p. 288, E. The offering mentioned in the first extract was St. Gregory himself, who that day was entering on the exercise of the priesthood, being given to God by his father; he was not literally *μονογενής.*]

[g] [*οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντως καὶ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διοικούμενον λαὸν, ἐν τούτοις ἀναστρέφεσθαι νουθετῶν διετέλει, αὐτῇ τῇ τάξει ἱερουργῶν καὶ ἐξιλεούμενος περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ . . . οὗτος πρῶτος ὡς ἱερεὺς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ εὐλογήσας, καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστήσας δεκάτας ἐλάμβανεν ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν εἶχεν Ἀβραάμ.*—Cosmæ monachi Ægyptii Topographia Christiana, seu Christianorum opinio de Mundo,] lib. v. p. 217, B., published with Eusebius Cæsariensis' Comment on the Psalms, &c. in folio, at Paris, by D. Bernard Montfaucon, a Benedictine monk. [Nova Collectio Patrum, tom. ii. published 1706.]

[h] [Quum] Abel quoque, et Enoch, et Noe placuerint Deo, et victimas obtulerint.—[S. Hieron. Epist. 73. (al. 126,) ad Evangelum, (al. Evagrium,) § 2. Op., tom. i. col. 439, C.] Simul et hoc tradunt, quod usque ad sacerdotium Aaron omnes primogeniti ex stirpe Noe, cujus series et ordo describitur, fuerint sacerdotes, et Deo victimas immolarint.—[Ibid., § 6. col. 442, D.]

[i] In the prayer of consecration of a bishop, Const. Apost., lib. viii. cap. 5. *ὁ προορίσας ἐξ ἀρχῆς, κ.τ.λ.* "Thou who from the beginning appointedst priests to preside over Thy people, Abel at first, Seth, and Enos, and Enoch, and Noah, and Melchisedec, and Job: who didst constitute Abraham, and the rest of the patriarchs, with Thy holy servants Moses, Aaron, Eleazar, and Phineas; who didst of them elect princes and priests (*ἄρχοντας καὶ ἱερεῖς*) to serve in the tabernacle of the testimony; who chosedst Samuel to be a priest and a prophet; who never didst leave Thy sanctuary without ministers," &c. [*ὁ προορίσας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἱερεῖς εἰς ἐπισταστάσιαν λαοῦ σου· Ἀβὲλ ἐν πρώτοις, Σὴθ, καὶ Ἐνὼς, καὶ Ἐνὼχ, καὶ Νῶε, καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ, καὶ Ἰὼβ· ὁ ἀναδείξας Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πατριάρχας σὺν τοῖς πιστοῖς σου θεράπουσιν Μωϋσεῖ καὶ Ἀαρὼν, καὶ Ἐλεαζάρῳ καὶ Φινεές· ὁ ἐξ αὐτῶν προχειρισάμενος ἄρχοντας καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου· ὁ τὸν Σαμουὴλ ἐκλεξάμενος εἰς ἱερέα καὶ προφήτην· ὁ τῷ ἁγιάσματί* (f. *τὸ ἁγίασμά*) *σου ἀλειτούργητον μὴ ἐγκαταλιπών· κ. τ. λ.*—Concil., tom. i. p. 461, C.] So St. Chrysostom, Hom. in Genesin xxxv. (Μελχισεδὲκ) . . . *ἱερεὺς δὲ ἦν ἴσως αὐτοχειροτόνητος· [οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν τότε οἱ ἱερεῖς· ἤτοι οὖν διὰ τὸ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ προβῆναι οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ ἀπονενεμήκασι τὴν τιμήν· ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἱερατεύειν ἐπετήδευσε, καθάπερ ὁ Νῶε, καθάπερ ὁ Ἀβὲλ, καθάπερ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ, ἡνίκα τὰς θυσίας προσῆγον.*—Op., tom. iv. p. 356, E.] "Melchisedec was a priest perhaps ordained by himself, (for such were priests then,) either because his people attributed that honour to him for his seniority, or that he devoted himself to the priesthood, as Noah, as Abel, as Abraham, when they offered sacrifices." But I do not doubt they were also called and approved by God at least by signs, as this father saith that Aaron was, (*ἐχειροτονήθη*), by the fire that fell from heaven upon Corah and his crew, and by the blossoming rod, Numb. xvi. and xvii. [*ὁ γὰρ Ἀα-*

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for themselves and their people. When Noah went out of the ark he built an altar unto the Lord, and offered burnt-offerings upon it of every clean beast and fowl, and the Lord smelled a sweet savour, and was so pleased with his priestly administration, that He "said in His heart, I will not curse the ground any more for man's sake, neither will I again smite every living thing, as I have done." But to proceed; so God bid Job's friends, when His anger was kindled against them, go to him with a burnt-offering, "and he (saith He) shall pray for you, and him will I accept." For Job[k] was a priest as well as a prince, or a sacerdotal patriarch, who, according to the practice of those times, when princes of tribes and countries were priests, offered as many burnt-offerings as he had sons to make atonement for, if perhaps they had sinned against God in the time of their feasting with one another. So Moses was a priest[l] as well as a prophet and a king; priest in such an eminent manner, that Grotius, whom I cited before[m], had no occasion to mend the versions of the sixth verse in the ninety-ninth Psalm, which all translations, as well as ours, render "Moses and Aaron among His priests." For as priest, or sacerdotal prince, he builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel, and offered[n] one of

Gen. 8. 20, 21.

Job 42. 8, 9.

chap. 1. 8.

Deut. 33. 5.

Exod. 26. 4, 8.

ρὼν ἐχειροτονήθη πόλλακις, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ βάβρου, καὶ ὅτε τὸ πῦρ κατῆλθε, καὶ ἠφάνισε τοὺς ἐπιπηδῶντας τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ.—S. Chrys. Hom. in Hebr. viii. Op., tom. xii. p. 82, C.] Thus it is written of Abel, that "God had respect to him and his offering," [Gen. iv. 4,] and as the Apostle speaks, Heb. xi. 4, "bore testimony to his gifts" or oblations, "nempe igne cælitus misso super ea dona," as learned men generally expound the place. [Grotius in locum; after the words just quoted, he adds, "et ita hic Græci interpretes omnes."—Crit. Sacr., tom. vii. col. 1134.] And so, Gen. viii. 21, God is said to have "smelled a sweet savour" from the sacrifice of Noah, who doubtless was a priest as well as a prophet before the flood.

[k] In Job volumine legimus, quod et ipse oblator munerum fuerit, et sacerdos, et quotidie pro filiis suis hostias immolarit.—S. Hieron. [Epist. 73. (al. 126,) ad Evangelum, § 2. Op., tom. i. col. 439, C.] Quid Job in operibus promptius, [in tentationibus fortius, in dolore patientius, in timore submissius, in fide verius, nec his tamen si rogarent concessurum se Deus dixit.]—S. Cyprianus de Lapsis, [Op., p. 187. ed. Ben.]

[l] ἱερεῖς δὲ ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι· Μωσῆς γάρ, φησι, καὶ Ἀαρὼν [ἐν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν αὐτοῦ· ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἱερεὺς ἱερέων, κ. τ. λ.—S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xi. (al. vi.) § 2. Op., tom. i. p. 242, C.] "Both were equally priests, for He saith, 'Moses and Aaron among His priests.' "—[Ps. xcix. 6.]

καὶ ἐπιδεδειχὼς Μωϋσῆν ἄριστον βασιλέα καὶ νομοθέτην καὶ ἀρχιερέα, τὸ τελευταῖον ἔρχομαι δηλώσων, ὅτι καὶ προφητῶν γέγονε δοκιμώτατος.—Philo, de Vita Mosis, lib. iii. [Op., tom. ii. p. 163.]

[m] [See above, p. 15, note u.]

[n] It is said, [ver. 5,] "Moses sent young men of the children of Israel, who offered burnt-offerings, and sacrificed peace-offerings unto the Lord." These young men were the first-born,

the most solemn sacrifices of burnt-offerings and peace-offerings unto the Lord that ever was offered to Him, even that holy federal sacrifice, of which he took half the blood and put it in basins, and half of it he sprinkled on the altar; and when he had read the book of the covenant in the audience of all the people, he sprinkled the blood upon them, and said, "Behold the blood of the covenant, which the Lord hath made with you." As a priest he offered another most solemn sacrifice to God, when he consecrated Aaron and his sons to minister to Him in the priest's office, at which time he took of the blood of the ram of consecration, and sprinkled it upon the altar, and put it upon the tips of their right ears, the thumbs of their right hands, and the great toes of their right feet, and also sprinkled it with the holy oil upon them and their garments; by which, as the text saith, "Aaron and his garments were hallowed, and his sons and their garments with him." As a priest he had power to go into the tabernacle to speak with God, whose voice he heard from the mercy-seat from between the two cherubims, and to bless the people with Aaron; and to hasten to my subject, as a priest he cried unto the Lord for Miriam, and the Lord healed her; as a priest he interceded with God after the sin of the golden calf, when the Lord said, "Let Me alone, that I may consume them." But he made atonement for their sin by his intercession, and upon the continuance

Exod. 29. 11—18.

ver. 20, 21.

Numb. 7. 89.

Lev. 9. 23.

Numb. 12. 13.

Exod. 32. 10, sqq.

Deut. 9. 14, sqq.

Exod. 33. 13, 14.

or priests of every family, who were afterwards redeemed, when the children of Israel solemnly offered up the tribe of Levi to God for His service. Numb. viii. 6, 13; so chap. iii. from ver. 5 to ver. 14. The young men then were such priests as these, and therefore the Chaldee paraphrase reads it, "Moses sent the first-born."

To which agree the Arabic and Persian translation, as Mr. Selden observed, De successione in Pontificatum Hebræorum, c. 1. [Qui נערי seu *juvenes* hic dicti sunt, pro primogenitis, utpote qui jure suo tunc sacerdotes fuere, (Talmudici) sumunt. Unde etiam eodem in loco Chaldæus Paraphrastes Onkelos expressim pro *misit juvenes* substituit receptissimæ sententiæ satis callens שלח ית בוכרי, *misit primogenitos.*—(Bibl. Polygl. Walton., tom. i. p. 329.) Adstipulatur non solum R. Saadiæ versio Arabica, quæ hoc in loco وبعث ابكار *misit primogenitos*, habet (ibid.) sed etiam Tawasii Persica, qua quod ipsum sonat, legitur, فرستاوه مرنخست Pers. Taw. (iv. p. 147.)—Seldeni Op., vol. ii. col. 83, 84. Lond. 1726.] and De Successionibus ad leges Hebræorum, cap. 5. [Ibid., col. 16, 17. The sacerdotal privileges of the first-born are treated of in that place; but this text is not referred to.] And Dr. Cudworth, in his True Notion of the Lord's Supper, [p. 31, only quoting Selden as above,] London, 1642, sixteen years before the Polyglot Bible was printed. See also Martinii Lexicon Philologicum in the word *sacrificium.* [Personæ offerentium duæ sunt, anima scilicet et synagoga. Animarum alia sacerdos, alia princeps, alia privata persona.]

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of his mediation by earnest prayers and supplications, God also promised to let His Presence go with them, and to give them rest. His prayers as a priest obtained the victory over Amalek, according to that of Gregory Nazianzen[o], "God, by the secret and mystical figure of Moses' hands, discomfited Amalek; so powerful were the hands of a priest held up upon the mountain, and put in the posture of prayer to obtain a victory, which many myriads of men could not have obtained." At Taberah also, when the Lord was provoked to consume the people with fire, he prayed unto the Lord as a priest, and the fire was quenched. And to conclude; as a sacerdotal prince he mediated between God and the people at Horeb, when as he speaks, Deut. v. 5[p], "I stood between the Lord and you at that time;" and with respect to which the law that God then gave them, is said by the Apostle to have been "ordained by angels in the hands of a mediator." So after Aaron and his sons were consecrated to the priest's office, and the priesthood was as it were entailed upon them, they became, by virtue of their office, the great mediators betwixt God and men in the Jewish Church. I have already more than once mentioned Aaron's staying the plague by offering incense in the Jewish camp; and in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus, verse 10, it is said of the altar of incense, "That Aaron shall make atonement upon the horns of it once in a year, with the blood of the sin-offering of atonements, as being most holy unto the Lord." This was done on the tenth day of September[q], the great day of expiation, which is particularly described in Levit. xvi., where we read how the high-priest on that day of every year made atonement for himself, for his house, and for all the congregation of Israel, by sacrifices there mentioned, and by entering into the most holy place within the veil, with a censer full of burning coals of fire from off the altar, and his hands full of

Numb. 11. 1, 2.

Gal. 3—19.

Numb. 16. 47, 48.

ver. 33.

ver. 12—19.

[o] [οὗτος (sc. ὁ θεὸς) κατεπολέμησε τὸν Ἀμαλὴκ, χειρῶν ἀποῤῥήτῳ καὶ μυστικῷ σχήματι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσχυσαν ἱερέως χεῖρες ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους αἰρόμεναι, καὶ εἰς εὐχὴν τυπούμεναι, ὃ πολλαὶ μυριάδες οὐκ ἴσχυσαν.—S. Greg. Nazianz., Orat. xiii. (al. xxx.) Op., tom. i. p. 253, C, D.]

Ego sequester et medius fui inter Dominum et vos in illo tempore.—Versio Vulg. Cum quidem ego tunc inter Jovam et vos enunciandorum illius dictorum sequester essem.—Castalio. Nam [et] Moyses pro peccatis [populi petiit, nec tamen peccantibus veniam cum petiisset accepit.]—S. Cyprianus de Lapsis, [Op., p. 187. ed. Ben.]

[q] [Rather, "the tenth day of the seventh month," Lev. xvi. 29.]

sweet incense, the cloud of which was to cover the mercy-seat, and with his finger to sprinkle the mercy-seat eastward seven times with the blood of the sin-offerings, as the Apostle observes, Heb. ix. 7, where he saith, "But into the second went the high-priest alone once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself, and for the errors of the people." To this let me add the example of Samuel's mediation and intercession for the people, 1 Sam. vii. There "the children of Israel said unto Samuel, Cease not to cry unto the Lord our God for us. And Samuel said, Gather all Israel together at Mizpeh, and I will pray for you unto the Lord. And Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered it for a burnt-offering wholly to the Lord for Israel, and the Lord heard him." So in chapter xii. the people said again unto him; "Pray for thy servants unto the Lord thy God, that we die not, for we have added unto all our sins this evil to ask us a king." To whom he answered; "God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you." For to intercede with God for the people was the common office of all priests, as we read in Psalm xcix. 6; "Moses and Aaron among His priests, and Samuel among them that call upon His name; they called upon the Lord, and He answered them." [This is observed by the son of Sirach in Ecclesiasticus, chap. xlv. 6, 7, 15, 16. "He exalted Aaron an holy man like unto him, even his brother, of the tribe of Levi. An everlasting covenant He made with him, and gave him the priesthood among the people .... Moses consecrated him with holy oil. This was appointed unto him by an everlasting covenant, and to his seed so long as the heavens should remain; that they should minister unto Him, and execute the office of the priesthood and bless the people in His name. He chose him out of all men living to offer sacrifices unto the Lord, incense and a sweet savour, for a memorial, to make reconciliation for His people[r]."] As for the atonement which the priests of the second order made for the people, they are at large and in order set down in the seven first chapters of Leviticus, where nothing can be plainer than that it was the priest's office, as their orator, to confess the sins of the people, and to

ver. 8.
ver. 5.
ver. 9.
ver. 19.
ver. 23.

[r] [This addition is taken from the Supplement of 1715, No. 14, p. 11.]

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make supplications and intercessions for them by sacrifice or without it, as is evident from the ninth and tenth chapters of Ezra, and the ninth of Nehemiah, to which I refer you, and from the second of Joel, from the twelfth to the eighteenth verse, where the prophet saith, "Rend your heart, and not your garments . . . . . blow the trumpet in Sion . . . . . gather the people, sanctify the congregation . . . . . Let the priests[s], the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say, Spare Thy people, O Lord . . . . . Then will the Lord be jealous for His land, and pity His people." Here, Sir, for the sake of your late writer, let me descant a little on the prophet's definition of a priest: "the priests, the ministers of the Lord;" משרתי יהוה, *mesherte Jehovah;* in the Greek version, *οἱ λειτουργοῦντες τῷ Κυρίῳ,* "those who minister to the Lord;" in the Chaldee paraphrase[t], "those who minister before the Lord;" and you may see in the margin how aptly St. Hierome applies the place to the Christian priests. To these let me add two more descriptions of the Jewish priests out of Philo, in his Life of Moses, the first of which is this; *οἷς [μὲν] ἐπιτέτραπται τὰ περὶ τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱερουργίας*[u], "to whom [to some] the care of prayers, and sacrifices, and all other (holy) ministrations is committed." The other is this; *διὰ δὲ τῆς ἱερωσύνης, μὴ μόνον τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θεῖα διέπῃ*[x], Moses, "as a priest, did not only administer (or preside over) human, but Divine affairs." Sir, all these descriptions of a priest, with that of the Apostle in his Epistle to the Hebrews, come to no more than this; that a priest of any religion is "a minister of his God over the people, to take care of His worship, whatever that is, and its rites, and all other holy ministrations, in his rank and order;"

[s] St. Hierome upon the place: Postquam sacerdotes pro populo deprecati sunt, et dixerunt, Parce, Domine, populo tuo, [fecitque populus quod præceptum est,] zelatus est Dominus terram suam, quam prius quasi alienam contemserat, et passus fuerat locusta vastante populari.—[S. Hieron. Comm. in Joel. cap. ii. Op., tom. vi. col. 194, C, D.] Etiam nostris temporibus vidimus agmina locustarum terram texisse Judæam, quæ postea misericordia Domini, inter vestibulum et altare, hoc est, inter crucis et resurrectionis locum, sacerdotibus et populis Deum deprecantibus atque dicentibus, Parce populo tuo, vento surgente, in mare primum et novissimum præcipitatæ sunt.—[Ibid., col. 195, B, C.]

[t] [כהייא דמשמשנין קדם יי, sacerdotes qui ministrant coram Domino.—Chald. Paraph., Bibl. Polygl. Walton., tom. iv. p. 30.]

[u] [Phil. Jud. Op., tom. ii. p. 161.]

[x] [Id., ibid., p. 163. Hickes' third edition had λειτουργίας for ἱερουργίας.]

and if this be a good definition of a proper priest, and adequate to the thing defined, I appeal to you, Sir, whether bishops and presbyters are not proper priests. Other modern writers define a priest[y] by his office thus: "A person whose office it is to perform Divine services to God, and in His name to bless the people;" which, I think, cannot be denied to belong to a bishop or presbyters of the Church. "The Lord thy God (saith Moses) hath chosen the priests the sons of Levi to come near to Him, and minister to Him, and to bless in the name of the Lord." And so hath He chosen the orders of bishops and presbyters to approach Him and minister to Him, and bless the people also in His name. So in 1 Chron. xxiii. 13, it is likewise written; "Aaron was separated, that he should sanctify the most holy things, he and his sons for ever, to burn incense before the Lord, to minister unto Him, and bless in His name for ever." This is a description of the priests under the Jewish law and sanctuary; but then, Sir, you know, as I have already observed, that "the priesthood being changed, there was a necessity that a change should also be made of the law;" and therefore excepting the burning of incense, which was an appointed rite of the Jewish priesthood and worship, and abolished by the change of the law, every word of this description of the Jewish priests belongs properly to the Christian liturgs or ministers, and by consequence they must be proper priests. So saith St. Hierome on Isaiah lxvi. 21, 22[z]; *Quando dicit, 'assumam ex iis in sacerdotes, et Levitas,' ostendit vetus sacerdotium prætermissum, &c.* "When He saith, 'I will take of them for priests and Levites,' He shews that the old Levitical priesthood is laid aside, which descended not by election, but by natural order and family succession; 'for the priesthood being changed, it was necessary there should be an alteration of the law,' and that they should be made priests by election upon whom the priesthood was to be conferred, not by right of blood, but according to merit and

Deut. 21. 5.

Heb. 7. 12.

[y] Outram de Sacrificiis, [lib. i. c. 4.] p. 47. . . . propria erant sacerdotii munera, ut Deo rem divinam facerent, ejusque nomine populo benedicerent.

[z] [Quando dicit, 'assumam ex eis in sacerdotes et Levitas,' ostendit vetus sacerdotium prætermissum, quod tribui Leviticæ debebatur, ubi non est electio, sed ordo naturæ, et series est familiæ per posteros descendens. Translato enim sacerdotio, necesse est, ut et legis translatio fiat, et electio ad eos perti-

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virtue; who should come from the nations of the Gentiles, and declare the glory of the Lord, and be brought upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules." So on Ezek. xliv. 30[a], "The first of all that we eat (saith he) is also offered to the priests, that we may taste nothing of our new fruits till the priest hath first tasted of them. And this we do, that he laying up our blessings and offerings in his house, God may bless our houses when he prays for us." So on those words of Malachi to the priests, ch. ii. 2, "O ye priests, if you will not hear, if you will not lay it to heart, and give glory to My name . . . . I will curse your blessings." "This (saith he[b]) is properly said to the priests, that if they will not hear, &c., but on the contrary, cause His name to be ill spoken of among the Gentiles, He would send among them a want of all good things, and turn their very blessings into curses. For those priests who abuse their health in lust, and convert their riches into luxury, and disgrace their honourable character with sordid conversation, they change the blessings of God into a curse. Or otherwise this word is truly directed to priests, who when they do not bless the people of God with true affection of heart, as Isaac blessed Jacob, Jacob the patriarchs, and Moses the twelve tribes, their blessings are turned into curses."

But to return from this digression to the priestly mediation, I need not farther insist on the priestly acts of prayer and intercession performed by prophets *jure prophetico,* upon

neat, quibus nequaquam juxta sanguinem, sed juxta merita atque virtutes sacerdotium defertur, 'qui venient de insulis gentium, et gloriam Domini nuntiabunt. Et adducentur in equis, et in quadrigis, et in lecticis, et in mulis, et in carrucis.'—S. Hieron. Comm. in Isaiam, lib. xviii. cap. 66. Op., tom. iv. col. 825, D, E.]

[a] [Primitiæ quoque ciborum nostrorum sacerdotibus offeruntur, ut nihil gustemus novarum frugum, nisi sacerdos ante gustaverit. Hoc autem facimus, ut reponat sacerdos benedictionem et oblationem nostram in domo sua: sive ut ad imprecationem suam Dominus benedicat domibus nostris.—Id., Comm. in Ezek., lib. xiii. cap. 45. tom. v. col. 555, E.]

[b] [Unde proprie sacerdotibus dicitur, quod 'si audire noluerint et corde retinere, ut dent gloriam nomini Domini' per bonam conversationem; sed e contrario 'nomen illius propter eos maledicatur in gentibus,' mittat in illos egestatem bonorum omnium, et 'benedictiones eorum vertat in maledictionem.' Qui sanitate abutuntur in libidinem, et divitias vertunt in luxuriam, bonamque famam sordida conversatione deturpant, hi benedictiones Dei mutant in maledictionem. Vel certe, quia ad sacerdotes proprie mandatum est, vertuntur benedictiones eorum in maledictionem, quando non benedicunt sanctis ex vero cordis affectu, sicut Isaac Jacob, et Jacob patriarchis, et Moyses duodecim tribubus.—Id., Comm. in Malach. c. ii. tom. vi. col. 955, E. 956, A, B.]

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extraordinary occasions. So Elijah built an altar to the Lord on Mount Carmel, and sacrificed and "prayed, saying, Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that Thou art the Lord God. Then the fire of the Lord fell and consumed the burnt-sacrifice, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water which was in the trench." After which he proceeded to intercede with God for rain after the drought of three years. "He prayed earnestly (saith St. James) and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit."

1 Kings 18. 3, 37.

ver. 3. 8.

James 5. 17, 18.

SECT. XIII.

Christian Ministers are, under Christ, Mediators and Intercessors.

XIII. Such were the public intercessions of other prophets, which I pass over, hastening to my main point, which is to shew in the second place, that Christian liturgs or ministers, by their office are mediators or intercessors with God for the people, to make atonement for their sins, and impetrate favours and blessings for them, and by consequence that they are proper priests. For though other offices are joined with the priest's office, and by consequence belong in common to priests of all religions, yet nothing is more essential to the character of priests than to be advocates or intercessors for men with God. For the office of teaching and preaching belongs to them as doctors or prophets, and that of governing the sacred economy belongs to them as rectors or stewards appointed by the God whose priests they are, and both have the people for their objects, or relate to them; but to make intercession belongs to a priest as a priest, and hath the God with whom he intercedes for its object, and therefore with regard to this most proper office of priesthood, some have defined a priest to be *patronus hominum apud Deum*[c], "an advocate or orator for men with God." Which belongs in the greatest propriety and fulness of perfection to Christ, whom the Apostle, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, calls ten times an High-Priest, and seven times a Priest. He is the *ἀρχιερεὺς λόγος*[d], the *λόγος* High-Priest, who was as a

[c] Outram de Sacrificiis, lib. ii. cap. 1. [§ 1. p. 287.]

[d] Philo de Pont. Max. *λέγομεν γὰρ, τὸν ἀρχιερέα οὐκ ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ λόγον θεῖον εἶναι, πάντων οὐχ ἑκουσίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον.* "I speak of an High-Priest, who is not a man but the Word of God, not only free from all voluntary but involuntary sins." [There is not any treatise of Philo de Pont. Max.; the passage occurs in his tract De Profugis, where he interprets the laws respecting the high-priest as designed to shadow the sinless and eternal High-Priest.—De Profugis, Op., tom. i. p. 562.]

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Priest with His Father before the beginning of the world[e], and in virtue[f] of whose meritorious sacrifice, to be offered at the appointed time, the Jewish priests, though they knew it not, made atonement for the sins of the people. But now more eminently as High-Priest of His Church, He is "our advocate with the Father, and makes intercession for us at the right hand of God." And because "He continued for ever, and hath an unchangeable priesthood, He is able to save them to the uttermost who come unto God by Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them." "He entered into the Holy of Holies on purpose to appear as an advocate in the presence of God for us," and was therefore "made like unto His brethren, that He might be a merciful and faithful High-Priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people." And because this mediation with His Father, as our High-Priest, is so powerful and prevalent, therefore are we bid to "come boldly to the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy through Him who is the one mediator between God and man." And as He intercedes for us, as our supreme advocate and orator in heaven, and presents our prayers to His Father, in virtue of His own merits; so do His ministers upon earth intercede for us in His name, and therefore they must be priests in this respect, as with respect to teaching and governing the people they are prophets and spiritual rulers over them in their several ranks.

1 John 2. 2. Rom. 8. 34. Heb. 7. 24, 25. Heb. 9. 24. Heb. 2. 17, 18. Heb. 4. 16. 1 Tim. 2. 5.

They must be priests in this respect as much as the ministers or liturgs of the patriarchal and Jewish Churches were, who made atonement for the people by sacrifice and prayer, and often by prayer without sacrifice; for what belonged in common to God's ministers under both these dispensations, must needs belong to His ministers of the most perfect and excellent evangelical economy, unless it can be imagined it was His pleasure that the most noble Church and institu-

[e] [On the doctrine contained in this statement see the Additions to the Third Edition, vol. i. p. 20, note p.]

[f] Philo de Vita Mosis: ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τοῦ κόσμου πατρὶ παρακλήτῳ χρῆσθαι τελειοτάτῳ τὴν ἀρέτην υἱῷ, πρός τε ἀμνηστείαν ἁμαρτημάτων, καὶ χορηγίας ἀφθονωτάτων ἀγαθῶν.—[Lib. iii. Op., tom. ii. p. 155.] "It is necessary for him who sacrifices to the Father of the world to use the Son, who is most perfect in all virtue, as mediator or advocate, both to obtain pardon of sins and the grant of those gracious blessings which he desires."

tion should have the meanest and least noble ministry, without the sacerdotal power of making intercession for the people, which the ministers of His Church before and under the law had. But why do I say, unless it can be imagined? I ought rather to say, unless it can be proved. For as those who have written in defence of infant baptism argue for it from the right that infants had to be admitted into the covenant of grace in the Jewish Church, and tell the adversaries of it, that the condition of children would be worse under the Gospel than it was under the law, if they might not be baptized under the one as well as circumcised under the other; and when the Antipædobaptists require a precept for it, tell them it lies upon them to bring a precept against it; so it is an excellent argument to prove the ministers over the Christian Church to be proper priests, and as such to have the power and dignity of making solemn intercession for the people, because the ministers of God over His Church in the patriarchal and Jewish dispensations were such priests. The sacerdotal power which was common to the ministerial or liturgical office in such different dispensations must therefore belong to it now, unless something to the contrary can be shewn in the Gospel; but, Sir, until that is shewn, we ought to presume that Christian liturgs are proper priests, who are not inferior to the patriarchal and Jewish ministers in the essentials of the sacerdotal office and power. For they are "taken from among men" as they were, and like them are "ordained for men to minister for them in things pertaining to God," and so have the same common office and ministry, though not the same ceremonies, rites, and forms of 'praying,' and 'entreating,' and 'propitiating,' and 'expiating' God's anger, and 'deprecating' His judgments, and 'making reconciliation' for sinners; which are the several terms in the Latin[g] translation for what we render 'atonement,' and 'making atonement,' and aptly express the office of an advocate,

[g] Exod. xxix. 36, Ad expiandum. Cap. xxx. 10, Deprecabitur Aaron . . . et placabit. Ver. 16, Propitietur animabus eorum. Cap. xxxii. 30, Si quo modo quivero eum deprecari pro scelere vestro. Lev. i. 4, In expiationem ejus. Cap. iv. 20, Rogante pro eis sacerdote, "the priest praying for them;" so ver. 26, Rogabit pro eo sacerdos. Cap. v. 6, Orabit pro ea sacerdos, et pro peccato ejus. Cap. vi. 7, [Cap. v. ver. 26. Hebr.] Rogabit pro eo coram Domino. Numb. xxv. 25, Rogabit sacerdos pro omni multitudine filiorum Israel. Lev. xvi. 10, Statuet eum (caprum emissarium) vivum coram Domino, ut fundat preces super eo, "to make an atonement with him."

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which is to pray, and entreat, and plead for his criminal client, whose orator he is; to propitiate the king or judge, in whose presence he stands for him, and to procure pardon for his offences. "Pray not thou for this people (saith God to the priest and prophet Jeremiah) nor lift up cry or prayer for them, neither make intercession[h] to Me, for I will not hear thee." That is, do not thou be their advocate, to intercede, and pray, and plead for them, "do not come to Me about them[i]," for I will not hear thee.

Jer. 7. 16.

SECT. XIV.

From Apostolical precept and practice.

XIV. In like manner it belonged to the Apostles and presbyters, by virtue of their sacerdotal office and ministry, to be advocates and intercessors with God, and as such to pray and entreat God for the people, and by prayer to obtain pardon or make atonement for their sins, and propitiate Him, and to procure favours and blessings of Him for them. There are instances to prove this in the New Testament, as short a memorial as it is of the practice of the first ministers of the Church. I need not insist upon their power of baptizing for the remission of sins with fasting and prayer[k], which was a most solemn act of expiation for washing away[l]

Acts 2. 38; 22. 16.

[h] [The word in the original is כפר, as also in the passages in the note previous.]

[i] *μὴ προσέλθῃς μοι περὶ αὐτῶν*, LXX. The same phrase is used of the priests, Deut. xxi. 5, and I cannot but observe that phrases of that kind are specially applied by the Gentiles to their priests, to set forth the intercessions they believed they had power to make with their gods. So Jul. Pollux, lib. i. cap. 1. segm. 25. *περὶ τῶν προσίονταν θεοῖς. . . . προσιέναι θεοῖς, πρόσοδον ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, εὔχεσθαι θεοῖς, ἀνατείνειν τὰς χεῖρας, ἐντυγχάνειν θεοῖς, προτρέπεσθαι θεοὺς, κατακαλεῖν θεοὺς, ἀνακαλεῖν θεοὺς, αἰτεῖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγαθὰ, προσφεύγειν θεοῖς, ποτνιᾶσθαι, ἐπαντιβολεῖν καὶ ἀντιβολεῖν, καθικετεύειν, θύειν θεοῖς, ἱερουργεῖν, ἱεροποιεῖν, κ. τ. λ.* "Of those who have access to the gods . . . to go unto the gods; to pray to the gods; to stretch out hands unto the gods; to intercede with the gods; to atone the gods; to ask blessings of the gods; to fly to the gods; to obsecrate the gods; to meet, or confront, and supplicate the gods; to perform holy offices in things pertaining to the gods." All which phrases are most proper to the office of Christian ministers, changing gods into God, and by consequence prove them to be priests. So segm. 29; *θυσία . . . κατάκλησις θεῶν, ἀνάκλησις, ἔντευξις, πρόσοδος, ἱερουργία, ἱεροποιία, . . σπονδή.* "Sacrifice, calling upon the gods, crying unto the gods, intercession, coming to the gods, performing holy offices, sacrificing, libation." See Herodotus, lib. i. p. 37. [cap. 132; quoted above, p. 194, note u.]

[k] S. Just. Mart. Apol. i. ed. Oxon. [Grabe, 8°. 1700] c. 79, 80. [*ὅσοι ἂν πε σθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτω δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ, κ. τ. λ.*—c. 61. Op., p. 79, D. ed. Ben.]

[l] *ἀφορμὴν σωτηρίας καὶ κάθαρμον ἁμαρτημάτων.* So the bishops that instructed Constantine the Great called baptism.—Sozomen. Hist. Eccl., lib. i. cap. 3. [Hist. Eccl., tom. ii. p. 12. See above, note b, p. 9.]

all the past sins of the baptized. Nor need I spend much time to prove that it was their office to administer the holy Eucharist, in which more especially they exercised the priest's office in making prayers and intercessions at the holy altar upon the account and in virtue of the same sacrifice[m], that Christ makes continual intercession in the presence of God for us. And to these solemn prayers and intercessions which the priests make in the holy Eucharist, the people, with all the powers of their souls, are to say Amen. "The cup of blessing which we bless (saith the Apostle) is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" It is their office then to make atonement most especially in this sacrifice, which consists of the celebration of the sacrifice which Christ made upon the cross, when they make a most solemn memorial and representation of it unto God upon earth, correspondent to that which He daily makes of it before Him in heaven. It was they only who administered this pure commemorative sacrifice of propitiation: bishops, or presbyters licensed by their bishops, as St. Ignatius speaks in his Epistle to the Church of Smyrna[n], "look upon that Eucharist as lawful and valid which is either offered by the bishop, or one whom he shall appoint." Hence we read of the three thousand baptized persons who "were added to the Church, that they continued stedfastly in the doctrine which the Apostles taught them, and in fellowship with them," as the principle of unity, "and in breaking of bread, and prayer," as the Eucharist is there described, of which they were the ministers. And when I consider that prophets sometimes sacrificed under the Old Testament by extraordinary commission from God, and that the first ministers of Christ were generally prophets, I cannot but think that place in 1 Cor.

1 Cor. 10. 16.

Acts 2. 41, 42.

[m] Non. Marcel. *Sacrificare* est veniam petere, *litare* est propitiare et votum impetrare. Virg. Æneid, lib. iv. 50. Auctores Linguæ Latinæ Gothofred., p. 1336. [Genev. 1622.] So more at large. Inter *sacrificare*, et *litare* hoc interest; *sacrificare* est veniam petere, *litare* est propitiare, et votum impetrare.

Tu modo posce Deos veniam, sacrisque litatis.—Virg. Æneid. iv. 50.

i. e. impetratis. Plaut. in Pœnulo, ii. 42. Si Hercle istuc unquam factum est, tum me Jupiter faciat, ut semper sacrificem, neque unquam litem.—Ibid., p. 723.

[n] ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ.—S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn., c. 8. [Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 36.]

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xiv. 16[o], is to be understood of the holy Eucharist's being administered by those prophetical priests, because both the solemn words which our Saviour used at the institution of it are likewise used by the Apostle in that place. The words are 'bless,' and 'give thanks.' "Jesus," saith St. Matthew and St. Mark[p], "took bread and blessed it;" or as St. Luke[q], "Jesus took bread, and gave thanks." And of the cup they say[r], "He took the cup, and blessed it;" but St. Luke saith[s], "He took the cup, and gave thanks." For as learned men have observed, those words in Scripture signify the same thing[t], and are indifferently used for one another. And from them the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper came to be called *Eucharistia* and *Eulogia*[u], though more generally by

[o] [ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογήσῃς τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οἶδε; 1 Cor. xiv. 16.]

[p] [λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασε.—Matt. xxvi. 26. λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον, εὐλογήσας ἔκλασε.—Mark xiv. 22.]

[q] [λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε.—Luc. xxii. 19.]

[r] [λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν, κ.τ.λ.—Matt. xxvi. 27. λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον, εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν, κ.τ.λ.—Mark xiv. 23.]

[s] [δεξάμενος ποτήριον, εὐχαριστήσας εἶπε, κ.τ.λ.—Luc. xxii. 17.]

[t] De Marca de Sacramento Eucharistiæ, pp. 7—9. Cameron and Grotius on Matt. xxvi. 26. [De Marca observes that the Jews offered up thanksgiving with prayer before partaking of their food, and that the food being regarded as thereby sanctified, the terms to 'sanctify' or 'bless' were used to express this thanksgiving; and that hence when the blessing of bread is spoken of, the words 'give thanks' and 'bless' are used indiscriminately. He alleges the parallel passages in the narratives of our Lord's feeding the multitudes, and those given in the text from the narrative of the institution; and afterwards says, Veteres Christiani hac in re secuti sunt Dominum, conjungentes in peragendæ Eucharistiæ formulis gratiarum actiones, &c.

Cameron in locum; εὐλογήσας, h. e. εὐχαριστήσας. Eodem enim hæc redeunt: id quod non solum ex consensu Evangelistarum, qui indiscriminatim his verbis usi sunt, sed etiam ex usu et consuetudine Judæorum constat: etenim hæc εὐλογία nihil aliud illis fuit quam εὐχαριστία: nempe benedicere Deo et gratias agere eadem sunt. —Critici Sacr., tom. vi. col. 881.

So Grotius: Moris semper Judæis fuit . . . cibum nullum aut vinum sumere nisi prius Deo tanquam conditori donatorique laudes et gratias egissent, addita precatione . . . ipsam precationem קדוּשׁ, id est, ἁγίασμον, sanctificationem, vocant, aut ברכה, id est, εὐλογίαν, benedictionem. He then goes through the instances of the use of the words in the parallel passages of the New Testament, and in the early Christian writers.—Crit. Sacr. ibid., col. 898.]

[u] Suiceri Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus in εὐλογία. [§ iv. Illud præcipue diligenter observandum, hanc vocem de S. Cœna frequenter usurpari. Of this use he gives several instances, e. g. S. Cyril. Alex., lib. iv. cap. 2. in Joan. (cap. vi. 54.) Op., tom. iv. p. 361, A. and ibid., p. 364, D. καὶ σῶμα καὶ μέλη Χριστοῦ χρηματίζομεν, ὡς διὰ τῆς εὐλογίας αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς δεχόμενοι τὸν υἱόν: and accounts for the use of the word by adducing τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, 1 Cor. x. 16; quoting Theophylact on the passage, (Op., tom. ii. p. 180, C, D.) τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, τουτέστι τῆς εὐχαριστίας. ἐπὶ γὰρ χεῖρας αὐτὸ ἔχοντες, εὐλογοῦμεν καὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκχέαντι: and St. Chrysostom (in Ep. 1 ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Op., tom. x. p. 213, A.) more fully to the same effect. He afterwards treats of the Jewish custom

the former than the latter name. Hence St. Chrysostom[v], Theophylact[x], and Œcumenius[y] expound this place of the administration of the Lord's Supper according to the following paraphrase: "Else when thou shalt bless the bread and wine at the Lord's Supper in an unknown tongue, how shall the unlearned people say Amen at thy blessing or giving of thanks, seeing they understand not what thou sayest?" "When thou shalt bless," you know, Sir, answers to the Eucharistical phrase, "the cup of blessing which we bless," just now cited; and to that in Matt. xxvi. 26, "Jesus took bread, and blessed it;" and the other term, *εὐχαριστία*, translated by "giving of thanks," most probably is the

and terms of thanksgiving, and the use of the word among Christians. Thesaur. Eccl., tom. i. col. 1249, sqq.]

[v] [*ἰδιώτην δὲ τὸν λαϊκὸν λέγει, καὶ δείκνυσι καὶ αὐτὸν οὐ μικρὰν ὑπομένοντα τὴν ζημίαν, ὅταν τὸ ἀμὴν εἰπεῖν μὴ δύνηται. ὃ δὲ λέγει τοῦτό ἐστιν· ἂν εὐλογήσῃς τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ, οὐκ εἰδὼς τί λέγεις, οὐδὲ ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυνάμενος, οὐ δύναται ὑποφωνῆσαι τὸ ἀμὴν ὁ λαϊκός. οὐ γὰρ ἀκούων τὸ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τέλος, οὐ λέγει τὸ ἀμήν.*—S. Chrys. in 1 Cor. Hom. xxxv. Op., p. 325, D, E.]

[x] [Theophylact connects *εὐλογήσῃς* with the *ψάλλει* of the preceding verse. He says; *ὅταν, φησὶ, ψάλλῃς, ἐὰν εὐλογήσῃς τῷ πνεύματι, τουτέστι, τῷ πνευματικῷ χαρίσματι διὰ τῆς γλώσσης, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου, τουτέστιν, ὁ λαϊκὸς, πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχῇ; σοῦ γὰρ εἰπόντος τὸ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀσαφῶς καὶ ἐν γλώσσῃ, οὐκ ἤκουσεν· ὥστε οὔτε ὠφελεῖται.*—Theophylact. Comment. in 1 Cor. xiv. Op., tom. ii. p. 269, D.]

[y] [*ἐὰν γὰρ μόνον σὺ ἐπίστασαι, φησὶ, τί εὐλογεῖς, ἤγουν τί εὔχεσαι, καὶ ἡ σὴ ψυχὴ τοῦτο λέγει τῷ πνεύματι, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀγνοοῦσι τῷ σε μὴ εἰδέναι ἑρμηνεῦσαι, ἤγουν μὴ εἰδότα τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λεγομένων, ὁ δὲ εἰς ἰδιώτην τελῶν, οὐκ ἂν εἴπῃ τὸ ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχῇ. μὴ εἰδὼς γὰρ τί λαλεῖς, οὐδὲ γινώσκει πότε δεῖ σοι τὸ ἀμὴν ὑπακοῦσαι.*—Œcumenii Comment. 1 Cor. xiv. Op., tom. i. p. 560, C, D.

In a note on the words of St. Chrysostom on this text, quoted above, note v, Mr. Palmer says, "Chrysostom obviously understood the Apostle to speak of the Liturgy by alluding to the words *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, which he says *ἐστὶ τέλος*, that is, the end of the Liturgy. And accordingly if we look to the Liturgies of Antioch, where he preached these homilies, we find these words terminating the Liturgy." (See Liturgia S. Jacobi Græc. Assem., tom. v. p. 67.)—Orig. Lit., chap. 4. sect. xv. vol. ii. p. 116. And of the meaning of St. Paul's words he says, "In the Liturgy of Constantinople or Greece, which has probably been always used at Corinth, the bishop or priest takes bread, and 'blesses' it in the course of a very long 'thanksgiving,' at the end of which all the people answer, 'Amen.' (See S. Chrys. Liturg. Goar, pp. 75—79.) The same may be said of the Liturgies of Antioch and Cæsarea, and of all the countries of the East and Greece, through which St. Paul bare rule or founded Churches. It may be added that there is I believe no instance in the writings of the most primitive fathers in which the 'Amen' is ever said to have been repeated at the end of an office containing both blessing and thanksgiving, except in the Liturgy of the Eucharist."—Ibid., p. 117. It will be observed that Mr. Palmer considers the words *εὐλογεῖν* and *εὐχαριστεῖν* to be distinct in sense, the former meaning the invoking the Divine blessing on the elements, (see above, pp. 131, sqq.,) the latter simply giving thanks. That they are distinct, notwithstanding the authorities and arguments alleged by Hickes, would appear from both words being used in the commemoration of our Lord's actions in the institution of the Eucharist in all the Liturgies, and the very definite sense of *εὐλογεῖν* in the passages quoted by himself, pp. 311, sqq.]

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Church's name for the Lord's Supper here, as in St. Ignatius[z]; for the people then saying Amen, answers exactly to that passage in Justin Martyr's first Apology[a], *οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς, καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, Ἀμήν*: "The bishop having finished the prayers and offering, all the people say aloud, Amen." But however that place is to be interpreted, it was the work of the inspired or gifted ministers in the beginning of Christianity to make intercessions, as is plain from Rom. viii. 26, which according to Origen[b] and St. Chrysostom[c] upon the place, I shall paraphrase in these words: "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for as yet we know not in what manner, or for what we should pray as we ought, but the inspired minister, by the help of the Spirit which moves and directs him, maketh[d] intercessions in most eminent manner

[z] [See above, p. 211, note n.]

[a] [S. Just. M. Apol. i. c. 65. Op., p. 82, E. See above, p. 106, note g.]

[b] [Origen's words are, *ὁ γὰρ δεῖ προσεύχεσθαί, φησι, καθὸ δεῖ, οὐκ οἴδαμεν. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ οὐ τὸ προσεύχεσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ προσεύχεσθαι καθὸ δεῖ, καὶ προσεύχεσθαι ὃ δεῖ, κ. τ. λ. . . . οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσι στεναγμοῖς χρώμενον ὑπερεντυχάνει τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλά τισιν ἀλαλήτοις, ἐχομένοις τῶν ἀρρήτων λόγων ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ λαλεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα, οὐκ ἀρκούμενον τῷ ἐντυγχάνειν τῷ θεῷ, ἐπιτείνον τὴν ἔντευξιν ὑπερεντυγχάνει.*—Origen, *περὶ εὐχῆς*, § 2. Op., tom. i. pp. 197, E. 199, C.]

[c] [St. Chrysostom begins by speaking of the different gifts bestowed on the baptized in the Apostolic age, one of which was that of prayer: *τίς οὖν ἡ τότε κατάστασις ἦν; διάφορα πᾶσι τοῖς τότε βαπτιζομένοις ἐδίδου χαρίσματα ὁ θεὸς, ἃ δὴ καὶ πνεύματα ἐκαλεῖτο . . . μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων ἦν καὶ εὐχῆς χάρισμα, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα ἐλέγετο. καὶ ὁ τοῦτο ἔχων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς εὔχετο. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν συμφερόντων ἡμῖν ἀγνοοῦντες, τὰ μὴ συμφέροντα αἰτοῦμεν, ἤρχετο χάρισμα εὐχῆς εἰς ἕνα τινὰ τῶν τότε, καὶ τὸ κοινῇ σύμφερον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσης αὐτός τε ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἵστατο αἰτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαίδευε. πνεῦμα τοίνυν ἐνταῦθα καλεῖ τό τε χάρισμα τὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν δεχομένην τὸ χάρισμα, καὶ ἐντυγχάνουσαν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ στενάζουσαν. ὁ γὰρ τοιαύτης καταξιωθεὶς χάριτος, ἑστὼς μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς κατανύξεως, μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν στεναγμῶν τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν, τῷ θεῷ προσπίπτων, τὰ συμφέροντα πᾶσιν αἰτεῖ. οὗ καὶ νῦν σύμβολόν ἐστιν ὁ διάκονος τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου ἀναφέρων εὐχάς.*—S. Chrys. Hom. in Ep. ad Rom. xiv. Op., tom. ix. p. 586, A, B.]

[d] *ὑπερεντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.* Pro nobis postulat. Vulg. Pro nobis supplicat.—Castal. See also Claud. Espencæus de Christo Mediatore, cap. 11. Hi ergo (Græci interpretes) Spiritum, . . . non Spiritus hoc loco substantiam intelligunt, sed ex divinis ejus charismatibus unum; precationis nimirum donum in Apostolica ecclesia, quod in communem totius ecclesiæ usum, qui divinitus accipiebat, pro tota quidem ecclesia, sed pro simplicibus præsertim orandi nesciis, stans orabat, magna tum compunctione, tum alacritate, [et alios idem facere docebat.] [Cl. Espenc. Opera, p. 291, col. ii. C. fol. Paris. 1610.] D. Ambrosius respondet [De Spiritu Sancto, lib. iii. c. 2. § 70. Op., tom. ii. col. 679, D.] Spiritum plerumque poni pro spiritali gratia [sicut hic dicitur postulare. Quæ Hieronymo, Sedulio, Primasio in Paulum . . . . Commentaria inscribuntur] hic utroque modo exponunt, et Spiritum, Spiritus gratiam nominari [qui docet nos Domino postulare] . . . Ita hic, 'Spiritus postulat,' i.e. postulare nos facit. . . . Quid est 'interpellat,' nisi quod nos interpellare facit. —[Ibid., p. 292, col. i. D.]

for us, with sighs and groans which cannot be expressed." What is expressed here by the inspired liturg's "making intercession for us," in the next verse is "making intercession for the saints," that is, for the Church; so that from the beginning it was the office of Christ's ministers, as advocates, or priests of the Gospel, to pray and supplicate for the people, even for the whole state of His Catholic Church. "Is any man sick among you? (saith St. James) let him call for the presbyters of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him." "Let them pray over him," that is, by imposition of hands, according to what is written Mark xvi. 18[e], and "anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord." To this purpose speaks St. Chrysostom[f]: "The Jewish priests had power to cleanse the leprosy of the body, or rather not at all to cleanse it, but to pronounce when the lepers were clean of it. . . . . But our priests have received power not to cleanse the leprosy of the body, but the uncleanness of the soul, and not only to judge when we are clean, but to put away our uncleanness; so that they who despise them are much wickeder, and worthy of greater punishment, than Dathan and his company. For these having the priesthood in admiration, desired and endeavoured to get a dignity which did not belong to them; . . . . but the others, though the excellency and honour of the priest-

James 5. 14, 15.

[e] ["They shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover."—Mark xvi. 18.]

[f] De Sacerdotiō, lib. iii. [§ 6. λέπραν σώματος ἀπαλλάττειν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπαλλάττειν μὲν οὐδαμῶς, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντας δοκιμάζειν μόνον, εἶχον ἐξουσίαν οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἱερεῖς· καὶ οἶσθα πῶς περιμάχητον ἦν τὸ τῶν ἱερέων τότε. οὗτοι δὲ οὐ λέπραν σώματος, ἀλλ' ἀκαθαρσίαν ψυχῆς, οὐκ ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν δοκιμάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάττειν παντελῶς ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν. ὥστε οἱ τούτων ὑπερορῶντες πολὺ καὶ τῶν περὶ Δαθὰν εἶεν ἐναγέστεροι καὶ μείζονος ἄξιοι τιμωρίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰ καὶ μὴ προσηκούσης αὐτοῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ὅμως θαυμαστήν τινα περὶ αὐτῆς εἶχον δόξαν, (καὶ τοῦτο τῷ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐφίεσθαι σπουδῆς ἔδειξαν·) οὗτοι δὲ ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον διεκοσμήθη, καὶ τοσαύτην ἔλαβεν ἐπίδοσιν τὸ πρᾶγμα, τότε ἐξ ἐναντίας μὲν ἐκείνοις, πολλῷ δὲ ἐκείνων μείζονα τετολμήκασιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἴσον εἰς καταφρονήσεως λόγον, ἐφίεσθαι μὴ προσηκούσης τιμῆς καὶ ὑπεροραῖν τοσούτων ἀγαθῶν· ἀλλὰ τοσούτῳ μεῖζον ἐκείνου τοῦτο, ὅσῳ τοῦ διαπτύειν καὶ θαυμάζειν τὸ μέσον ἐστί. τίς οὖν οὕτως ἀθλία ψυχή, ὡς τοσούτων ὑπεριδεῖν ἀγαθῶν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε φαίην ἐγώγε, πλὴν εἰ μή τις οἴστρων ὑπομείνειε δαιμονικόν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπάνειμι πάλιν, ὅθεν ἐξέβην. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κολάζειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ, μείζονα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔδωκε δύναμιν τῶν φυσικῶν γονέων ὁ θεός· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀμφοτέρων τὸ διάφορον, ὅσον τῆς παρούσης καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ταύτην, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐκείνην γεννῶσι· κἀκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲ τὸν σωματικὸν αὐτοῖς δύναιντ' ἂν ἀμῦναι θάνατον, οὔτε νόσον ἐπενεχθεῖσαν ἀπο-

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hood is increased, in a way contrary to them presume to commit a greater sin. For to aspire to an undue honour is not so great a crime as to have contempt for it; and there is as great a difference in the account of this sin from that, as between admiration and contempt. Who, therefore, can have so wretched a soul as to despise so excellent a thing? I think I may say no man can be so wicked but who is acted by the furies. But to return from this digression; God hath given the priests a greater power, not only of punishing, but of doing good, than He hath given to our parents by nature, between whom and priests there is as much difference as between this life and that which is to come. Our parents begat us into this life, but priests beget us into life eternal. Those cannot deliver us from the death of the body, or repel any approaching disease, but these have often saved sick souls which were going to destruction, inflicting upon some a milder punishment, and not permitting others to fall; and this not only by doctrine and instruction, but by the help of their prayers; for they do not only regenerate us, but have power to remit sins. 'Is any sick among you (saith he) let him call for the presbyters of the Church,' &c. Now our parents by nature, if any of their children offend the supreme powers and potentates, they cannot help them, but priests, though they cannot reconcile kings and princes to us, yet they often propitiate God when He is angry at us." So in his sixth book Of the Priesthood[g]: "But if any man will exactly consider what a bishop doth in things pertaining to God (*τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν,*) he will find nothing will require greater or more exact care and study, than they. For what manner of person ought he to be who makes intercession for

κρούσασθαι· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ κάμνουσαν καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι μέλλουσαν τὴν ψυχὴν πολλάκις ἔσωσαν, τοῖς μὲν πραοτέραν τὴν κόλασιν ἐργασάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφέντες ἐμπεσεῖν, οὐ τῷ διδάσκειν μόνον καὶ νουθετεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δι' εὐχῶν βοηθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὅτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀναγεννῶσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν ἁμαρτήματα. ἀσθενεῖ γάρ τις, φησίν, ἐν ὑμῖν· προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀλείψαντες αὐτὸν ἐλαίῳ, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου. καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα, καὶ ἐγερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος· κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ. ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν φυσικοὶ γονεῖς, εἴ μέν τισι τῶν ὑπερεχόντων καὶ μεγάλα ὧδε δυναμένων προσκρούσαιεν οἱ παῖδες, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἔχουσιν ὠφελεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς οὐκ ἄρχοντας, οὐδὲ βασιλεῖς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς πολλάκις ὀργισθέντα κατήλλαξαν τὸν θεόν.—Op., tom. i. pp. 384, B. 385, A.]

[g] *[εἰ δέ τις τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐξετάσειεν, οὐδὲν ὂν τα εὑρήσει ταῦτα, οὕτω μείζονος καὶ ἀκριβεστέρας ἐκεῖνα δεῖται τῆς σπουδῆς. τὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τί λέγω; πόλεως, πάσης μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης πρεσβεύοντα, καὶ*

the whole city? (but why do I say the whole city, and not rather the whole world?) and prays God to be propitious to the sins of all men, not only of the living, but of those who are departed this life? I truly never thought the great liberty (*παῤῥησίαν*) of interceding by Moses and Elias to have been sufficient for such supplication. For in truth, as the whole world is committed to his trust[h], he comes unto God, as the Father of all, beseeching Him to put an end to wars in all the world, and to make tumults cease every where; and that peace and happiness may succeed in their place, and that all manner of private or public calamities may be speedily removed. Wherefore how ought he to excel those in all things for whom he makes intercession to God?" Thus this great and holy Christian, perhaps before he was a priest[i], wrote of sacerdotal intercession. So Acts viii., when Peter said to Simon Magus, "Repent of thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee;" Simon, who knew what belonged to the office of an Apostle, as a priest, answered, "Pray ye for me to the Lord, that none of these things which ye have spoken come upon me." He had seen the new converts of Samaria receive the Holy Ghost by the prayer of Peter and John, and imposition of their hands, and therefore he looked upon them as men who had special power of intercession for sinners with God, and said, "Pray ye," that is, make ye atonement for me to the Lord, and expiate my sin, "that none of these things come upon me." And that they, and the presbyters under them, were the Church's liturgs and orators in all

Acts 8. 22.

ver. 24.

δεόμενον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἁμαρτίαις ἵλεων γενέσθαι τὸν θεὸν, οὐ τῶν ζώντων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπελθόντων, ὁπωῦν τινα εἶναι χρή; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὴν Μωσέως καὶ τὴν Ἠλιοῦ παῤῥησίαν, οὐδέπω πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην ἱκετηρίαν ἀρκεῖν ἡγοῦμαι. καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὸν ἅπαντα κόσμον πεπιστευμένος, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν ἁπάντων πατὴρ, οὕτω πρόσεισι τῷ θεῷ, δεόμενος τοὺς ἁπανταχοῦ πολέμους σβεσθῆναι, λυθῆναι τὰς ταραχάς· εἰρήνην, εὐετηρίαν, πάντων τῶν ἑκάστῳ κακῶν ἐπικειμένων, καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ταχεῖαν αἰτῶν ἀπαλλαγήν. δεῖ δὲ πάντων αὐτὸν, ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖται. τοσοῦτο διαφέρειν ἐν ἅπασιν, ὅσον τὸν προεστῶτα τῶν προστατευομένων εἰκός.—Id., ibid., lib. vi. § 4. p. 424, A.]

[h] Note, that it was the common doctrine of Christianity, that the care of the Catholic Church was committed jointly as well as severally, and in whole as well as in part, to the Apostles and their successors the bishops. In which the government of the Church differs from the government of the world.

[i] [See Socrates, Eccl. Hist., lib. vi. c. 3. *τῆς τοῦ διακόνου ἀξίας παρὰ Μελετίου τυχὼν, τοὺς περὶ ἱερωσύνης λόγους συνέταξε* (Eccl. Hist., tom. ii. p. 312); that is, shortly after A.D. 381. See Monitum in libros de Sacerdotio, S. Chrysost. Op., tom. i. p. 361. ed. Ben.]

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public assemblies, and upon all occasions, and officiated for them in things pertaining to God, is also evident from the writings of the New Testament, though they give but a short, and that far from a full and perfect account, of what was done in the Church. They prayed, as I observed before, at the confirmation of the disciples of Samaria, and were the advocates or orators upon whose supplications they received the Holy Ghost. They prayed in a congregation of about
Acts 1. 24. a hundred and twenty, at the election by lot of Matthias, to be ordained in the place of Judas. Peter and John prayed in that assembly where the place was shaken in which they
chap. 4. 31. met together. The Apostles prayed at the ordination of the seven deacons, when they laid their hands upon them. Other public liturgs or ministers at Antioch, called prophets from
chap. 13. 2. their prophetical vocation, ministered to the Lord when the Holy Ghost said unto them, "Separate unto me Barnabas and Saul, unto the work whereunto I have called them." So
chap. 21. 36. in the solemn meeting of the elders at Ephesus, Paul kneeled down and prayed with them after he had made his exhortation to them. To conclude, St. Paul in his first Epistle to
1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. Timothy, exhorts him in the first place that he[j], and all ministers under him, as the people's orators, should have constant public offices of devotion, consisting of supplications (δεήσεις), or deprecations for averting hurtful things, sins, and dangers. Secondly, of prayers (προσευχὰς), or obsecrations for obtaining mercies and blessings, and good things of which they stood in need. Thirdly, of intercessions (ἐντεύξεις), or interpellations for others. And lastly, of thanksgivings (εὐχαριστίας) for mercies received; and all these in the greatest extent of charity for men of all conditions and ranks. "First of all, therefore, I exhort that" (in your Eucharistical devotions) "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men." Which shews, that as Christian ministers, like the Jewish, "are taken from among men," so also that like them too they are advocates and orators at the throne of grace, or that "they are ordained for men in things pertaining to God."

[j] Sicut imperatores Romani mandata dare præsidibus solebant, ita Paulus in Timotheo mandata dat episcopis.—[Grotius, Annot. ad 1 Tim. ii. 1. Crit. Sacr., tom. vii. col. 447.]

I have said 'Eucharistical devotions' upon the authority of St. Augustine, who so interprets the place[k]: *Sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis, vel pene omnis frequentat ecclesia,* &c. "I choose to understand in these words what the whole, or almost the whole Church declares [practises?], that we take *precationes* for the prayers which are made in celebration of the mysteries before that which is on the Lord's table is blessed; *orationes* for the prayers when it is blessed and sanctified, and broken to be distributed; both which almost the whole Church concludes with the Lord's Prayer." Then he proceeds to shew the difference between εὐχὴν and προσευχὴν, and shews that the former is generally used in the Scriptures for *votum,* and the latter for *oratio,* and that in this text *oratio* is to be understood of prayer which attends a vow; "For all things are devoted," saith he, "which are offered to God, especially the holy oblation of the altar, in which Sacrament we openly make the greatest vows, by which we vow to remain in Christ, that is, in the union of His body. *Interpellationes,* or as your books have it, *postulationes,* are then made, when the people are blessed by the priest; for then the bishops, as advocates, offer the people whom they receive, by imposition of hands, to the most merciful potentate; which being done, and so great a Sacrament received, all is concluded with giving of thanks (*gratiarum actio.*)"

I am not the only or first writer that hath taken notice of St. Augustine's understanding 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. of the sacer-

[k] [Sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut *precationes* accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici: *orationes* cum benedicitur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis Ecclesia Dominicâ oratione concludit. At quam intellectum etiam verbi Græci origo nos adjuvat. Nam eam quam dicunt εὐχὴν raro ita Scriptura ponit ut intelligatur *oratio,* sed Scriptura plerumque et multo usitatius . . . votum appellat εὐχὴν, προσευχὴν vero . . . semper *orationem* vocat. . . . Ea proprie intelligenda est *oratio* quam facimus ad votum, id est πρὸς εὐχήν. Voventur autem omnia quæ offeruntur Deo, maxime sancti altaris oblatio, quo Sacramento prædicatur nostrum illud votum maximum, quo nos vovimus in Christo esse mansuros, utique in compage corporis Christi. . . . *Interpellationes* autem, sive, ut vestri codices habent, *postulationes,* fiunt cum populus benedicitur. Tunc enim antistites, velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimæ offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto sacramento, *gratiarum actio* cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apostolus.—S. Augustini Epist. cxlix. ad Paulinum, cap. 2. § 16. Op., tom. ii. p. 509 C—F.]

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dotal supplications, prayers, and intercessions at the holy Eucharist, or as he expresses it, at the "holy oblation of the altar." I find it observed by our learned countryman Mr. Thorndike, in his Book of Religious Assemblies, pp. 376, 377[l], 383[m]; and by Habertus in his Pontifical, p. 283[n], where he also understands what Tertullian saith in cap. 30 of his Apology[o], of the Eucharistical service, (and so that passage *ad Scapulam*, cap. 2, may also be understood, viz., *Sacrificamus pro imperatore*[p]) in which at the blessing, or prayer of the bishop or celebrating priest for the people, they were wont to bow their heads to receive it, the bishop holding his hands over them, as a sign that God's hand was stretched out over them to bless them; and at the same time, as we find it in some of the ancient Liturgies[q], to say this prayer; "Extend, O Lord, Thy invisible hand, and bless Thy servants and handmaidens, and cleanse them from all stain of flesh and

[l] Printed at Cambridge in 1642. [Thorndike after speaking of the prayer for the whole Church found in the ancient Liturgies, (The Service of God in Religious Assemblies, chap. x. § 59. Works, vol. i. pp. 351, sqq. ed. 1844,) proceeds, (§ 63. p. 355,) "It is hard for me to give account of this general practice of the ancient Church, otherwise than by conjecture. Thus much may be affirmed with confidence, that the practice of this prayer was the effect of the Apostle's instruction, whereof our service speaketh; 'who by Thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men,' the words of the Apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2." He then quotes St. Ambrose on this text, (Pseudo-Ambrose in 1 Tim. ii. 1. Op., tom. ii. App., col. 292, C.) and adds, (§ 64. p. 356,) "when he calls it the rule of that service which their priests ministered (regula ecclesiastica qua utuntur sacerdotes nostri), it is plain he understandeth the words of the Apostle concerning the prayers which were made at the Lord's board, at celebrating the Eucharist."]

[m] [§ 72. p. 360. ed. 1844. Thorndike here quotes the words of St. Augustine given above, interpreting 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, of the prayers to be used at the Communion.]

[n] [Habert. Pontif. Observ. ii. ad partem xi. Liturg. Ordin. De oratione in mysteriis pro pace, ecclesiis, sacerdotibus et principibus. . . . Præcipua hujus pro regibus institutæ orationis, immo unica, causa, ab Apostolo . . . . commemorata est; (1 Tim. ii. 1.) Pax. He quotes St. Augustine, Epist. ad Paulinum, as above note k, and (p. 284.) Tertullian; see the next note.]

[o] [The passage in Tertullian is, (Apol. i. c. 30, 31.) Nos enim pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, manibus expansis, quia innocuis.. oramus pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum et quæcunque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt . . . Scitote . . . præceptum esse nobis . . . . 'Orate, inquit, pro regibus, et pro principibus, et potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint vobis.'—Tertull. Op., p. 27, A—D.]

[p] [Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris . . . . . quomodo præcepit Deus, purâ prece.—Id. ad Scapulam, c. 2. Op., p. 69.]

[q] [Hickes seems to have combined two passages; ἐξαπόστειλον τὴν ἀόρατόν σου δεξιὰν, καὶ πάντας ἡμας εὐλόγησον . . . . περίελε ἀφ' ἡμῶν σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐργασίαν.—S. Marc. Lit. Renaudot., tom. ii. p. 164; and τοὺς ὑποκεκλικότας σοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς εὐλόγησον καὶ καταξίωσον ἀκατακρίτως μετασχεῖν τῶν ἀχράντων σου τούτων καὶ ζωοποιῶν μυστηρίων.—S. Basil. Lit. Goar., p. 174.]

spirit, and account them worthy to be partakers of the body and blood of Thy only-begotten Son." So at other times, and upon other occasions, they used, like the Jewish priests, to bless or pray for the people, as is evident from the many apostolical prayers and benedictions in the New Testament, in which they blessed the people as Melchisedec blessed Abraham. Such are these salutations: "Grace be to you, and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ;" "Grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father, and Jesus Christ our Lord;" "Grace to you, and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ;" "Grace and peace be multiplied unto you, through the knowledge of God, and of Jesus Christ our Lord;" "Grace be with you, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father, in truth and love;" "And the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship (or communion) of the Holy Ghost be with you all; Amen." You know, Sir, that the less is blessed by the greater, and that a blessing, therefore, is but an authoritative prayer[r] of a superior for an inferior, as of a priest for the people, or any single person among them, though, like Abraham, he may be a temporal prince. And when the superior in any relation blesses the inferior, he blesses him in God's name, and as one who had power with God to obtain a blessing for him, as in those other benedictions of the Apostle, "The peace of God, which passeth (or surpasseth) all understanding, keep

Rom. 1. 7.
1 Tim. 1. 2.
Philem. 3.
2 Pet. 1. 2.
2 John 3.
2 Cor. 13. 14.
Heb. 7. 7.
Phil. 4. 7.

[r] Haberti Pontif. [Observ. iv. ad partem xi. Liturg. Ord.,] pp. 291—293. [De Benedictione Pontificis.... Benedictio est actio intelligentiæ simul et affectus, mentis et voluntatis, potentis ad bonum et efficacis; unde ad Deum præcipue benedicere attinet.... Quisquis igitur benedictionem impertit, Deum exhibet atque repræsentat, tanquam auctorem boni illius quod benedictio pollicetur et confert: Deus enim tanquam primarius ac supremus benedictionis auctor in pontifice cogitandus est.... Tria illa hominum genera peculiari quodam jure in Scripturæ historia benedicunt: Patres, Reges, Sacerdotes ... Ratio clarissima, quia tres hi præ cæteris, Patres, Reges, Sacerdotes, Deum peculiari quodam titulo repræsentant, illiusque, si fas esset dici, personam sustinent, vices agunt. He speaks of benediction as munus vere ac eximie sacerdotale, adducing Heb. vii. 1, 6, 7. Again,] pp. 293—296. [Observ. v. De Benedictione Episcoporum. Episcopi proprium est, ut Christum sacerdotem et episcopum animarum nostrarum, inter presbyteros velut inter Apostolos, peculiari quadam ratione repræsentet, &c.] p. 296. [He instances the Apostolical benediction, ἡ χάρις, κ.τ.λ. as given by the bishop on his being enthroned, Apost. Const., lib. viii. c. 5. p. 464, A.] p. 297. [Observ. vi. de Benedictione Presbyterorum Sacerdos in ecclesia benedicit.—Vetus ordo Romanus et pontificale, 'Sacerdotem oportet offerre, benedicere.' Benedictio 'est enim opus sacerdotale,' εὐλογία ἱερατικὸν ἔργον, ait collector Constitutionum Apostolicarum, &c.—Lib. iii. c. 10. p. 317, C.] Martene de Antiquis Ritibus, [lib. ii. de Sacris Benedictionibus, tom. ii. p. 145.]

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2 Cor. 13. 14.

your hearts and minds through Jesus Christ;" and "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all; Amen." Suchlike is the salutation or blessing of the clergy of Rome to the Church of Corinth, in the beginning of St. Clement's Epistle[s]; "Grace be to you, and peace from the Almighty God by Jesus Christ be multiplied;" and in the end[t]: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and with all others who are called by God through Him." So in the salutation of St. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians[u]: "Mercy unto you, and peace from God Almighty and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour be multiplied." So in St. Ignatius' Epistles, as in that to the Church of Smyrna[v]: "All joy (to you) through the immaculate Spirit, and through the Word of God." As in their absence they blessed their own and other people when they wrote to them, so when they were present they orally blessed them, and the people were wont to receive their blessings with all veneration, as from the oracles of God. Hence St. Ambrose observes how indecent it is for a bishop to curse, whose office it is to bless; and compares the mouth of such a bishop to "a fountain[x] that sends out bitter waters and sweet." In particular they looked upon them as intercessors between them and God, and that their prayers, and intercessions, and blessings were very powerful with Him to avert judgments and obtain mercies; so the great Emperor Jovian in his letter to St. Athanasius[y]: "Our majesty calls you back, and wills that you return to preach the saving faith. Go back then to your holy Churches, and feed the people of God, and put up hearty prayers for our clemency unto God. For I

[s] [χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ πληθυνθείη.—S. Clem. Ep. i. init., Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 146.]

[t] [ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ μετὰ πάντων πανταχῇ τῶν κεκλημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ.—Ibid., c. 59. p. 181.]

[u] [ἔλεος ὑμῖν, καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος, καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη.—S. Polycarp. Ep. ad Phil. init., ibid., tom. ii. p. 186.]

[v] [ἐν ἀμώμῳ πνεύματι, (καὶ) λόγῳ θεοῦ πλεῖστα χαίρειν.—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. init., ibid., p. 33.]

[x] [Non decet de ore episcopi benedictionem simul et maledictionem egredi . . . quia non potest de uno fonte dulcem et amaram producere aquam.—Pseudo-Ambros. de Dignitate Sacerdotali, c. 4. ap. S. Ambros. Op., tom. ii. App., p. 361, C. See vol. i. p. 195, notes p, q.]

[y] [ἀνακτᾶταί σε τοίνυν ἡ ἡμετέρα βασιλεία, καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν βούλεται πρὸς τὴν τῆς σωτηρίας διδασκαλίαν. ἐπάνιθι τοίνυν εἰς τὰς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ποίμαινε τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λαὸν, καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραότητος προθύμως εὐχὰς

know that by your supplication I, and all orthodox Christians who believe as I do, shall obtain great favour and protection from God." So the bishops of Africa, in their Epistle to the Spanish Christians in the cause of Basilides and Martialis[z]: "Setting these things before our eyes, and carefully and religiously considering them, we ought to elect men of unblemished and upright lives for bishops, who holily and worthily offering sacrifices of the holy Eucharist to God, may be heard in the prayers which they make for the safety of the Lord's people." And according to this received opinion of the sacerdotal prayers, the Emperor Valentinian the First[a], in his letter to the Arian bishops, who had persecuted the orthodox that met in council in Illyricum, writes thus; "Do not," saith he, "persecute those who minister to God with all care and diligence, by whose prayers wars are made to cease in all the world, and the assaults of apostate angels are repelled. And as by prayer they endeavour to drive away the destroying demons, so they introduce the public ministration according to law." Afterwards he calls them "the stewards or procurators of the great King" (*τοὺς διοικητὰς τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως*); "For so," saith he[b], "our imperial majesty always commanded that the labourers in the field of Christ, and the stewards of the great King should not be persecuted, or oppressed, or vexed, or driven from their flocks." The Empress Eudoxia, seeing the Egyptian monks in the street, as they came up to her stopped her royal chariot, and "bowing her head[c], she desired them to

ἀναπέμπετε εἰς θεόν. οἴδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι τῇ σῇ ἱκεσίᾳ ἡμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν τὰ Χριστιανῶν φρονοῦντες, μεγάλην ἀντίληψιν σχοίημεν παρὰ τοῦ ὑπερέχοντος θεοῦ.—Joviani Imp. Epist. ap. S. Athanasii Op., tom. i. pars ii. p. 779, B, C.]

[z] [Quæ ante oculos habentes et sollicite ac religiose considerantes, in ordinationibus sacerdotum non nisi immaculatos et integros antistites eligere debemus, qui sancte et digne sacrificia Deo offerentes audiri in precibus possint, quas faciunt pro plebis Dominicæ incolumitate, cum scriptum sit: 'Deus peccatorem non audit.'—S. Cyprian. Epist. 68. (67. ed. Oxon.) p. 118. ed. Ben.]

[a] Theodoret, Eccl. Hist., lib. iv. cap. 8. [*ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ βασιλέως Οὐαλεντίνου, κ. τ. λ. . . . μὴ διώκετε τοὺς ἀκριβῶς τῷ θεῷ λειτουργοῦντας, ὧν ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ πόλεμοι καταπαύονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἀγγέλων ἀποστατῶν ἐπιβάσεις ἀποστρέφονται· καὶ πάντας δαίμονας φθοριμαίους ἀποστρέφειν διὰ δεήσεως σπουδάζοντες, καὶ τὰ δημόσια κατὰ νόμους εἰσκομίζειν ἴσασι.*—Hist. Eccl., tom. iii. pp. 154, 155.]

[b] [*οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον κράτος διὰ παντὸς ἐνετείλατο, μὴ διώκειν, μήδε ἐπικλύζειν, μήτε ζηλοῦν τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὸ χώριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μήτε τοὺς διοικητὰς ἀπελαύνειν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.*—Id. ibid., p. 156.]

[c] Sozom., lib. viii. cap. 13. [*ἡ δὲ (ἡ*

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bless and pray for the emperor, and herself, and their children, and for the empire." This the empress did to them, not as monks but as priests, as it is plain from the preceding chapter to that cited in the margin the chief of them, Dioscorus, Isidorus, and Petrus, were[d]. The people of Constantinople, at the return of St. John Chrysostom from his banishment, carried him by force into his church[e], though he told them they who condemned him should first revoke their sentence against him, and compelled him to bless them, or "give them the peace of God" in his throne. And also out of the church were the bishops wont to bless the people[f], wheresoever they met them, and both in and out of the church they received their benedictions bowing, or upon their knees. And the sacerdotal power and privilege of blessing the people, common both to bishops and priests, brings to remembrance what Cosmas Indico-Pleustes[g] saith of the Levitical law and priesthood, which was the ministry of the law, that they were "the guards and fortresses of the Jewish nation;" and of what St. Ambrose writes in his short golden tract of the Sacerdotal Dignity to the college of bishops[h]. "It is fit," saith he, "that the sacerdotal dignity should be understood by you, that you may the better maintain and preserve it, and that the words of the Psalmist may not be applied to you, 'Man being in honour doth not understand, but is like the beasts that perish.' For the episcopal honour, and sublime dignity, my brethren, cannot be equalled by any comparison. If you should compare it to the glory of kings, and the diadems of princes, your com-

βασιλέως γαμετὴ) ἐπιβουλευθέντας αὐτοὺς ἤσθετο, καὶ τιμῶσα ἔστη· καὶ προκύψασα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ὀχήματος, ἐπένευσε τῇ κεφαλῇ· καὶ εὐλογεῖτε, ἔφη, καὶ εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ βασιλέως καὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων παίδων, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς.—Ibid., tom. ii. p. 343.]

[d] [Dioscorus was bishop of Hermopolis, Isidore had been designed for that of Constantinople, and Peter was arch-presbyter.—Ibid., c. 12. pp. 340, 341.]

[e] [ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. παραιτούμενόν τε, καὶ πολλάκις ἰσχυριζόμενον χρῆναι πρότερον τοὺς καταψηφισαμένους αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἀποψηφίσασθαι, ὡς ἱερεῦσι θέμις, ἠνάγκασαν τὴν εἰρήνην τῷ λαῷ προσειπεῖν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν καθίσαι θρόνον.—Id. ibid., c. 18. p. 349.]

[f] [See Bingham's Antiquities, vol. ii. chap. 9. § 1.]

[g] Geographia Christiana, lib. v. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ νόμος προσετέθη, ἵνα φυλαχθῇ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἱερατείας φρουρούμενον τὸ ἔθνος [τὸ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας λαβὸν καὶ μὴ μίξις τις γένηται αὐτοῦ μετὰ ἕτερου ἔθνους.—Apud Novam Collect. Scriptt. Montfaucon, tom. ii. p. 206.]

[h] [Dignum est enim ut dignitas sacerdotalis prius noscatur a nobis et sic deinde servetur a nobis; ut psalmographi sententia queat repelli a nobis: 'homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est jumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis:'

parison would debase it as much as if you compared the glittering and splendour of gold to that of lead. For kings and princes humble themselves at the knees of bishops, and kiss their hands, because they believe they are defended by their prayers." Thus, Sir, all Christian kings and princes, as well as the common laity or people, believed that the prayer or blessing of a priest was more effectual than the prayer of a private person, because, as St. Chrysostom observes[i], he prays not barely as a single person, but as a liturg or public minister of God[k], and the mouth of the whole congregation, yea of the whole Catholic Church, as being a member of that priesthood which is but one through the whole world. Wherefore as the prayer of a congregation of saints, or faithful Christians, though consisting but of two or three, is of more force than that of a single person, so must the prayer of a priest be, because he represents the Church, being supposed to be always present among his flock in person, or in spirit, actually or virtually by the authority of Christ committed to him, as it is written by the Apostle, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when you are gathered together, and my spirit;" and, "To whom you forgive anything I forgive also (ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ) in the person of Christ," i. e. by the authority which I have from Christ, in and over His Church. Indeed these two places relate to the power of binding and loosing, or excommunicating and absolving by solemn prayer in the Church. But their authority to pray and intercede, and the efficacy of their prayers and intercessions, specially called blessings, was the same upon all other occasions; which was the reason why in the purest and most holy times the people crowded after the bishops to have their benedictions, though now to ask the sacerdotal blessing is grown into too much contempt among too many of those

1 Cor. 5. 4.

2 Cor. 2. 10.

honor igitur, fratres, et sublimitas episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari. Si regum fulgori compares et principum diademati, longe erit inferius, tanquam si plumbi metallum ad auri fulgorem compares; quippe cum videas regum colla et principum submitti genibus sacerdotum, et exosculata eorum dextra, orationibus eorum credant se communiri.—De dignitate Sacerdotali opus spurium, c. 2. inter Op., S. Ambrosii, tom. ii. p. 359, A, B. See vol. i. p. 195, notes p, q.]

[i] [See above, note g, p. 217.]

[k] Injunctions by King Edw. VI., 1547. [§ 20.] "Forasmuch as priests be public ministers of the Church, and upon the holy days ought to apply themselves to the common administration of the whole parish," &c.—[Injunctions, &c., Wilkins' Concilia, tom. iv. p. 7.]

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whose duty it is to desire it; but I presume not, as is reported, among any of them who should give it in most solemn manner, ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ, in the name of their Master and great High-Priest, Jesus Christ. Certainly if in the patriarchal Churches the prayers (whether in blessings or curses) of priests, who were heads of tribes and families, were thought to be of such force as to be confirmed and ratified in heaven, it is reasonable to believe now, that the blessings and intercessions of faithful priests, who are heads of national, provincial, or parochial Churches, have the same force. And I am so convinced of the powerfulness of sacerdotal intercession, as such, at the throne of grace, that I had rather have the benefit of priestly supplication and intercession for me in any time of need, especially in time of sickness, and at the hour of death, than thousands of their gold and silver who hate or but despise and ridicule priests.

SECT. XV.

Consequences of the view that Christian Ministers are not Priests.

XV. I have now, Sir, shewed by many arguments taken from the New Testament, that the ministers of Christ are proper priests, and that their sacred office hath all the essentials of priesthood, though they are not once called priests, nor that priesthood in any of those sacred writings. I have shewed that, like the Jewish priests, they are taken or set apart from the people, and, like them, ordained to minister for men in things pertaining to God[l]. I have shewed that it is their office to transact and negotiate between them, as between two parties, to stand on the people's part before God, and on God's part before the people[m]; that they are His messengers or ambassadors, and their orators, to pray and supplicate in their name; that they are Christ's stewards in His house, His ministers in His Church or kingdom upon earth, who represent Him in His sacerdotal as well as in His regal and prophetical office, by a coalition and union of all the three offices in one. I have shewed that as they are governors under Him as King, and messengers and teachers under Him as a Prophet, so are they priests under Him as our High-Priest, and in virtue of the priestly office advocates to intercede for men, and as priestly superiors to bless them, and that they have a real altar[n], which is the holy table, and

[l] [Sect. 3. p. 18.]
[m] [Ibid., p. 19.]
[n] [Sectt. 6, 8. pp. 42, sqq. 63, sqq.]

a real external sacrifice of bread and wine[o], or upon supposition that they have not, that yet they cannot but be priests[p]; which I have shewed from the nature of priesthood, as it is described in the Scriptures, and other both Christian and heathen authors[q], all which descriptions I have applied to the Christian ministry and ministers, to prove them to be proper priests. As the house of Christ is more noble than the house of Moses, and the religion of it much more excellent than that of the Jews, so the ministry of it must be more noble, and excellent too, which yet, as I observed before, cannot be, if it wants the sacerdotal honour and holiness which the Jewish ministry had. In the coalescence of the three offices into one in our Saviour's ministers, as well as in His own person, the character of priest is the most noble of the three, and of most concern and comfort to His people: but if they are only teaching and ruling ministers under Him, and not priests, you must give me leave to say it again, they are much inferior in dignity and utility to the Jewish ministers, who had power to bless the people, and to make atonement for their sins, as well as to teach and govern them. Priests therefore they must be, otherwise the ministers of the Gospel are of a rank and order much meaner in many respects than that of the *cohens* or ministers of the law; nay priests they must be, or else your late writer, and such ministers of the Church as he, must be involved in a dangerous consequence of their own opinion, which is to be guilty of sacrilege in arrogating to themselves the most proper part of the priest's office, which is to stand for them before God, and as their orators to pray for them, and to supplicate and intercede for them, as their advocates at the throne of mercy, and likewise to bless them in God's name, and yet not believe themselves to be proper priests. But priests they are in the most proper sense, and so I think they are called by God Himself in the Old Testament, where foretelling by the Prophet Isaiah that the "Gentiles should become an holy Church," which are the words in the contents of the chapter, then it follows, "and I will also take of them for priests, and for Levites, saith the Lord." Saith Eusebius Cæsariensis, in his com-

Is. 66. 21.

[o] [Sectt. 7, 9, 10.]
[p] [Sectt. 4, 5. pp. 26, sqq.]
[q] [Sect. 1, 2, 3, pp. 12, sqq.]

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ment on the twenty-second verse of this chapter[r]: "If there is a new heaven and a new earth, and a new Jerusalem, by consequence there must be new priests and Levites." To this place of the Prophet Isaiah answers that of Jeremiah, chap. xxxiii. 17, 18, "For thus saith the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel; neither shall the priests and Levites want a man before Me to offer burnt-offerings, and to kindle meat-offerings, and to do sacrifice continually." It is plain from the contents of the chapter[s], that our Church understands this place of the kingdom of Christ, which is His Church. So most commentators take it in a spiritual evangelical sense, and think that it relates to the times of the Gospel, and the state of the Christian Church. The commentators on the great French Bible are positive that the place sets forth "the firmness and immutability of the kingdom and priesthood of Christ[t]," but then they render priests and Levites in both places, "Docteurs de l'Eglise, ministres du Saint Evangile[u]," "teachers of the Church, or ministers of the Gospel." But according to that translation, what is become of the two orders, priests and Levites? for the ministers of the Gospel, according to them, are equal, and make but one order. Nay, in their own sense of ministers without priesthood, they will scarce allow the ministers of the Gospel to be meant here, for they say[v] it is rather to be understood of the whole household of the faithful, who make one spiritual priesthood; "It

[r] [*εἰ γὰρ οὐρανὸς καινός ἐστι, καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, καὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινὴ, ἀκόλουθον ἂν εἴη καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ λευίτας καινοὺς ἔσεσθαι.*—Euseb. Cæsar. Comment. in Hesaiam, ap. Nov. Collect. Montfaucon, tom. ii. p. 593, A.]

[s] ["God promiseth . . . . . , Christ the branch of righteousness, a continuance of kingdom and priesthood."—Contents of Jerem. chap. xxxiii. in the English Bible.]

[t] [See below, note v.]

[u] [Hickes refers to the folio French Bible printed by L. and D. Elzevir, under the title, Le Sainte Bible, edition nouvelle faite sur la Version de Genéve, enrichie, outre les anciennes notes, de toutes celles de la Bible Flamande, &c. Par S. et H. Des Marets, Amst. 1669. The version in the text is 'Sacrificateurs et Levites,' the words given by Hickes are a marginal gloss.]

[v] Isaiah lxvi. 21. Si mieux nous n'aimons étendre ceci à tous les fideles éleus d'entre les Gentils, honorés de Dieu d'un Sacerdoce Spirituel en sa maison, selon le privilege de la nouvelle alliance: étant d'ailleurs fort certain, que nulle part au Nouveau Testament les Ministres d' l'Eglise ne sont appellés Sacrificateurs ou Levites. So on Jer. xxxiii. 17. Par ces paroles et les suivantes . . . est ici montré . . . la fermeté et l'immutabilité de la Royauté et du Sacerdoce de nôtre Seigneur J. Christ . . . lequel a en outre sous soi non seulement les Pasteurs, et les Docteurs de son Eglise, mais aussi tous les membres d'elle, qu'il a tous faits Rois et Sacrificateurs.

being certain," say they, "that the ministers of the Church are not called priests or Levites in any part of the New Testament." Sir, I suppose your late writer had his eye upon these notes, commonly called the Geneva notes, when he said that the notion of "bishops being properly priests was absolutely rejected by the whole Protestant communion." But if that place of the prophet is to be understood of all the faithful, who make one spiritual priesthood, then women (not to mention children) are a part of it; women who never had any share in the priesthood of the true God: and if so, then I must ask again, what is there left to answer to the Levites in the text? For the faithful, and every one of them, whether men or women, are equal in this privilege of priesthood without any such disparity or subordination as the Levites had to the priests. But in the proper priesthood, by which I explain the place with the ancient Church[x], the deacons properly answer to Levites, and bishops and presbyters to priests.

SECT. XVI. Advantages to the Deists, and other evil effects of denying a proper Christian Priesthood.

XVI. To conclude, Sir, I must tell your late writer that to say the ministers of Christ are not proper priests, or their ministry a proper priesthood, is to affirm with the deists and other enemies of the Christian priesthood, to the disbasement and disparagement of the Gospel dispensation, that they are not priests at all. Whereas of the two the evangelical *cohens* or ministers are the more proper and excellent priests, who perform that in substance and truth which the Jewish did in the shadow and letter. But if they are not proper or properly priests, then they are only metaphorical priests, priests in mere likeness but not in truth and reality, as love is fire and knowledge light, or a crafty fellow a fox, but are not indeed what they are called. In like manner according to this, and such late writers, the Christian ministers are not truly and really priests, but only so called because they have some resemblance with priests, upon the account whereof they came to have the name. But so a painted man and

x [See St. Jerome on Isaiah xvi. 21. Quomodo enim in abscondito Judæus est . . . sic et Sacerdotes et Levitæ in abscondito sunt, qui non seriem generis sequuntur sed ordinem fidei.—Comment. in Esaiam, lib. xviii. Op., tom. iv. col. 825, A. And Theodoret on Jerem. xxxiii. 17. ἅπασα γὰρ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα πλήρεις ἀρχιερέων, καὶ τῶν τὴν Λευιτικὴν λειτοιργίαν πληρούντων διακόνων.—Op., tom. ii. pp. 234, D. 235, A. The deacons were commonly called Levites in the ancient Church. See Bingham, book ii. ch. 20. § 2.]

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star hath the name of a man and star; that is, they have a name, but not the things signified by those names. And therefore these men, who deny Christian ministers, truly and lawfully called and ordained, to be proper priests, do as effectually deny the verity and reality of the Christian priesthood, as the greatest enemies of revealed religion, and, like them, by consequence make our Clements, Irenæus', Tertullians, and Cyprians, who were not fools, notwithstanding all their sanctity and sufferings, to have been enthusiasts or knaves, and the Christian priesthood, which they taught to be such in truth, to be in truth nothing but what is now most impudently and impiously called priestcraft. Nay, they debase our office as much as our enemies do, and though not designedly, yet, I fear, with more success, because their testimony will sooner be believed against themselves by the people, before whom they will soon become contemptible and base, by the just judgment of God, as well as by the consequences of their own doctrine, by which in a manner they degrade themselves? But what do I say? will soon become contemptible? They are in a great degree so already, and have almost made their whole order despicable by this false doctrine, which hath helped so much to render the whole clergy vile in the sight of the people. Did they themselves only feel the effect of their doctrine it would not be matter of such complaint; but being thus false to their own profession, and sapping the ground upon which both it and the honour due unto it stands, they serve the design of their and their Lord's greatest enemies, in exposing their office to the scorn and hatred of the people as a mock-priesthood, and themselves to their contempt as mock-priests. As long as the people are taught the true nature of the Christian ministry to be, as really it is, a true and proper priesthood, and that their ministers are true and proper priests ordained by God, to stand before Him as advocates for them, and before them as His oracles to bless them in His name, so long they will honour and reverence them as priests; but when they are pleased to strip themselves of that part of their character and relation to God, to which those powers belong, and which above any other makes their ministry and them, as Church-ministers, venerable and holy, then they will soon

find the veneration of the people begin to decay, and by degrees wear off into utter contempt, when they have once laid aside the notion of their being orators and advocates ordained by God to intercede with Him for them; which, Sir, their flocks can no longer retain than they believe them to be proper priests. Nay, what must they think of such men who presume to act as their orators and advocates with God, in presenting their prayers to Him, and making solemn intercessions for them in a proper sacerdotal manner, and yet deny themselves to be proper priests? I wish your and other such late writers among the clergy would well consider this and the consequences of it, and then they would find themselves obliged to quit their ministry, or own and assert themselves to be truly and properly sacerdotal ministers, taken from among men to minister in things pertaining to God. But neither are these, Sir, all the ill consequences of this doctrine, which must also tempt clergymen themselves who believe it to have a lower and meaner idea of their ministry, and not to think their order to be of that dignity and holiness, and so separate from the world, as it is, and the ancient Christians believed it to be. They cannot have that honour and reverence for it as they themselves ought to have, if they do not believe it to be a true priesthood, nor will they distinguish themselves so carefully, as it becomes ministers of Christ, from other men, by the singular piety of their lives, and the gravity of their garb and behaviour, if they do not believe themselves to be priests. I doubt not, Sir, but that latitude of opinion among the clergy in this point is one of the reasons why so many ministers of late are more than ever secularized in their conversation, and without reverence to themselves, conform themselves and families to the sinful fashions and vanities of the world, against which they ought to preach with one mouth, and with the zeal of a Cyprian, a Basil, a Gregory, an Ambrose, or Chrysostom, lift up their voices like trumpets, and not spare the greatest of men. This secularity of the clergy in complying with the excessive vanities and lux of the age is so common in some places, that it is become a common subject of discourse, but, as men are affected, of a different kind. The sober among the laity of both sexes who love the clergy deplore it, and

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the vain themselves ridicule it, and despise and expose the clergy for it. 'Do you know, Sir,' said one of the latter sort to one of the former, 'that beau clergyman there with the long powdered wig and the sparkling ring?' 'No, Sir,' answered the other, 'nor do I desire to know any such who forget how they are separated and stand related to God and their flocks.' Thus some with grief lament, and many more deride the clergy for the sinful airs they give themselves in modish vanities, even in the Church as well as without. Is it not grievous to hear it said in scorn that we have a well-powdered clergy? not to mention other deserved reproaches of them for the secularity of their families as well as of themselves, to such a degree of vanity as can hardly proceed from any other cause but their not believing or forgetting themselves to be priests, and their relation to God and the people as such. Alas! Sir, do these men think to convert souls? or can they imagine that the people think that they themselves really believe what they preach, when their compliance with the sinful fashions of the world, both in themselves and in their nearest relations is so great, that they look more like the vainest of laymen than priests? But did they believe them to be priests, and seriously reflect on their characters as such, they would soon live up more answerably to it; they would soon retrieve the ancient reverence to the priesthood, and recover that religious respect which of old used to be paid to Christian ministers as priests, and (pardon the severity of the expression, because it is the Apostle's) "recover themselves out of the snare of the devil." To these gentlemen, for so I now call them, because they affect the genteel airs more than the gravity of priests, let me recommend that rule of St. Augustine[y], *Non sit notabilis habitus vester, nec affectetis vestibus placere, sed moribus . . . . . In incessu, statu, habitu, in omnibus motibus vestris, nil fiat, quod cujusquam offendat adspectum, sed quod vestram deceat sanctitatem.*

2 Tim. 2. 26.

To this cause also it is chiefly to be ascribed that clergymen so much neglect to teach the people what we are, or acquaint them with our relative holiness, and with the powers we have as priests, and how beneficial our priestly

[y] Regula ad servos Dei. § 6. [Op., tom. i. p. 791, B, C.]

office, above all others, is to mankind, and what subjection and reverence is due to us and our authority upon those accounts. Indeed this omission is not so bad (though bad enough), as to deny their function to be a priesthood, and themselves priests, as your late writer doth. But as it plainly proceeds from a sinful latitude, scepticism, and neutrality, so is it of very ill consequence to the souls of the people, and the Church of God. Fathers take care to preserve the reverence due to them as fathers, and kings are never wanting in their care to keep the people in a constant sense of the sacredness of majesty, and the obedience which is due to them as kings; only we priests, who are of greatest concern to the world, are not careful to let the people know the holiness of our office as sacerdotal, and the honour that is due to it, and that the honour and obedience which is paid to it, as well as the contempt of it, terminates in God. From this cause also it proceeds that clergymen so often value themselves more upon some other character or account than as the ministers of God, and by their own example teach the laity to do so too. But did they believe themselves to be priests, and to minister in the priestly office under the eternal antitypal Melchisedec, who is our High-Priest and Advocate in heaven, standing continually before His Father for men; did they believe that they are His ministers in this as well as His other offices, and consider that it is really more honourable to be His minister than the minister of the greatest king, they would value themselves more upon their priestly character, and thereby teach their flocks to do so too. And believe me, Sir, the people would soon learn to do it, when they saw them reverence themselves, and pay due regard to their own character; they would most certainly follow their good example, in giving them the same respect they give themselves; and when they learnt from them what was due to the priestly character, they would reverence all priests of the same order alike; the poorest as much as the richest, those who were not dignitaries of the Church as much as those who are; there being really no greater dignity imaginable than to be a priest. All other differences between priests of the same order are extrinsecal to the honour and essence of the priesthood, as to be lord

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of a manor, or a lord of the realm, or a favourite at court, or curiously learned, or a writer of many books, or to be very rich, or of noble extraction, upon which scores the world is apt enough to pay respect to the man, when they despise him as a clergyman, because they understand not his dignity as a priest.

SECT. XVII. Recapitulation of the consequences of not asserting the dignity of the Priesthood.

XVII. Sir, I have enlarged more than at first I thought upon this subject, to shew the danger of this doctrine, which denies bishops and presbyters to be proper priests, and the very ill consequences and tendencies thereof. It tends, as you see, to the dishonour and depravation of the clergy, the secularizing of their manners, the debasing of them and their ministry in the esteem of the people, and every way to their utter contempt, the decay of Christian piety and religion, and the dissolution of the Church. In a word, it gratifies all her enemies and the enemies of the priesthood, and gives them infinite advantage over the clergy, particularly as to their Divine right to tithes (which I presume your late writer, who doth not think himself a priest, must deny,) and the most odious charge which is laid upon them of priestcraft. But, Sir, you are none of those clergymen who are false to their profession, though you have given me this occasion to consider the doctrine of those who unhappily are their own enemies, and the ill tendencies and effects thereof. On the contrary, as you believe yourself to be a proper priest, so have you lived up to your sacred character in the exemplary piety of your life, the gravity of your garb and conversation, without disgracing or betraying your order or the Church: which would have been now in much better condition, and more like the Church in the best and purest ages, were all the clergy as true to it and its rights as you are: I mean, the original rights which belong to it by the laws of its High-Priest and founder, and the constitution of the evangelical theocracy, which is the Catholic Church. These rights, Sir, which many have no notion of, and which all those who understand them do not value as they ought, are nevertheless of highest moment to the well-being of the Church, and much to be preferred before all the revenues and temporal liberties with which pious princes have endowed her. But were all the clergy, or the generality of us,

of your mind, whatsoever is taken from her would be restored, whatsoever is amiss would soon be reformed, and every thing wanting in her supplied. Were the majority of us so affected as you are to her spiritual interests, the supreme interests of the Christian world, and preferred them before the little interests of this life, as not only the priests, but the people ought to do, she would then indeed look like a theocracy or royal priesthood, like a new Sion indeed, like Jerusalem which came from above, and is free, and not like the Jewish Jerusalem, which was in bondage with her children. But, Sir, alas! the whole Catholic Church in all places groaneth together, and waiteth for the time when she shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

CHAPTER III.

REASONS WHY THE WRITERS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT ABSTAINED FROM THE NAME [OF PRIESTS,] AND YET EXPRESSED THE THING SIGNIFIED BY IT.

I. HAVING now, Sir, shewed that it is not a good argument to prove that the ministers or liturgs of the Church Christian are not priests, or their sacred office or ministry is not a priesthood, "because they are not so called in the New Testament;" and having also shewed that though the names of priest and priesthood are not used for the ministers or ministry of Christ therein, yet the things signified by those names are there, and properly belong to them; I now, Sir, proceed in the last place to give you some reasons for which it may, without presumption, be conjectured why or how it came to pass that they are not called by those names in the writings of the New Testament, as Messieurs de Geneve object. Certainly, as Grotius saith[z], "It was not without some reason that Christ and His Apostles" forbore to call themselves so; or as he expresseth it, "abstained from that way of speaking," to which they had a right, though for some reasons not expressed in the New Testament, they forbore to use it. That Christ might have called Himself ἀρχιερεὺς or ἱερεὺς, High-Priest or Priest, before His ascension, or ordered His Apostles to have given Him that title immediately after it, your late writer and his second[a] cannot deny; but we do not read He ever took that title upon Him, or preached the doctrine of His priesthood, when He taught publicly in the temple, or instructed His disciples in private, or that He commanded His Apostles to preach of Him by that title, whom as we find in their sermons to the people in the book of their Acts, they set forth as a King or Lord,

[z] De imperio Summ. Potest., cap. 2. 5. Ut autem præcones Novi Testamenti sacerdotes speciatim appellentur, est quidem receptum antiqua ecclesiæ consuetudine, sed non de nihilo est, quod ab eo loquendi genere, et Christus ipse, et apostoli semper abstinuerunt. [See above, note l, p. 5.]

[a] [See notes d, e, p. 2.]

and Prophet, and Messiah, but never as a Priest. "Therefore," saith St. Peter at the end of his sermon on the day of Pentecost, "let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom you crucified, both Lord and Christ." Acts 2. 36. And so in his next sermon, which he preached openly in the temple to the people, who ran together unto him and John, greatly wondering at the healing of the lame man, "You have killed the Prince of Life," saith he, "whom God hath raised from the dead." ch. 3. 15. And again, "For Moses truly said unto the fathers, a Prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren like unto me, Him shall ye hear in all things." ver. 22. "And every soul that shall not hear that Prophet, shall be cut off from among the people." ver. 24. So in the sermon which he preached before the council, "The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom you slew, and hanged on a tree; Him hath God exalted with His own right hand to be a Prince, and a Saviour, to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins." ch. 5. 30. Thus they preached up His authority as King and Messias, as the unbelieving Jews said of Paul and Silas: "These do all contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying there is another King, one Jesus." ch. 17. 7. Yet we never read that they said one word to them of His priesthood, though He was the High-Priest of our profession, an High-Priest of good things to come, our merciful and faithful High-Priest, who offered up Himself by the eternal Spirit, whereby He obtained eternal redemption for us, and afterwards once for all entered with His own blood into the holy place, to stand in the presence of God for us, and make reconciliation for the sins of the people. Heb. 3. 1; 2. 17; 9. 14. But we do not find that this priestly office of the Messias was taught expressly by any of the Apostles till St. Paul taught it to the Jewish Christians of Jerusalem and Judea, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, about twenty years after his conversion, and thirty after the ascension of Christ[b]. In like manner though His ministers were really and truly priests under Him, and their ministry a most true and proper ministerial priesthood after His ascension, from whence we date the beginning of His

[b] [The Epistle to the Hebrews was written, according to most chronologers, in the year 63, according to some two years earlier.—Lardner, History of the Apostles and Evangelists, c. 2. § Works.]

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Church, yet, as is objected, we read not in the New Testament that any of the writers of it ever called them priests, or that a priesthood, or that they called themselves or it by those names which "*non de nihilo erat*, was not without some reason," as Grotius, no zealot for the Christian priesthood, observes. Likely for the very same reason, or reasons, whatever they were, we do not find that any of the houses where they met together for religious worship, is called *ναὸς*, or in the Hellenistical style *ἱερὸν*, 'a temple[c],' or *οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, 'the house of God;' for which we may also presume there was some reason why they abstained from that way of speaking, though in those days God was wont to signify His presence in the places which they set apart for His worship, by as sensible manifestations of His presence as ever He did in the Jewish temple, as by shaking the place where they were assembled, and the miraculous effusions of the Holy Ghost. St. Paul when he had a fair occasion for the use of one of those words seems studiously to decline it, as in 1 Cor. xi. 18—22. There saith he to the profane and irreverent Corinthians, "First of all when ye come together *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, in the Church[d], I hear there are divisions among you . . . . when you come together therefore into one place" with such dissensions among you, "it is not to eat the Lord's Supper" in that reverent manner as you ought to do; "but in your eating there every one as he cometh taketh before others his own supper, and so one" who is poor and comes later, "is hungry," getting nothing, "and another" with his own provision "is drunken," i. e. eats and drinks to excess.

[c] [*τὸ ἱερον* is the term more generally used for the temple in the New Testament, the LXX, and Josephus.]

[d] See Mr. Mede's Works, book ii. on 1 Cor. xi. 22. [This is a discourse entitled, "Churches, that is, appropriate places for Christian Worship, both in and ever since the Apostles' times. —A Discourse at first more briefly delivered in a College Chapel, and since enlarged." At the opening he says, "Here I take the word *ἐκκλησία*, or church, to note, not the assembly, but the place appointed for sacred duties; and that from the opposition thereof to *οἰκίαι*, 'their own houses,' *μὴ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε*; 'Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in?' . . . Thus (Works, book ii. p. 319.) most of the fathers took *ἐκκλησία* in this passage." He adduces several passages in proof of this statement, Works, pp. 319, sqq.] Card. Bona rerum Liturg., lib. i. cap. 19. [This chapter is on Churches; in § 1. he says; 'A temporibus Apostolorum loca fuisse Deo dicata quæ a quibusdam oratoria, ab aliis ecclesiæ dicebantur, in quibus populus orare, verbum Dei audire, synaxim agere, et corpus Christi sumere consueverat, Paulus Apostolus ad Corinthios scribens, Ep. i. cap. 11. testis est locupletissimus, &c.—Card. Bona, Opera Liturgica, lib. i. pars 2. p. 25.]

"What, have you not houses of your own to eat and drink in" in this disorderly manner; "or, *τῆς ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ καταφρονεῖτε*, despise ye the Church of God?"

This forbearance in the holy penmen to use the Greek word for 'temple' when they spoke of the places appropriated to Christian worship, as well as their long silence of our Saviour's priesthood, and omitting in Greek to call His ministers priests, seems to proceed from one common cause, I mean from some regard they had to the Jewish religion, which principally consisted in the temple œconomy and priesthood that was in being not only when our Lord the founder of the new Sion and new Jerusalem was upon earth, but was also to continue for some time after His ascension, till the destruction of the old temple and the old Jerusalem, which happened about seventy-two years after His birth, and thirty-nine after His ascension. Every one who well considers this, will grant that there are apparent reasons why during that part of this period in which our Lord was conversant upon earth he would not declare Himself to the Jews to be the antitype of their High-Priest, that is, to be a Priest as well as a King and Prophet. For first, as a Jew He was to observe the law and the temple worship, and live in communion with the Jews, which though He could do as a King and a Prophet, yet could He not do it with congruity had He declared Himself to be their sovereign Pontiff, that very High-Priest of which Aaron himself was but a type and shadow. Secondly, they were willing to hearken to Him as a Prophet, and as one that set Himself up to be their King or Messias, whom they had long waited for, and under whom they expected not only that the temple and temple-worship should continue, but that it should be in greater glory than in the time of King Solomon. But had He taught them that He was or was to be the mystical Melchisedec, Priest as well as King, the prejudice of the people would have been too great to let them hearken to Him. That doctrine would have forthwith made them shut their ears against His preaching as much as the high-priest and priests themselves did, and their eyes against all His miracles as the Pharisees did, when they maliciously told Him that He cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of the devils. In like manner, when

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He first chose His twelve disciples, and sent them out to preach the kingdom of heaven to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, if instead of calling them His Apostles or missionaries[e], He had called them His priests, they had indeed been sent forth as sheep among wolves, who would have torn them in pieces, notwithstanding all their precautions of being wise as serpents and innocent as doves. No town or country of the Jews would have received them under that character and with that doctrine, the preaching of which, and by consequence, of another more spiritual priesthood, and new Jerusalem to come, would have made them rise up against them as one man; nor when they were persecuted in any one city would they have found another into which they could flee. This would have been their lot with their character of priests, and the doctrine of their Master's high-priesthood, unless it had pleased God, by the almighty power of His grace, in a miraculous manner to take off the veil from their hard hearts, and of those stones to raise up seed unto Abraham.

Matt. 10. 6, 7; Luke 6. 13.

SECT. II.

First reason for not calling themselves Priests; Priesthood not mentioned in their commission.

II. And as He styled them Apostles and not priests when He sent them forth to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, so neither did He alter their character after His resurrection; no not at the time of His ascension, when He solemnly sent them forth the second time into all the world "to preach the Gospel to every creature;" though as many learned men think[f], He had made them priests at the institution of the holy Eucharist, and had performed part of His priestly office in offering up Himself upon the cross for us, and was ready to perform the whole in ascending up to heaven, to "enter by His own blood once into the holy place not made with hands,

Mark 16. 15.

Heb. 9. 11, 12.

[e] Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret., c. 20. Statim igitur Apostoli (quos hæc appellatio Missos interpretatur) assumpto per sortem duodecimo Matthia, &c.—[Op., p. 208, C.]

[f] [So Hill, in his work entitled, de Presbyteratu Dissertatio, quoted below, note e, p. 262, as "a learned divine of our own country," in speaking of what was implied in the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25, says of our Lord; In actu tertio pontificem egit sacerdotes sacrantem et authorizantem; quasi dixerat, Id autem quod ego coram Deo, vobis et pro vobis ut discipulis et filiis meis præstiti, ita ut pontifex vos in hoc sacerdotii devoveo, ut idem mysterium sacerdotii vestri, hujus auctoritate, ecclesiæ filiis et discipulis in futurum distribuendum consecratis.—Lib. iv. c. 3. § 4. p. 187. Lond. 1691. So the Council of Trent; Hoc autem (novum in ecclesia sacerdotium) ab eodem Domino Salvatore nostro institutum esse, (Matt. xxvi.; Marc. xiv.; Luc. xxii.) atque Apostolis eorumque successoribus in sacerdotio potestatem traditam consecrandi, offerendi, et ministrandi corpus et sanguinem ejus.—Conc. Trid. Sess. xxii. cap. 1. Concilia, tom. xx. col. 138, B.]

having obtained eternal redemption for us." Nevertheless as there is not one word of His priesthood in this period of time, or in any book of the New Testament written in it but in the Epistle to the Hebrews, so is there not one word therein of their being priests, but they were still called Apostles, a character indeed of greatest honour and authority, by which Christ gave them all the spiritual power upon earth which He had received from the Father, as King, Prophet, and Priest. For as He was His Father's Apostle and plenipotentiary upon earth, so they were His, as it is written, John xx. 21, *καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέ με ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ ἐγὼ πέμπω ὑμᾶς*, which may be rendered, "as the Father hath made Me His Apostle, so I make you Mine;" for what is here expressed by *πέμπω ὑμᾶς*, is *ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς*, Matt. x. 16. Yet, as I must observe again, though the sacerdotal power was one part of that power which was given Him both in heaven and earth, and though the Apostles were His vicars and vicegerents in His sacerdotal as well as in His kingly and prophetical office, nevertheless they themselves continued in the old title of Apostles after His ascension, and in like manner gave to the different orders of ministers, whom they ordained for the service of the Church, the names of bishops and presbyters, which were names of power to govern and teach, and related to the regal and prophetical office of Christ, but in their signification did not directly connote Him as priest. Saith Origen in his sixteenth Homily upon Joshua, or Jesus the son of Nun: "But[g] because I am resolved to refer the things which I shall say of Jesus (or Joshua) to our Lord and Saviour, who is understood to be an elder, and full of years as He who is the first-born of every creature; wherefore He alone, before whom none was, is truly and en-

[g] [Verum quoniam instituimus quæ de Jesu dicuntur etiam et ad Dominum et salvatorem nostrum referre, quis ita presbyter et senior provectus dierum intelligitur, sicut ipse qui est principium, primogenitus omnis creaturæ? Ideo fortasse ipse solus vere et integre presbyter dicitur, ante quem nemo est. Igitur tametsi sunt qui dicantur in Scripturis presbyteri vel seniores, vel pontifices, tamen Dominus Jesus sicut in pontificibus pontificum princeps est, et sicut in pastoribus princeps pastorum est, ita et in presbyteris vel senioribus princeps presbyterorum putandus est, et in episcopis princeps episcoporum, et omne quod honorabile nomen est, primum in hoc, et principem esse credendum est salvatorem, quia ipse est omnium caput.—Origen. in lib. Jesu, Hom. xvi. § 2. Op., tom. ii. p. 346. col. i. E, F. col. ii, A. The words, "I am resolved to refer the things which I shall say," should rather be, "I have begun to refer the things which are said."]

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tirely [called] a presbyter. Though therefore there are in the Scriptures who are called presbyters or priests, (*presbyteri vel pontifices,*) yet as the Lord Jesus among priests is chief priest, and as among pastors He is chief pastor, so among presbyters He is chief of presbyters, and among bishops chief of bishops." They were therefore under Him, the chief priest[h], subordinate ministerial priests, as well as subordinate ministerial presbyters and bishops, under Him as chief presbyter and bishop. And let me add, they were subordinate Apostles, under Him as the chief apostle; subordinate pastors, under Him as chief pastor or shepherd of our souls; and subordinate prophets, and teachers, and evangelists, under Him as chief prophet, teacher, and evangelist, as Nicodemus said unto Him, "Rabbi, we know Thou art a teacher come from God." In like manner St. Ignatius, whom I cited before[i], calls Him "the invisible Bishop," and the bishops upon earth "visible bishops." So in the same way of reasoning, though they are not called priests in the New Testament, yet they must have been visible priests under Him, the *αὐτοαρχιερεὺς*, their invisible archetypal High-Priest; and soon began to be so called by the Church of God after the destruction of Jerusalem, at least within that period of time after it in which St. John outlived all the other Apostles, and wrote his Revelation and Gospel. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, famous for his learning, piety, and zeal as a Christian, who flourished towards the latter end of the second century, in an epistle[k] which he wrote in the sixty-

John 3. 2.

[h] S. Greg. Naz. Apol. Orat. i. pp. 37, 39. Epist. p. 800. vol. i. [ed. 1638, *ψυχῶν προστασίαν δέξασθαι, ἢ μεσιτείαν θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων (τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσως ὁ ἱερεὺς) οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι γινώσκω* . . . afterwards among the titles of our Lord, *τοῦ ποιμένος, τοῦ ἀμνοῦ, τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, τοῦ θύματος, κ. τ. λ.*—S. Greg. Naz. Hom. ii. Op., tom. i. pp. 55, A, B. 58, A. ed. Ben. *ἐπαινεῖς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν πατέρα, . . . τὸν πιστὸν θεράποντα, καὶ μέγαν ἀρχιερέα, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων μεσίτην, κ. τ. λ.*—Id., Epist. lxxix. ad Simpliciam, de S. Basilio, Op., tom. ii. p. 70, A. ed. 1840.]

[i] [The passage referred to is, *ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται.*—S. Ignat. Epist. ad Magn., c. 3. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 18, quoted above, p. 190, note q.]

[k] Euseb. Eccl. Hist., lib. v. cap. 24. [*Πολυκράτης· ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ᾗ πρὸς Βίκτορα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν διετυπώσατο γραφῇ, τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν παράδοσιν ἐκτίθεται διὰ τούτων· . . . ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών· ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς, καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος· οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται.*—pp. 243, 244. For the other circumstances mentioned by Hickes, see cap. 22. *δεκάτῳ γε μὴν τοῦ Κομόδου βασιλείας ἔτει . . . διαδέχεται Βίκτωρ . . . κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐπίσκοπος . . . τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας Πολυκράτης.*—p. 241. *ἐγὼ οὖν ἀδελφοί, ἑξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν κυρίῳ . . .*—Ibid., cap. 24. p. 244.]

fifth year of his age to the bishop and Church of Rome, coming to mention St. John among the Asian worthies and luminaries of the Church: "Moreover," saith he, "John, who lay in the bosom of our Lord, who was a priest, and wore" upon the front of his mitre "the holy golden plate," upon which was engraven Holiness to the Lord, "John, who was also a martyr and doctor, this John died in Ephesus." Sir, I have rendered the Greek word ἱερεὺς 'priest,' which is the literal signification of it, though here it should be translated an high-priest; for you know, Sir, ἱερεὺς is often used for ἀρχιερεὺς in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as priest is often put for high-priest in the Old Testament[l]; and accordingly St. Hierome translates the place thus[m]: *Qui supra pectus Domini recubuit, et pontifex ejus fuit, auream laminam in fronte gestans,* "who lay in our Lord's bosom, and was His high-priest, and wore the golden plate on his forehead." Rufinus translates it thus[n]: *Qui fuit summus sacerdos, et pontificale* (πέταλον) *gessit,* "who was high-priest, and wore the pontifical golden plate." And as for this testimony of Polycrates, there is no reason to doubt of the truth of it, because he lived so near the time of St. John, who died in or about the hundred and fourth year of the Christian account; or, as St. Chrysostom[o] thinks, in the hundred and twentieth, for Polycrates wrote that epistle in 196, which was the sixty-fifth of his age, and by consequence he was born in 131, which was but twenty-seven years after St. John's death, according to the first account of it, and but eleven according to the latter; and being also his successor in that see, after many others of his family, he had advantages and opportunities of informing himself of the truth of this matter; and as he could not well be deceived, so neither would he deceive. You know, Sir, Valesius in his notes on the place

Exod. 28. 36; 39. 30.

See Heb. 10. 21. and ch. 7.

[l] [e. g. Exod. xxxv. 19; xxxviii. 21.]

[m] [De Viris Illustribus (al. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis,) cap. 45. Op., tom. ii. col. 871. See Valesius' note below.]

[n] [Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ Eusebii, Ruffino presbytero interprete, fol. Argent. 1514.]

[o] [This statement occurs in a spurious sermon, de S. Joanne Apostolo, published as St. Chrysostom's by Morell, Op., tom. vi. pp. 603, sqq. εἶτα ἐπανελθὼν τῆς ἐξορίας καταλαμβάνει τὴν Ἔφεσον, κἀκεῖσε διατρίβων συντάττει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὢν ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν, διαρκέσας ἕως ὅλων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν.—S. Chrysost. Op., tom. viii. inter Spuria, p. 131, C. ed. Ben. The same statement is made by Suidas in voc. Ἰωάννης, tom. i. col. 1786, but by no other writer. See note ed. Ben. ad loc. S. Chrysost.]

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makes this remark[p], viz. "That Polycrates observes three things in the praise of St. John; 1. That he was high-priest. 2. That he was a martyr; and 3. That he was a doctor or evangelist; and therefore as he was the martyr and evangelist of Christ, so must he be understood to have been His priest. And as for wearing the golden plate" on the front of his mitre, as a badge of his pontifical office, "Epiphanius writes the same thing of St. James, the brother of our Lord, and first bishop of Jerusalem;" but by mistake, as Petavius thinks[q]. But were it true, it would give a good account why the high-priest[r] of that time, with the scribes and pharisees, taking advantage of the death of Festus the Roman governor, before the arrival of Albinus his successor, when there was an anarchy in Jerusalem, full of rage, and more like a rabble than a council, hurried him without trial to the top of the temple, from whence they threw him down; and because he did not die upon the spot, one of them, as he was praying for them, brained him with a fuller's club. But to return from this digression about James the Just to what Polycrates saith of St. John. As our blessed Lord could not have been a priest to His Father at the writing of the Epistle to the Hebrews, unless He had been so before, so neither

p ["Hieronymus in lib. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis hæc Polycratis verba sic vertit: 'qui supra pectus Domini recubuit et pontifex ejus fuit, auream laminam in fronte portans.' Rufinus vero ita interpretatus; 'qui fuit summus sacerdos, et pontificale (πέταλον) gessit.' De pontificatu Judæorum hæc non esse accipienda, satis apparet. Neque enim Joannes pontifex fuit Judæorum, aut ex genere sacerdotali. Itaque recte Hieronymus vocem addidit 'pontifex ejus,' id est Christi. Tria enim in Joanne notat Polycrates, quæ ad commendationem ejus faciebant; Primum quod sacerdos fuerit, deinde quod martyr, tertio quod doctor seu evangelista. Proinde ut martyr Christi et evangelista Christi fuit, sic etiam sacerdos Christi intelligatur necesse est. Quod autem de lamina dicit Polycrates, credibile est primos illos Christianorum pontifices, exemplo Judæorum pontificum, hoc honoris insigne gestasse. Certe et Jacobum fratrem Domini qui primus Hierosolymis episcopus est ordinatus, pontificalem laminam in fronte gestasse auctor est Epiphanius in Hæresi Nazaræorum, et in Hæresi lxxviii." —Valesii adnott. ad Hist. Eccl. Euseb., lib. v. c. 24. p. 243.]

q "Quod de Johanne Evangelista testatum reliquit Polycrates apud Eusebium, lib. v. cap. 24. ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς, de Jacobo haud scio an quisquam prodiderit. Nam quos hæresi xxix. citat (Eusebium, Clementem) Epiphanius, de Johanne, non Jacobo ista scripserunt." Petavius ad Hæres. lxxviii. vol. ii. p. 333. [The words of Epiphanius, Hæres. lxxviii. § 14, are οὗτος ὁ Ἰάκωβος καὶ πέταλον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφόρεσε.—Op., tom. i. p. 1046, A.; and Hær. xxix. § 4 (Nazaræorum) speaking of St. James' being admitted into the holy place, he says; οὕτω γὰρ ἱστόρησαν πολλοὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ, Εὐσέβιός τε καὶ Κλήμης, καὶ ἄλλοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πέταλον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξῆν αὐτῷ φέρειν, καθὼς οἱ προειρημένοι ἀξιόπιστοι ἀνδρὲς ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπομνηματισμοῖς ἐμαρτύρησαν.—Ibid., p. 119, B, C.]

r Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. c. 23. [Hist. Eccl., tom. i. pp. 77—82.]

could St. John have been His ministerial priest when he was bishop of Ephesus, unless he had been so before, even from the beginning of the Christian Church, though he is not so called either in his own or any other writings of the New Testament.

SECT. III. Second reason; the more easy conversion of the Jews.

[III.] This forbearance in the Apostles, bishops, and presbyters, to take upon them the sacerdotal title, or to style themselves priests in their writings after our Lord's ascension, is secondly to be referred to the regard they had, and were to have to the Jewish religion, which, as I said before, principally consisted in the temple economy and priesthood, with which none of their doctrines were so inconsistent as that of their being priests. They knew the temple-worship was to continue to the destruction of Jerusalem; and that in the meantime it was to be decently treated by them; and as they had still a right to the temple, and owned the God of the temple, so they were obliged by the will of their Lord, and all the rules of religious prudence, to comply, as far as they could, consistently with preaching up Jesus, with the temple-worship and the law of Moses, that thereby they might more easily convert the Jews, and when they were converted, keep them firm in their communion from relapsing to Judaism again. For the Jewish Christians were wont to continue zealots of the law after their conversion, as you may see in Acts xxi., where James the Apostle, and bishop of Jerusalem, told Paul, that of the many thousands of Jews who believed, they were all zealous of the law. This, Sir, was twenty-five years after the ascension of Christ; in which time if St. James, for instance, had preached up himself to be the ministerial high-priest of Jerusalem under Jesus our High-Priest in heaven over the house of God, it would have been a much greater offence both to the believing and unbelieving Jews, than it was in St. Paul to teach the convert Gentiles not to circumcise their children, or walk after their rites and customs, but to forsake the law of Moses. As long, therefore, as it was necessary for them to comply with the temple-worship and the Mosaical observances, so long it was inconsistent for them to own themselves for priests, because their ministerial priesthood upon earth, as well as the priesthood of Jesus in heaven upon

Acts 21. 10.

ver. 21.

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which it depended, was a priesthood opposite to that of the temple, and could not at the first preaching of it but be so understood by the believing as well as the unbelieving Jews, and have equally enraged them both against the Apostles, as men who had a design to set up another altar, and another priesthood, and another temple economy against Moses and the law. To what degree this would have offended them, and what the effects of that offence would without a miracle have been, may be seen in the 22nd chapter of Joshua, from the history of the great altar of witness, which the children of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh built by Jordan, which the children of Israel thinking was erected in opposition to the altar of the sanctuary at Shiloh, gathered themselves together there to go up to war against them, that they might destroy them. So they presently destroyed St. Stephen upon the evidence of false witnesses, whom, because they could not resist the spirit of wisdom by which he spake, they suborned false witnesses to testify that they heard him speak blasphemous words against God and Moses, and against the temple and the law. It therefore highly concerned the Apostles to conceal the doctrine of their own and their Lord's priesthood, as a mystery which yet neither believing or unbelieving Jews were prepared to receive. On the contrary, they were obliged to all prudential compliances and condescensions to their weakness, and to Judaize as much as lawfully they could, that they might gain the Jews. Thus the Apostles, and their first proselytes whom St. Peter converted on the day of Pentecost, "continued daily with one accord in the temple praising God, and having favour with all the people," which they could not have had without such compliances, by which they made such additional conversions to the Church as they could not have made had they pretended to be priests. We read in the fifth chapter of the Acts, that out of Jerusalem and the countries round about it "believers were more and more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women;" and in the sixth chapter, that "the word of God still increased, and that the number of believers was greatly multiplied in Jerusalem, and that a great number of the priests were also obedient to the faith." I believe, Sir, you will grant that these in all appearances would not

Josh. 22. 10.

Acts 6. 10, 14.

Acts 2. 46, 47.

Acts 5. 14, 16.

Acts 6. 7.

easily have come over to the Church, had the Apostles declared themselves to be priests, which they could not well have done without preaching up Jesus, whom the Jews were content to believe in as King and Messias, to be their High-Priest. Indeed we do not read in the Acts that St. James, or any of the Apostles, preached or prayed in the temple after the persecution in which St. Stephen the first martyr suffered, till we come to the twenty-first chapter, where he and the elders persuaded St. Paul to comply with the Jewish Christians in going up to the temple with some brethren who had a Nazarite's vow upon them, to purify themselves, that is, to offer all the sacrifices, and perform all the other rites of the Jewish religion, which are described in the sixth chapter of Numbers, from the thirteenth to the twenty-first verse. But it is not probable that they would have persuaded St. Paul to Judaize in this solemn piece of temple-worship, had they not in the meantime gone themselves thither. Their forbearance so long, for about two or three and twenty years, would have made the Jewish brethren jealous of St. James their bishop, and suspect that he also, as well as St. Paul, was a forsaker of Moses and his law. It is much more reasonable to believe they continued their compliances in going up to worship at the temple, as far as they could do it with safety, in times free from persecution, as in that interval of quiet after the martyrdom of St. Stephen, when "the Churches had rest throughout all Judea, and Samaria, and Galilee, and were edified in walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost were multiplied." So had it peace again after the death of Herod Agrippa, who, to gratify the Jews, persecuted the Apostles at Jerusalem, and killed James the brother of John with the sword; for after he was smitten by the angel of the Lord, it is said that "the word of God grew and multiplied," Acts xii. 24. After this we have no farther account of matters relating to the Church of Jerusalem, but of the council of the Apostles and elders, who met there to determine how far the Gentile Christians were obliged to keep the law of Moses, and of St. Paul's going thither from Cæsarea in the twenty-first chapter, which I mentioned before, and which happened in the twenty-fifth year after Christ's

Acts 21. 23.

Acts 9. 31.

Acts 12. 1—3.

Acts 15.

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ascension, and about two or three years before the martyrdom of St. James, who frequented the temple to the last, into which he, of all the Christians, was, for his most eminent and superlative sanctity of life, permitted to enter and pray, as Hegesippus in Eusebius[8] writes, and "there was he found when he was apprehended, interceding with God for the sins of the people upon his knees; which, by long and frequent kneeling on the ground in prayer, were become as hard as those of a camel." The same regard they were to shew to the Jewish religion at Jerusalem obliged them also, in all other cities and countries where the Jews had synagogues, to Judaize as much as it was lawful for men to do who preached Jesus to be the Messias, that they might the more easily convert the Jews and Jewish proselytes, as at Antioch in Pisidia, in which place Barnabas and Paul went into the synagogue, where, after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent to them to tell them if they pleased they might preach to the people. I cannot think they would have invited them to preach unless they had joined with them in their synagogue-worship, as looking upon their brethren the Jews wherever they came as one people of God with themselves, and within the same covenant of grace, till they rejected and blasphemed Jesus, whom they preached; and then, as our Lord commanded them, when He first sent them forth to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, they broke off communion with them, and shook off the dust of their feet against them, as St. Paul and Barnabas did against the contradicting and blaspheming part of that synagogue, as a sign of the destruction which should overtake them. But many of them, Jews and Jewish proselytes, followed Paul and Barnabas, which there is no

Acts 13. 14, 15.

ver. 21.

[8] *τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐξῆν εἰς τὰ ἅγια εἰσίεναι . . . καὶ μόνος εἰσήρχετο εἰς τὸν ναόν· [ηὑρίσκετό τε κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι, καὶ αἰτούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφεσιν· ὡς ἀπεσκληκέναι τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ δίκην καμήλου, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κάμπτειν ἐπὶ γόνυ προσκυνοῦντα τῷ θεῷ, καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ.*—Hegesippus ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. c. 23. tom. i. p. 78.] See also the animadversions of Petavius against Scaliger, in his notes on Hæres. lxxviii. of Epiphanius, tom. ii. p. 332. [Epiphanius (Hær. lxxviii. tom. i. p. 1045, D.) had substituted *εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων* for *εἰς τὰ ἅγια*: Scaliger objected to the credibility of the history on the ground of the improbability that one who was not even a Levite should be allowed to enter the holy of holies. Petavius shews that the holy place was intended; that the Apostle's being admitted there was a remarkable distinction, but that the fact was to be believed on the testimony we have for it.]

reason to believe they would have done had they preached a truth so inconsistent with their religion as that there was an evangelical altar and priesthood among the Christians, which was to succeed to the altar and priesthood of the temple, and that Moses was to give place to Christ. The like success they had in the synagogue at Iconium, where, saith the text, "they so spake, that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greeks believed." Acts 14. 1. What I have said here of the compliance of the Apostles with the Jews is plain from the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 20, "Unto the Jews I became as a Jew (in observing the Jewish rites and ceremonies); to them who are under the law, as (if I also were) under the law." And what he did, no doubt but the rest of the Apostles and Evangelists likewise did.

SECT. IV. Third reason; probably by our Lord's command.

IV. But in the third place, as the Apostles out of regard to the Jews, whom they considered as one peculiar people of God with themselves till they resisted their doctrine and miracles, did Judaize in the temple and synagogues, and forbear in great compassion to their weakness to acquaint them with the great mystery of the evangelical altar and priesthood, that they might more easily convert them: so it is very probable they also concealed it from them by our Lord's direction, it being very agreeable to the wisdom of God to conceive that He would not have two priesthoods openly set up in the same place, or as I may say in the same Church, at one time. The Jewish priesthood was of Divine institution as well as the Christian, and as it became the infinite wisdom of our Lord to bid His Apostles tarry at Jerusalem, and wait there for the promise of the Father before they entered Acts 1. 4. upon their Apostolical office, so might it become Him to forbid them to preach, or set up the latter, till the former was put down; because two opposite priesthoods and two opposite altars appearing among one people, would have wrought great distraction and confusion, when it could be truly affirmed by both sides that both were from God. "God," saith the 1 Cor. 14. 33. Apostle, "is not the author of tumult and confusion, but of peace and order;" and therefore we may without presumption believe that it was His will that the new priesthood should not be promulged, nor its new altar erected publicly in every place, till the appointed time came when the old priest-

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hood with the temple and its altar were to be destroyed. The new Jerusalem was not to be complete till old Jerusalem was laid waste. Before that it was only in *fieri*, but after it was in *facto esse*, and then the Christian priesthood and altar became the only priesthood and altar in the world of Divine erection, when they were left alone, and were no longer opposite to the Jewish priesthood and altar, which were then no more. But had the Christian priesthood and altar been set up publicly and in form before this period, there had been in appearance altar against altar, and priesthood against priesthood in public view, and one Divine institution pleadable against the other, which would have distracted the worshippers of the one true God, the God of the Jews, and brought forth strife, envying, and distraction, and every evil work. This was so detestable in the eyes of the heathens that they could never endure two different altars, or the appearance of two different altars to one god[t], and therefore all colonies were wont to build their temples and altars after the same form, and make the images of their gods after the same likeness that they were built and made in the mother cities, lest they should seem to set up opposite temples and altars. It was therefore very agreeable to the wisdom of our Lord and lawgiver, to command His Apostles to abstain from all appearance of schism by two priesthoods, till this time, or the times near it, when there were no more hopes of converting the obdurate and blasphemous Jews now ripe for destruction. If it be objected that this is all precarious, because it is nowhere written in the New Testament that our Lord gave any such order, I answer, first, that as He did many miracles
John 20. 30. in the presence of His disciples which are not written, so He
Ib. 21. 25. spoke and did many other things which likewise are nowhere written, and which if they had been written every one, would

[t] Doctiss. et Nobiliss. Ezech. Spanhemii Dissertatio nona de præstantia et usu Numismatum, pp. 572, &c. [Illa equidem fuit conditarum olim urbium, aut deductarum in eas coloniarum ratio, ut præter alia quæ obiter supra adtigimus, sacra in primis patria (quod monuit jam ad Polybium et qua de re ante doctissimus Valesius) quæque ad eorum cultum ac cæremonias adtinent, in novas illas urbes vel coloniæ transportarent cives illi advenæ et coloni. Hinc primo loco hic commemorandi præsides ac tutelares conditorum suorum Dei; quorum nempe simulacra, nomina ac cultum, eandem etiam dicatarum iis ædium formam, iidem coloni constanter ac religiose conservabant.—(§ 3. Eorundem numinum et sacrorum, quæ antiquæ patriæ conspectus in nummis,) pp. 572, sqq. Lond. 1706.]

have made a world of books. St. Paul cites one of His sayings, which is nowhere else recorded, that "it is more blessed" or heroical for a Christian "to give than to receive." But secondly, considering the fact is plain that the Christian priesthood was kept so long secret, it is not precarious or presuming to ascribe it to a direction or order of our Lord, for the reasons given, till a better cause can be assigned.

CHAP. III. SECT. IV.

Acts 20. 35.

V. Thirdly, considering the Apostles, who never called themselves or other ministers priests, could not but understand the will of their Lord, we may presume they forbore that title for the prudential reasons above given, by His allowance or permission, if not by His direction, and then the difference between permission and direction in a supreme lawgiver being not very great, it is not so precarious to resolve their practice into the latter rather than the former, since doing or forbearing to do a thing by the direction or permission of a superior are both according to his will. The Jewish proselytes, at their first coming over to Christianity, and some time after, thought of nothing less than a dissolution of the temple-priesthood and altar. On the contrary, they thought that the house of Christ was but a superstructure upon the house of Moses, but never imagined it was to be the destruction thereof. Hence they expected that the Gentile proselytes to the Messias should be circumcised and observe the law, as becoming members of the Jewish Church, in which they still reputed themselves to be, and to be obliged, while the temple stood, to observe the Jewish rites. This, not to mention the epistle of St. Barnabas[u], is so plain from the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, and the epistles of the Apostle to the Romans and Galatians, that I need not insist upon the proof of it. And St. Paul so far complied with their opinion as to circumcise Timothy, that he might not offend the Jews at Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium, who knew him to be the son of a Greek. This was done about seventeen years after Christ's ascension, and I méntion it to shew that these and such like compliances of the Apostles with the believing Jews are, in like manner as I have said of their forbearance to call themselves priests, to be ascribed

SECT. V.

Fourth reason; at least, our Lord's permission.

Acts 16. 3.

[u] [See the extracts from St. Barnabas' Epistle, in the following notes, and cap. 2. (Latine.) Patr. Apost., tom, i. p. 57.]

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to the direction, or at least to the permission of our Lord, which I suppose, Sir, your late writer will not think fit to deny. I am so much of this opinion, that I believe they suffered the convert priests to minister in their priestly office when they could do it with safety to themselves, and without having fellowship with their unbelieving brethren, who rejected Christ. For after their conversion the Jews had the same right as before to have communion with the God of the temple, and to be partakers of His altar, where they might still offer and eat as Jews, so they did not do it in society with their disobedient brethren; who, as St. Paul
Acts 13. 46. and Barnabas said unto those at Antioch in Pisidia, "put the word of God from them, and made themselves unworthy of everlasting life." The completion of the covenant was not in the unconverted, but in the converted Jews; they, as Christians, were the true heirs of the promise among that people with the converted Gentiles, and the covenant which God made with their father Abraham was with them, and them only of all the Jewish nation; and as His believing children they more especially had a right to the temple and altar of God, as long as they were in being. To this purpose speaks St. Barnabas in his epistle[x]: "Be not like to them, who heaping up their sins, say that their covenant is ours; whereas it is ours only, for they (by their unbelief) have for ever lost that which Moses received." So chapter x:[y] "Let us see then whether this (unbelieving) people or the former be heirs according to the promise, and the covenant be with us or them." So in the same chapter[z]; "'And Jacob said unto Joseph, I know it, my son, I know it;' but the elder shall serve the younger, though he shall also be blessed. You see then whom He hath appointed that they should be the first people and heirs of the covenant. And what also if God hath mentioned this by Abraham? Then we have the perfection of knowledge. What then saith He

[x] [c. 4. (extant only in Latin.) Non similatis eis, qui peccata sua congerunt et dicunt; quia testamentum illorum et nostrum est.—S. Barnab. Epist. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 59.]

[y] [ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν· εἰ οὗτος ὁ λαὸς κληρονόμος, ἢ ὁ πρῶτος, καὶ εἰ ἡ διαθήκη εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἢ εἰς ἐκείνους.—Ibid., c. 13. p. 41.]

[z] [καὶ εἶπεν Ἰακὼβ πρὸς Ἰωσήφ, οἶδα, τέκνον, οἶδα· ἀλλ' ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι, καὶ οὗτος δὲ εὐλογηθήσεται· βλέπετε ἐπὶ τίνων τέθεικε, τὸν λαὸν εἶναι τοῦτον πρῶτον, καὶ τῆς διαθήκης κληρόνομον· εἰ οὖν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐμνήσθη, ἀπείχομεν τὸ τέλειον τῆς γνώσεως ἡμῶν· τί οὖν λέγει τῷ Ἀβραὰμ, ὅτι ἐπίστευσας ἐτέθη εἰς δι-

to Abraham? 'Because thou hast believed it is imputed unto thee for righteousness;' behold I have set thee for a father of the nations which by uncircumcision believe in the Lord. Let us therefore enquire whether God hath fulfilled the covenant which He swore to our fathers that He would give this people.' Truly He gave it, but they were not worthy to receive it for their sins:" and a little after[a], "Moses therefore received them, but they were not worthy; now then learn how we have received them; [Moses received them as a servant,] but the Lord Himself hath given them unto us, that we might be the people of His inheritance." All this he said to bring the Christian Jews to a right understanding of the Gospel, for till this time and after[b], they were zealous of the law, thinking not only themselves but the Christian Gentiles obliged to observe it, as is plain from what follows; "In[c] this therefore, brethren, God was foreseeing and merciful to us, because the people whom He hath purchased by His beloved was to believe in simplicity, and therefore He shews things to us that we should not run as proselytes to their law." But to return from this short digression: such was the weakness of the Christian Jews, which obliged the Apostles to so much compliance and forbearance with them, and more particularly, as I hope I have made it appear very probable, in not taking their titles from the temple, I mean the title of priests, upon them, or giving it to others whom they made bishops and presbyters, while the temple and temple-priesthood were in being. But though during that period they are not ex-

καιοσύνην; ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε πατέρα ἐθνῶν τῶν πιστευόντων διὰ ἀκροβυστίας τῷ κυρίῳ. ναὶ ἀλλὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν ὤμοσε τοῖς πατράσιν δοῦναι τῷ λαῷ, εἰ δέδωκε, ζητοῦμεν· δέδωκεν· αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἄξιοι λαβεῖν διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.—Ibid., c. 13, 14. p. 42.]

[a] [Ibid. c. 14. Μωσῆς μὲν γὰρ ἔλαβεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγένοντο ἄξιοι· πῶς ἡμεῖς ἐλάβομεν, μάθετε· Μωσῆς θεράπων ὢν ἔλαβεν· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν, εἰς λαὸν κληρονομίας, δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας.—Ibid., p. 43.]

[b] See S. Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes. [c. 8. et sqq. μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις, μήδε μυθεύμασιν τοῖς παλαίοις ἀνωφέλεσιν οὖσιν· εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ νόμον Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι· κ. τ. λ.—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Magn., tom. ii. pp. 19, 20. The editors of St. Ignatius would either omit νόμον or read Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ.]

[c] [c. 3. (extant only in the Latin version.) In hoc ergo, fratres, providens est et misericors Dominus, quia in simplicitate crediturus esset populus, quem comparavit dilecto suo, atque ante ostendit omnibus nobis, ut non incurramus, tanquam proselyti ad illorum legem.—S. Barnab., Epist. Vet. Int. c. 3. Ibid., tom. i. p. 58.]

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pressly called priests, yet they are called so implicitly and by intimation, as by St. Peter, who told the Christian Jews of the Asian dispersion that in their Christian state they were "a royal priesthood," or "kingdom of priests." So, as is shewed above, St. Paul told those of Judea and Jerusalem, that the Christians "had an altar," or altar-sacrifice offered by priests, "whereof unbelievers who served at the tabernacle had no right to eat." So I have shewed how St. Clement, in his epistle to the Corinthians, using the definition for the *definitum*, called their ministers *προσενέγκοντας τὰ δῶρα*[d], 'offerers of gifts or sacrifices,' that is *sacerdoti*, as the Italian and Spanish, or 'sacrificers' or 'pontiffs,' as all the French versions translate the Greek and Hebrew words for priest[e]. I have also shewed it from many other fathers, and from the most ancient form of consecration of a bishop, which is in The Apostolical Constitutions, lib. viii. cap. 5, and in the Baroccian MS. of Hippolytus, entitled *διατάξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν*[f], both which agree in their testimony as to this point.

1 Pet. 2. 9.

Heb. 13. 10.

SECT. VI. The name Priest used after the destruction of Jerusalem. John 1. 1, 14.

VI. Wherefore in the next place let me farther observe, that later Church-writers use words and phrases which do not occur in the former. So Dionysius Alexandrinus observes in Eusebius[g] that St. John uses many peculiar words and expressions that were not in use before, as "in the beginning was the *logos*," &c.; and "the *logos* was made flesh," &c.; and "that which we have seen, heard, and handled of the *logos* of life;" to which he adds his use of *τὴν ζωὴν, τὸ φῶς, ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ σκότους, τὴν ἀλήθειαν*, and some others,

[d] [S. Clem., Epist. i. c. 44. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 173.] See Cotelerius' note on the place, [quoted above, note y, p. 88.]

[e] [Sacerdote is uniformly used for *ἱερεὺς* or כהן, in Diodati's version; (see above, note a, p. 58;) and in Cassiodore de Reynal's Spanish version, Basle, 1569. The Geneva Bible and Le Clerc (see above, notes l, n, pp. 13, 14,) translate *ἱερεὺς* and כהן by 'sacrificateur,' *ἀρχιερεὺς* by 'le souverain sacrificateur,' and in the plural by 'les principaux sacrificateurs.' The Mons Testament (see above ibid.) translates *ἀρχιερεὺς* by 'pontife,' *ἱερεὺς* uniformly by 'prestre.']

[f] [See above, p. 140, note v.]

[g] [St. Dionysius is pointing out the similarity of style and expression which pervades the Gospel and Epistle of St. John, and indicates the same author; and arguing that the Apocalypse was written by another person of the name of John, from its differing in these respects from those writings of the Apostle. Thus he says; *συνᾴδουσι μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ, ὁμοίως τε ἄρχονται· τὸ μέν φησιν, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος· ἡ δὲ, ὃ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. τὸ μέν φησιν, καὶ ὁ λόγος σάρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός· ἡ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ σμικρῷ παρηλλαγμένα· ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν· ὃ ἑωράκαμεν καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν περὶ τοῦ*

which he saith he used against the heretics of his time, who denied that Christ was come in the flesh. These he called Antichrists and Antichrist, words which we do not find in the writings of the other Apostles; by which we may see that the Church might have occasion to use terms in after-times which she did not use before, and particularly when she was arrived to a perfect and settled economy; in *facto esse*, she might think fit to give names to her ministers from which she abstained before.

1 John 1. 3.

chap. 2. 18, 21.

Thus after the destruction of Jerusalem, or when it was near, she might begin to use the word priest, or use it more familiarly than before. So we are sure from Eusebius[h], that before St. John died, the *ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη κυριακὴ*[i], the anniversary festival of our Lord's resurrection was called the *pascha* or "passover" by the ancient Christians, though it is not so called in the writings of the New Testament. And from Ignatius[k], that the Church of Christ dispersed through the world was called the "Catholic" Church, and the oblations of bread and wine in the holy Eucharist "the mysteries[l],"

λόγου τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη. ταῦτα γὰρ προανακρούεται, διατεινόμενος ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ἐδήλωσε πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἐν σάρκι φάσκοντας ἐληλυθέναι τὸν κύριον . . . διὰ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ὀνομάτων πάντα διεξέρχεται, ὧν τινὰ μὲν ἡμεῖς συντόμως ὑπομνήσομεν· ὁ δὲ προσεχῶς εὐτυγχάνων εὑρήσει ἐν ἑκατέρῳ πολλὴν τὴν ζωήν· πολὺ τὸ φῶς· ἀποτρωπὴν τοῦ σκότους· συνεχῆ τὴν ἀλήθειαν . . . ὁ ἔλεγχος τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου . . . καὶ ὅλως διὰ πάντων χαρακτηρίζοντας, ἑνὰ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συνορᾶν καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς χρῶτα πρόκειται.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. vii. cap. 25. tom. i. pp. 354, 355.]

[h] Id. ibid., lib. v. cap. 24. [οὗτοι πάντες (St. Philip, St. John, St. Polycarp, and others) ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τέσσαρας καὶ δεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.—Ibid., p. 245. These words are an extract from the letter of Polycrates, who was speaking of the practices of the Apostolic age, and himself lived in the following one. See above, pp. 242, 243, note l.]

[i] [Easter day is so called in the Typicon Sabæ, or Ordo recitandi officium per totum annum ex præscripto Sabæ, πζ. col. ii. ap. Liturg. Græc. Venet. 1615.]

[k] Epist. ad Smyrn. [c. 8. ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω· ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.—Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 36. It is more probable, however, that Hickes had in his mind the epistle of the Church of Smyrna respecting the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, where there occurs, c. 8, speaking of his prayers, μνημονεύσας ἁπάντων καὶ τῶν ποτὲ συμβεβηκότων αὐτῷ, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐνδόξων τε καὶ ἀδόξων, καὶ ἁπάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.—Ep. Eccl. Smyrn. de Mart. S. Polycarp., ibid., p. 197. See also c. 16 of the same epistle, where St. Polycarp is called ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.—Ibid., p. 201: and c. 19, ποιμένα τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.—Ibid., p. 203.]

[l] δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κ.τ.λ.—Epist. ad Trall., c. 2. Ussér. [Appendix Ignatiana, p. 17. Lond. 1647. So Jacobson. Cotelerius gives μυστήριον, the MS. reading, in the text, but with Vossius considers μυστηρίων the true reading. Arndt and Hefele retain μυστήριον, and understand it, similitudo, imago Christi]; or else μυστηρίων may here signify both the mys-

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though the Church is not once called Catholic, nor the Lord's Supper a sacrament or mystery, in the whole book of the New Testament. So κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, 'the Lord's day,' is used for the weekly festival of our Lord's resurrection in the Revelation of St. John, but is not found in any other writings of the New Testament, where it is only called the first day of the week. So though in Antioch the followers of Christ, who before were called Nazarites and Galileans, came, after the Greek fashion, to be first called Christians, from the name of their master Christ; yet neither any of the writers of the New Testament, or any other of the Apostolical age, call them by that name, or our religion Christianity, or the Christian religion. St. Luke, in his history of the Acts, tells us that King Agrippa said unto Paul, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian;" but St. Paul seems to decline the name in his answer, saying, "I would to God that not only thou, but also all who hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am, except these bonds." In his epistles he never saith "Paul an Apostle to the Christians, or Christian Church" at such a place, but to "the beloved of God, the Church of God, the saints," and "the faithful brethren;" which are all common Jewish expressions, that did not distinguish the Christians by name as a sect. St. James, when he wrote to the converted Jews of the dispersion, inscribes his epistle not "to the Christian Jews" or Jewish Christians, "but to the twelve tribes scattered abroad." And St. Peter inscribes his first epistle to them, "to the strangers or sojourners scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia," &c. And the second is addressed to them in this circumlocution, "to them who have obtained like precious faith with us;" as if it then were a private rule of the Church not to call themselves by a characteristical name, which would have distinguished them, and offended the other Jews. St. Ignatius, St. John's disciple[m], bishop of Antioch, is the first ecclesiastical writer in whom we find those names, who in his epistle to the Magnesians hath

Rev. 1. 10.

Acts 20. 7; 1 Cor. 16. 1.

Acts 24. 6.

Ib. 11. 26.

teries or Sacraments of the Church, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, neither of which is called a mystery or Sacrament in the New Testament.

[m] [Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἰωάννου μαθητής.— Martyrium S. Ignatii, c. 1. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 177.]

these words, πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι[n], "it is therefore fitting that we should not only be called Christians, but be so indeed;" and διὰ τοῦτο μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι μάθωμεν κατὰ Χριστιανισμὸν ζῆν[o], "wherefore being His disciples, let us learn to live according to the Christian religion;" and again, ὁ γὰρ Χριστιανισμὸς οὐκ εἰς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐπίστευσεν[p], κ.τ.λ. "for the Christian religion was not converted to the Jewish, but the Jewish to the Christian religion." Wherefore if it be asked why St. John, who lived long after the destruction of Jerusalem, neither called himself, nor the bishops and presbyters of the Churches to whom he wrote, priests; I answer first, it may as well be asked why he did not call the people of those Churches Christians, or their profession of Christianity by name, as his scholar Ignatius did? He wrote his book of Revelation about twenty-six years after the fatal period of the old Jerusalem and the temple-worship, and his Gospel about eight years after it, and yet in neither of them doth he call the disciples of Christ Christians; nor, what is yet more observable, doth he say one word in either of them, or in his epistles, of the priesthood of Christ, though in his book of Revelations he again and again describes Him in a most majestical style as King. And as the doctrine of His priesthood was then undoubtedly the doctrine of the Church, though he makes no mention of it, so His disciples were then Christians, though he doth not call them so. In like manner the bishops and presbyters of the Church were then, without doubt, esteemed priests, though he omits the name. And so no doubt before he died, in the beginning of the second century, the names of bishops and presbyters, which before had been used in common and indifferently[q], were then used differently, in distinct senses, to signify the two holy orders, as in all the epistles of his disciple[r]; so weak

[n] [S. Ignat. ad Magnes., c. 4. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 18.]

[o] [Ibid., c. 10. p. 20.]

[p] [The passage continues, ἀλλὰ Ἰουδαϊσμὸς εἰς Χριστιανισμόν.—Ibid.]

[q] [See Acts xx. 17, 28; Tit. i. 5, 7. See below, Second Discourse, ch. ii. § 3.

[r] See Cotelerius upon the place. [The note referred to is on S. Ignat. Epist. ad Magn., § 2. Cotelerius is answering the objection to the genuineness of the epistles of St. Ignatius, drawn from their distinguishing ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος, whereas in the New Testament those words are interchanged; Ex eo quod primis ecclesiæ temporibus nomina episcopus et presbyter communia erant primo et secundo

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an argument is this negative argument against any thing which was the general belief and practice of the ancient Catholic Church, and by consequence against the true Christian ministers being proper priests, because they are not expressly so called in the writings of the New Testament.

But secondly, as to this objection from St. John's not calling them priests in the books which he wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, I answer, that in his Gospel, which he wrote last of all, but a little before his death, he had no occasion to call the Apostles priests, because he doth not continue his history of Jesus till the time when they began to gather and form Churches, which was not till after Christ's ascension. But in his book of Revelations, which is a prophetical book, he calls the ministers of the Church priests in such figures and similitudes and allusions as are proper to the prophetical style, and in such representations of one thing for another, as belong to that sublime way of writing in which visions use to be expressed. Thus because Christians were the mystical Israel, in whom the covenant and all the promises were accomplished, he calls them Jews, chap. ii. 9, and iii. 9, where he saith[s], "I know the blasphemy of them who say they are Jews, and are not." In the same place he calls the false heretical Christians, and their Churches, the synagogues of Satan, often using prophetical and Jewish words and ways of speaking, in things relating to Christians and the Christian Church. So by the name of heaven[t] is often signified the Christian Church, and by the temple-worship and ceremonies, the devotions of Christians, and to come to my point, by angels are often denoted priests, because of the likeness of their offices. For as angels are all

ordini sacerdotum, in epistolis autem Ignatianis semper episcopi appellantur qui sunt sacerdotes summi, presbyteri vero, qui sunt minores sacerdotes, argumentum palmarium contra earum epistolarum veritatem et antiquitatem ducere se putant; quod tamen ne quidem argumentum, meo sane judicio, dici meretur, adeo infirmum est et invalidum. Constat enim, id de quo dubitare nos non sinunt sacræ scripturæ et sancti patres, apostolico sæculo duos extitisse sacerdotii gradus, superiorem et inferiorem, re diversos, quanquam nomine communi. Nonne fas fuit Ignatio de utroque sacerdotio simul loqui? Nemo negabit, ni fallor . . . Necessé igitur habuit, episcopos vocare supremos antistites, presbyteros antistites subjectæ dignitatis, quemadmodum fecit.—Cotelerii Annott. ap. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 17.]

[s] [Cf. App. No. 12, where this interpretation is discussed.]

[t] [See below, pp. 260, 261.]

spirits who minister unto God in heaven, so His priests minister unto Him upon earth[u]. And as angels were wont to be sent with messages, and on embassies from God to men, so His priests are His angels, or rather *εὐάγγελοι*, His good angels or messengers, who are sent to preach in His name the Gospel unto men; and as the Apostle speaks, to be "the ambassadors of Christ, to beseech them in His stead to be reconciled unto God." The words in the original are *ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πρεσβεύομεν*, and so in Eph. vi. 20, *ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω*, "for which (saith he, speaking of the mystery of the Gospel) I am an ambassador in bonds." An ambassador, i. e. a messenger, an angel, a preacher; for you know, Sir, how *πρέσβυς* and *πρεσβυτὴς* in the Greek tongue is glossed by *ἄγγελος*[x], and how near akin it is in its signification to *κήρυξ*[y], a 'preacher,' 'publisher,' or 'promulger;' so that it is not without great agreement in their respective offices that priests are called angels, who are sent from God *κηρύσσειν καὶ εὐαγγελίζειν*, to publish the best doctrine, and most happy joyful news that men ever heard or received. The sacrifices which the Greeks offered upon receiving good news were called *εὐαγγέλια*[z], and the gifts and presents which they gave to messengers of good news they also called *εὐαγγέλια*[a], the very word by which the Holy Ghost hath chosen to express the Gospel, the joyful tidings of salvation as it is called by the Apostle, saying, "How shall they preach, except they be first sent? as it is written, (of us) How beautiful are the feet, (or coming) of them who preach the Gospel of

2 Cor. 5. 20.

[u] S. Chrysost. de Sacerd., lib. iii. [§ 4. *ἡ γὰρ ἱερωσύνη τελεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, τάξιν δὲ ἐπουρανίων ἔχει πραγμάτων. καὶ μάλα γε εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἄγγελος, οὐκ ἀρχάγγελος, οὐκ ἄλλη τις κτιστὴ δύναμις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ παράκλητος ταύτην διετάξατο τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, καὶ ἔτι μένοντας ἐν σαρκὶ τὴν ἀγγέλων ἔπεισε φαντάζεσθαι διακονίαν. διὸ χρὴ τὸν ἱερώμενον ὥσπερ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑστῶτα τοῖς οὐρανοῖς μεταξὺ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐκείνων οὕτως εἶναι καθαρόν.*] "The priesthood indeed is administered upon earth, but is of the order of things in heaven. For it is neither man, nor angel, nor archangel, nor any created power that ordained this hierarchy, (or retinue,) but the Holy Ghost, who hath taught mortal men to imagine they have the ministry (*ἀκολουθίαν*) of angels. And therefore it behoves a priest to be as pure as if he were among those potentates in heaven."—[S. Chrysost., Op., tom. i. p. 382, B.]

[x] *ὁ δὲ πρεσβευτὴς εἴη ἂν καὶ ἄγγελος.*—Jul. Pollux, Onomasticon, lib. viii. cap. 11. [segm. 137.]

[y] *ὅθεν εἴρηται, τῷ κήρυκι καὶ πρεσβείᾳ χρηματίζειν.*—Ibid., segm. 138.

[z] [*περὶ τοῦ συγχαίρειν . . . ἡ μέντοι ἐπὶ τῷ συνήδεσθαι θυσία, εὐαγγέλια.*]—Ibid., lib. v. cap. 25. segm. 129.

[a] [*περὶ δωρεᾶς . . . ἀγγέλῳ, εὐαγγέλια.*]—Ibid., lib. vi. cap. 11. segm. 187.

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peace, (*τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην,*) and bring glad tidings of good things, (*τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθά.*)" The office then of Christian priests is the very same with that of the angel which first preached the Gospel to the shepherds, saying, "Behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people, for unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord." Upon which that angel, and many others, even "a multitude of the heavenly host praised God, saying, Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men." Such congruity there is in the office of angels and Christian priests. They are both God's liturgs or ministers[b]; they are both His ambassadors, messengers, and preachers sent forth to men, and to minister among men for them who are heirs of salvation. And upon the account of this excellent angelical sort of ministry I may suppose it was that this title was given in special manner to the chief priest, and under him to the priests, who ministered to God in the temple under the Old Testament, as in Malachi ii. 7: "The priest's lips should preserve knowledge, for he is the messenger (or angel) of the Lord of Hosts." So our Christian prophet, in the beginning of the eighth chapter, representing the things of the Church on earth by things in heaven: "There was silence (saith he) in heaven about the space of half an hour, and I saw seven angels who stood before God, and to them were given seven trumpets;" and another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer, and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of the saints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne, and the smoke of the incense, which came with the

Luke 2. 10—15.

[b] *ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα.* Heb. i. 7. Sacerdotes dona seu munera Deo offerunt, preces fidelium, sacrificia incruenta, sanctam Eucharistiam, &c.—Cotelerius in S. Clem. Epist. 1. ad Cor. c. 44. [Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 173. See above, note y, p. 88.] Grotius on Malach. ii. 7. Quia angelus Domini, &c. Angeli preces hominum ad Deum, Dei mandata ad homines deferunt. Idem aciebat in lege summus sacerdos [qui semel in anno expiationem faciebat populi,] Levit. xvi. 1. [et qui in controversiis de sensu legis ortis consulebatur,] Deut. xvii. 9; ejus locum implet in Christiana ecclesia episcopus, angelus ob id ipsum dictus in Apocalypsi. Diodorus Siculus de Judæis apud Photium; [Biblioth. cod. 244. p. 380. col. 2. ed. Berolin. 1824.] *ἀρχιερέα τοῦτον προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ νομίζουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄγγελον γενέσθαι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων.*—[Grotii Annott. in Mal. ii. 7. Crit. Sacr., tom. iv. col. 813.]

prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand. By the prayers of the saints all interpreters here agree is signified the prayers of all faithful Christians, as in chap. v. 8, where it is said; "The four living creatures and twenty-four presbyters fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden phials full of (incense or) odours, which are the prayers of the (Christian) saints." So by the angel is represented the chief ministering priest or bishop in every Church, who offered up their prayers, all in allusion to the Jewish temple and the service thereof; where, as may be seen Luke i. 10, all the people went to their private prayers and devotions in the court of the temple, while the priest continued at the golden altar in the temple to offer up incense. In this vision, therefore, is a metalepsis, or comprehension of two allusions or figures; for first by heaven is meant the Catholic Church of that prophetical period, by the angels are signified the Christian high-priests, and by incense their offering up the people's prayers in all Churches of the saints, and all again under another figurative representation of the Jewish temple, priesthood, and worship. So in the seventh chapter, where under the type of the twelve tribes of Israel is mystically represented the Church of Christ, after the sealing of the faithful out of every tribe or Church it is said; "After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations . . . . stood before the throne and the Lamb . . . and they cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation unto our God, who sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb; and all the angels stood about the throne, and about the elders, and the four living creatures, and fell before the throne with their faces, and worshipped God, saying, Amen, blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto God for ever and ever; Amen." Here again, as we have the faithful Christians of all Churches praising God, so under the representation of angels we have all their bishops, with their presbyters, at their priestly work of blessing and praising God. At their priestly work I say, and exercising their priestly office throughout all the mystical Israel, signified by the four living creatures, which were the four symbols or ensigns of

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the four camps of Israel. I say at their priestly office; for the ministers of the Church may be considered as to their priesthood[c], or as to their prelacy or spiritual superiority over the people. As prelates, or spiritual superiors over the people, they are called bishops and presbyters, of the reason of which titles you know, Sir, we have a very good account in Mr. Hill's book[d], cited in the margin, and in Dr. Ham-

[c] L'Ancienne police de l'Eglise sur l'administration de l'Eucharistc, par M. Gabriel de l'Aubespine, Evesque d'Orleans, livre ii. ch. viii. Premierement il y a deux qualitès dans l'episcopat, la prelature, et le sacerdoce. La premiere est, le pouvoir, l'authorité, et la jurisdiction ecclesiastique... l'autre est le pouvoir du caractere, et de l'ordination. Les anciens ont connus ces deux puissances, [aussi clairement et aussi distinctement que nous, et ont exprimé la premiere par ces termes, president, prevost, et prelat: et l'autre, par ceux cy, sacrificateur, sacerdot, recteur de l'autel.—Op. Gab. Albaspinæi, p. 250, ad calcem S. Optati Op., Par. 1679.] So a learned divine of our own country, Mr. Sam. Hill, in the third chapter of his book de Presbyteratu. [The passage referred to is the continuation of that quoted above, note g, p. 240. Ubi notari velim, sacerdotum a pontifice peractam ordinationem a duplici fluere principio: sacerdotali, in eo quod ordinati in ordinatione Deo sacrantur: et regio, eo quod authoritas obeundi sacerdotii in ipsa ordinatione donatur, a regio Dei jure primo defluens, et pontifici, quasi sacerdotum omnium principi et rectori divinitus constituto concessa.—Lib. iv. c. 3. § 4. pp. 187, 188.]

[d] De Presbyteratu Dissert., lib. iv. cap. 3. [§ 1. De Sacerdotii Christiani origine.] Quandoquidem sapientiam, et senioritatem animi internam ad publicum senioritatis didacticæ ordinem et officium præviam probavimus, ejusdemque senioritatis virtutes et officia ad veram et intrinsecam sacerdotii dignitatem necessario prærequirantur; exinde patet sacerdotium aliquid amplius senioritati additum apertissime complecti. Commune igitur sit seniori et sacerdoti, ut religionis θεοπαραδότου sanctæque sapientiæ traditionem ex officio divinitus concesso et sacro uterque propaget. Quod vero sacerdotii proprium est, et mero senioris ordini extrinsecum, et superius, hic loci opportune discutiendum videatur. [§ 2.] Omne ergo sacerdotium publicum, quantum rimari liceat, ab ipsis mundi primordiis duplicia exequitur pietatis officia, moralia scilicet, et mystica, sive symbolica, vel sacramentalia. Mystica autem sacerdotii Levitici in his tribus potissimum constiterant, in lotionibus, sacrificiis, et dapibus, eorumque propriis ceremoniis. Moralia autem in sacris benedictionibus, Deut. xxi. 5. liturgiis precum, et laudis, et personarum et rerum piis usibus devotarum consecrationibus celebrandis, versabantur. [§ 3.] Notari igitur velim, et in veteri et in nostro sacerdotio eadem omnino esse moralia, mystica vero diversa, nostra vero prioribus ἀντίτυπα. Siquidem lotionibus Leviticis nostrum lavacrum, istorum sacrificiis Christi victima, veterum dapibus Cœna Domini ex adverso respondent: ex quibus unicum, i. e. Christi sacrificium ab ipso solo Christo pontifice offerri potuit, semelque ideo offerebatur. Lavacrum, et sanctam Cœnam selectis ad hæc sacerdotii Christiani munera discipulis Christus consecranda tradidit.

To which let me add out of Isidore's Original, [Etymologiarum,] lib. vii. cap. 12. § 11. Episcopatus autem vocabulum inde dictum, quod ille qui superefficitur, superintendat, curam scilicet subditorum gerens: σκοπεῖν enim Græce, Latine 'intendere' dicitur. Episcopi autem Græce, Latine 'speculatores' interpretantur. . . . § 13. Pontifex princeps sacerdotum est, quasi via sequentium. Ipse et summus sacerdos, ipse et pontifex maximus nuncupatur: ipse enim efficit sacerdotes, atque Levitas: ipse omnes ordines ecclesiasticos disponit: ipse quid unusquisque facere debeat, ostendit. . . . § 16. Antistes sacerdos dictus ab eo, quod antestat. Primus est enim in ordine ecclesiæ et supra se nullum habet. § 17. Sacerdos autem . . . quasi sacrum dans: sicut enim rex a regendo, ita sacerdos a sanctificando vocatus est: consecrat

mond's note *b* on Acts xi.[e]; and as bishops and presbyters they have authority to govern and teach the people the revelations and institutions of God; and because their doctrine is to the people's souls as food is to their bodies, they are said to be their pastors, who feed as well as govern their flocks. Also as bishops and presbyters, that is, as chief and subordinate rulers appointed by God, they receive their penitential acknowledgments and confessions, and absolve or refuse to absolve them of their offences, in His name; and in this relation they stand before the people for God. But as priests they stand before God for the people, to pray for them, that is, to bless them, and to offer up their prayers, and praises, and sacrifices; and to perform the mystical rites and offices of our religion in the Holy Supper and Baptism, which answer to the mystical lavations, sacrifices, and federal sacrificial feasts, both of the Jewish and Gentile world, whereof the latter, as any man may plainly see from the most ancient heathen authors[f], was a depravation and corruption of the former. As priests also they consecrate places to the service, and persons to the ministry of God, by solemn separation of the one from common use, and of the other from common employments, to Divine uses and employments.

1 Cor. 5. 4; 2 Cor. 2. 10.

But to return from this short excursion to the holy apocalyptical angels; the seven bishops of the seven Asian Churches are called the seven angels, chap. i. 20, "The mystery of the seven stars, which thou sawest in My right hand, and

enim, et sanctificat. . . . § 20. Presbyter Græce, Latine 'senior' interpretatur: non modo pro ætate . . . sed propter honorem, et dignitatem, quam acceperunt, presbyteri nominantur. . . . § 21. Ideo autem et presbyteri sacerdotes vocantur, quia sacrum dant, sicut et episcopi, qui licet sint sacerdotes, tamen pontificatus apicem non habent, quia nec chrismate frontem signant, nec Paracletum Spiritum dant, quod solum deberi episcopis lectio Actuum Apostolorum demonstrat. § 22. Levitæ . . . Græce 'diaconi,' Latine 'ministri' dicuntur, quia sicut in sacerdote consecratio, ita in diacono ministerii dispensatio habetur.—[S. Isidori Hispal. Op., tom. iii. pp. 341, 342.]

[e] [In the note here referred to Hammond traces the Scripture use of the word πρεσβύτερος from the derived sense of ruler; which according to Dionys. Halic. it had in Greek, as the corresponding words have in modern languages, and זקנים most commonly in Hebrew. Hence he thinks bishops were called the elders of their respective Churches, and conceives that in the New Testament this word is confined to bishops, that there is no evidence that the order of priests was then instituted, and that when πρεσβύτεροι is used in the plural in the New Testament, it means the several bishops of a district.—Hammond's Works, vol. iii. pp. 380, sqq.]

[f] [See Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. p. 123, and the notes there.]

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the seven golden candlesticks; the seven stars are the angels of the seven Churches, and the seven golden candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven Churches." And as they are called so in general, so every one of them in particular is mystically so called in the second chapter of this prophetical book; as for instance, "To the angel of the Church of Ephesus," that is, to the chief priest or bishop of the Church of Ephesus, write these things. I say to the chief priest or bishop, for as these mystical angels are sometimes described as priests by this evangelical prophet, so under the name of presbyters, i. e. of ruling or presiding[g] presbyters, they are described as spiritual chiefs or princes, chap. iv. 4, according to what, Sir, you know I have written of them in my second letter[h] to Mr. S[ergeant] G[eers][i]. The text with the context is as follows: "Immediately I was in the Spirit, and behold a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne . . . . . And round about the throne were four and twenty seats (or other thrones), and upon the seats I saw four and twenty presbyters sitting, clothed in white raiment, and they had on their heads crowns of gold. . . . . And they fell down before Him who sat on the throne, and worshipped Him who liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour," &c. Here, Sir, I must observe that as to the golden crowns[k], this prophetical description answers to the golden crown which was made for Joshua the high-priest, Zech. vi. 11; and that by golden crowns here are signified golden mitres, such as the high-priests had under the law, whose mitres were also called crowns. This shews, Sir, that by presbyters cannot be un-

Rev. 2. 1.

[g] προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, 1 Tim. v. 17. ἡγούμενοι, Heb. xiii. 7, 17. προιστάμενοι, Rom. xii. 8.

[h] [On the Dignity of the Episcopal Order, chap. i. sect. 2.]

[i] [See the opening of the Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. pp. 59, sqq. and p. 61, note e.]

[k] See Dr. Hammond on the place. [Hammond after interpreting the four-and-twenty elders of the bishops of Judea, and Him that sat on the throne, as "God in the thing signified, but the bishop of Jerusalem in the representation," says, . . . "it is said of every one of these that he had 'on his head a golden crown,' parallel to that of Joshua the high-priest, Zech. vi. 11, that is, a golden mitre such as the high-priest had under the law, called indifferently a crown and a mitre, which cannot belong to inferior presbyters, but doth fitly represent the power of rulers, i. e. bishops in the church, without attributing anything of regality to them."—Hammond's Annotations on Rev. iv. 4, note d. Works, vol. iii. p. 881.]

derstood the inferior presbyters, but the chief ruling presbyters, the bishops, who are here represented as chief, or princes[l], in the spiritual dominions of Christ upon earth. They are also said to be twenty-four, in allusion to the chiefs of the twenty-four lots of the priests, 1 Chron. xxiv. And, in allusion to the presbyters sitting about the throne of the bishop[m], they are represented to sit round the throne of God; and they are said to be clothed in white garments, to set forth their sanctity and great dignity, as Christ's chief ministers in the Church. Here then let me observe, the bishops are described by their regal character, as Christ's vicegerents, to govern His Church in their respective districts. But in the first chapter, ver. 6, they are represented in their double capacities, both as kings and priests, in these words: "Unto Him who loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God, to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen." This place, as that in 1 Pet. ii. 9, relates to Exod. xix. 6, where God promised the Jews, that "if they would obey His voice, and keep His covenant, they should be unto Him a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation, and a pecu-

[l] Viginti quatuor seniores qui ad declarandam omnipotentis Dei gloriam in circuitu throni ejus considere dicuntur, ecclesiæ rectores et episcopos designant: atque hi, quia tam sacerdotes sunt quam reges, juxta illud, c. i. 6. 'Fecit nos reges, et sacerdotes,' idcirco 'candidis vestimentis induti, et coronas aureas' ferentes cernuntur; per quæ mystice illorum decor et gloria expressæ intelliguntur. Ideo autem viginti quatuor seniores, vel potius presbyteri (nam dignitatem hic *πρεσβύτερος* declarare arbitror potius quam ætatem) cernuntur, ut respondeant viginti quatuor sortibus sacerdotum, quas David ex duabus familiis Eleazar et Ithamar filiorum Aaron constituit 1 Par. 24. ut quemadmodum sub illis viginti quatuor sortibus, i. e. sedecim ex filiis Eleazar, et octo ex filiis Ithamar, universa sacerdotum ac Levitarum turba continebatur, ita in his viginti quatuor presbyteris omnes totius ecclesiæ præfecti designentur.—Zeger. Annot. in Rev. iv. 4. [Crit. Sacr., tom. viii. col. 380.]

[m] *προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων.*—Ignat. ad Magnes. [c. 6. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 19.] So in Epist. ad Trall. [c. 3. ibid., p. 22.] *ἐντρεπέσθωσαν . . . τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὡς ὄντα τύπον τοῦ πατρὸς* (as Cotelerius, or as Vossius corrects the place, *ὡς τὸν πατέρα*) *τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον θεοῦ.* [The MS. reading is *ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ πατρὸς, κ.τ.λ.* Cotelerius conjectures *ὡς ἐντολὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ὡς ὄντα τύπον τοῦ πατρὸς.* For Vossius' note see above, note r, p. 36.] See H. Hammondi Dissert. contra 2 sententiam Blondel., [c. 25. § 35. Works, vol. ii. p. 768. Hammond's conjecture is; *ὡ Ἰησοῦς Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον* (inserenda sunt ex veteri Latino interprete *ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν*) *ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ πατρός.* (He also, Diss. 4. c. 20. § 10. p. 815, understands the passage in the Apocalypse in the same way as Hickes in the text.) Hefele reads, *τοὺς διακόνους ὡς ἐντολὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ πατρός.*—Patr. Apost., p. 190. Tub. 1847.]

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liar treasure above all other people." This promise of God, which was made to the whole collective body of the Jews, is to be understood of that theocratical form of government under the high-priest and priests[n], in which, as a nation or people, they were to be thoroughly settled; and this honourable promise was made but a very short time before it was performed. Hence the Greek interpreters aptly translate a "kingdom of priests" a "regal priesthood," because Aaron and his successors were the chief magistrates of that people as well as their high-priests. St. Peter useth the same expression, 1 Epist. ii. 9, where, after he had told the Christian Jews that as a Christian people they, "as lively stones, were built up into a spiritual house[o]," or economy of an "holy priesthood" upon Christ as the chief corner-stone, to offer up spiritual sacrifices to God by Him; then farther, to explain the form of this spiritual economy, he proceeds to tell them that they were still, as in the time of their theocracy, "a chosen generation, an holy nation, a peculiar people" formed into the government of "a regal priesthood" or "kingdom of priests," under Jesus the High-Priest of our profession and His ministers, to make them again the people of God. So in this place the apostolical prophet gives glory and dominion to Christ, for purchasing a Church with His blood, and making the economy of it a "kingdom of priests[p]." St. Paul means the same thing in his second epistle to the Corinthians, chap. vi. 16: "What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them, (or among them,) and I will be their God, and they shall be My people." Here, as in all places where the Church is called an house, there is a metalepsis of tropes; for first the temple signifies a holy house dedicated to God; and secondly, that holy house sig-

[n] So Vatablus thinks it is in the primary sense to be understood; *Regnum sacerdotale*] ad verbum *regnum sacerdotum*, h. e. regnum non profanum, quod ex opibus et armis, sed quod ex sacerdotibus, rebus sacris ac divinis constat, q. d. sacrum ac divinum erit hoc regnum.—[Crit. Sacr., tom. i. pars 1. Annott. in Exod. p. 389. The same words are used by Fagius on the place, see above, note t, p. 113.]

[o] See the allegory of building the tower of the church in Hermas' Pastor, lib. i. visio 3. [Ecce non vides contra te turrim magnam, quæ ædificatur super aquas, lapidibus quadris splendidis? &c.—Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 79.]

[p] See Zeger, a little above cited in the margin, [p. 265, note n.]

nifies the family or economy of that holy house[q] which is built on Christ as its foundation, and in which the priests, as superiors, are to govern, teach, and minister in holy offices, and the people, as inferiors, are to be governed, and taught, and perform holy offices by the priests, and which therefore make a holy theocracy unto God. So 1 Cor. iii., after the Apostle had told them that there was no foundation of the Church but Christ, and that He had laid no other foundation; "Know ye not (saith he) that you," as a building erected upon Christ, "are the temples of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you," as in His sanctuary? "if any man," therefore, by bad materials dare "defile," or destroy "the temple of God, him shall God destroy, for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." The economy, therefore, of the Church in general, and of every particular Church, is a temple or spiritual economy, where the priests have the whole administration, and the high-priest, as Christ's vicegerent[r], is chief rector as well as chief priest. Such similitudes as these do the writers of the New Testament use to make Christians, as Christians, understand that the Church is a holy spiritual kingdom, a theocracy in the most proper sense, in which the priests are the sanhedrim or senate, and the high-priests as princes or presidents thereof. And for this St. John gives glory to Christ, who "hath made

1 Cor. 3. 16.

[q] 1 Cor. iii. 11, 12; Ephes. ii. 20. Sacerdotes templi spiritualis, id est ecclesiæ.—Tertull. adversus Judæos, cap. 14. [Op., p. 201, C.]

[r] Cum te judicem Dei constituas, ac Christi, qui dicit ad apostolos, ac per hoc ad omnes præpositos, qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt, 'qui vos audit me audit.'—[S. Cypr., Epist. lxix. (lxvi. ed. Oxon.) ad Florentium Pupianum, p. 122. ed. Ben.] So, Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur.—[Id., Epist. lv. (lix. ed. Oxon.) ad Cornelium, p. 82. ed. Ben.] Potestas ergo peccatorum remittendorum apostolis data est, et ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et episcopis, qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt.—[Firmiliani Epist. ap. S. Cypr., Epist. lxxv. p. 148. ed. Ben.] Tertullian de Præscript. Hær., c. 32. [Op., p. 213, B.] S. Clem. Ep. ad Cor. i. c. 42. [Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 171. The last two passages are quoted in the Prefatory Discourse, on Prop. III. vol. i. p. 65, note u.] St. Ignatius' Epistles. [See above, p. 36, notes p, q, r, and the Discourse on the Dignity of the Episcopal Order, chap. i. sect. 2.]—1 Cor. iv. 1. And Erasmus, in his Latin prayer for the peace of the Church: Da pastoribus, *quibus tuas vices delegare dignatus es*, prophetiæ donum, ut arcanas scripturas non ex humano sensu, sed ex tuo afflatu interpretentur. [Precatio ad Dominum Jesum pro pace Ecclesiæ, written March 5, 1532; it was printed with the tract entitled, Πόλεμος sive Belli Detestatio, per Erasmum Roterdamum (E. 5.) s. a. Coloniæ. It is contained in his collected Works, tom. iv col. 656, A. fol. Ludg. Bat. 1703—1706.]

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Rev. 1. 6.

us kings" (or as many copies have it[s], who "hath made us a kingdom) and priests unto God." So Arethas[t] upon the place also reads it; so the vulgar Latin[u], Syriac[x], Arabic[y], and Ethiopic[z] versions translate it; as also Tertullian *Exhort. ad Castit.*, c. 7.[a] To be "a kingdom of priests," or "a royal priesthood," or "a kingdom and priests," or "kings and priests," are but different expressions for the same thing, for the second is the Greek translation, and the third the Chaldee version of ממלכת כהנים, *mamlecheth cohenim;* "a kingdom of priests[b]," in Exod. xix. 6, which Miles Coverdale in his English Bible (supposed to be printed at Zurich[c]) 1550, renders "a priesterly kingdom[d]." And if it is the true read-

[s] *βασιλείαν* Steph. *α. ιε.* Alex. Baroc. Cov. 2. Sin. M. Hunt. 1. [Vulg. Syr. Arab. Æthiop. Tertull. Ex. ad Cast., c. 7. Arethas, Victorinus.] Dr. Mills on the place. [Novum Testamentum, p. 766. Oxon. 1707. *βασιλείαν* is received as the true reading by Griesbach, Scholz, and most critical editors.]

[t] [*καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ.*—Œcumenii Comment. in N. T. and Arethæ Explanationes in Apocalypsim, tom. ii. p. 650, D. Paris. 1631.]

[u] [Et fecit nos regnum et sacerdotes Deo et patri suo. Apoc. i. 6. Ed. Vulg.]

[x] [ܘܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܟܗܢܝܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ Et fecit nobis regnum sacerdotale Deo.—Ibid., Vers. Syriac. Bibl. Sacr. Polygl., tom. v. p. 932.]

[y] [وصنع لنا ملك الكهنوت ... وصنع لنا ملكا وكهنة لله —Fecitque nobis regnum sacerdotii. ... et fecit nobis regnum ac sacerdotes Deo—Vers. Arab. ibid., p. 933.]

[z] ወረሰየክሙ፡ ውስተ፡፡ መንግሥተ፡ ቅዱሰተ፡ አቡሁ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ — Et constituit vos in regno sancto patris ejus Dei. —Vers. Æthiop. ibid.]

[a] [Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? scriptum est, 'regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et patri suo fecit.'—Tertull. Op., p. 522, A. See below, note h, p. 270.]

[b] [The original Hebrew ממלכת כהנים, Exod. xix. 6, is rendered in the LXX *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα*: and in the Chaldee Paraph. מלכין כהנין ועם קדיש, (Vers. Lat.) reges et sacerdotes, et populus sanctus.—Bibl. Sacr. Polyg. Walton., tom. i. pp. 306, 307.]

[c] [This is a mistake of Hickes. The edition of 1550 is the second edition of Coverdale's Bible. It was the first edition of 1535 which was supposed (by Mr. Humphrey Wanley, who was a friend of Hickes,) to have been printed at Zurich, from the peculiar character of the type. See Lewis, History of English Translations, &c., p. 91. Ed. 1739. Wanley assisted Hickes in his Thesaurus; he is referred to in the Discourse on the Episcopal order as a possessor of a rare Bible; and it appears from a Letter published in the Philosophical Transactions for June 1705, that he attended particularly to this subject. The type of the edition of 1535 is peculiarly sharp, that of 1550 is the common English one of that time. This Bible has on the title-page "The whole Bible, that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and Newe Testament, faithfully translated into English by Myles Coverdale, and newly over sene and corrected. . . . MDL. Printed for Andrew Hester, dwelling at the sign of the Whyte Horse, and are there to be sold; set forth with the king's most gracious license." In the first edition the words are 'presterly kingdom.']

[d] "If ye will hearken now unto My voice, and keep My covenant, ye shall be Mine own before all people; for the whole earth is Mine, and ye shall be unto Me a priesterly kingdom, and a holy people." In 1 Pet. ii. 9 thus, "But ye are that chosen generation, that kingly priesthood, that holy nation, that peculiar people."

ing of this place, St. John makes use of it, as St. Peter doth of a royal priesthood, to let us understand what reason we have to glorify Christ, who hath made us members of this holy theocracy, which in every part of it is governed under Him by sacerdotal princes or priests. This expression of "making us kings and priests unto God," is also used by this Christian prophet in the tenth verse of the fifth chapter: "Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood, out of every kindred, tongue, people, and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on earth." He also speaks much after the same manner in the sixth verse of the twentieth chapter, where it is said that those who have part in the first resurrection "shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years." And in the twenty-second chapter, ver. 5, that in the holy city, the new Jerusalem, the servants of God "shall reign for ever and ever." But because these places relate to a future, and far more glorious, and different state of the Church, I pass them over, only desiring liberty to tell my own opinion, that if they are not to be understood of Christians severally, as Tertullian takes them in a metaphorical sense to denote Christian purity[e], but as in 1 Pet. ii. 9, of the whole collected body of Jewish Christians as a spiritual building, an holy nation, a peculiar polity, people incorporated into the Church; then also they must relate to the Christian theocracy, and the administration of it in a royal priesthood under Christ, though in a much more happy, triumphant, and glorious state, than this.

But, Sir, whatever the sense of these passages or that in the first chapter be, whether they are spoken of Christians severally or collectively, of single Christians or of Christians formed into a society, or polity of a royal priesthood[f], I have

[e] [Tertullian uses the argument that every Christian is a priest against second marriage. De Exhort. Cast., c. 7. p. 522, A, quoted above, note c, and de Monogamia, c. 7, 8. Nos autem Jesus summus sacerdos et magnus patris, de suo vestiens (quia qui in Christo tinguuntur, Christum induerunt) 'sacerdotes Deo patri suo fecit,' secundum Joannem.—p. 529, B, C.]

[f] [Illi sunt] ecclesia plebs sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adherens. Unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesia esse; et ecclesiam in episcopo; et si qui cum episcopo non sint, in ecclesia non esse; et frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum sacerdotibus Dei non habentes obrepunt, et latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt; quando ecclesia quæ catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa; sed sit utique connexa, et cohærentium sibi in-

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sufficiently shewed from other places of the Revelation, that though St. John doth not expressly call the bishops of the Church priests, yet he calls them so by other mystical names, and sets forth their ministry as a proper priesthood, which offered up the mystical incense, the prayers of all saints, that is of the Church, more especially in the service of the holy Eucharist, when, according to the prophecy of Malachi, the most solemn prayers and praises were offered unto God by a holy priesthood on the mystical golden altar in every Christian Church. Christians then are a kingdom of priests as well as the Jews were; a congregation or multitude of people formed like them into a priestly government, and by the ministration of priests to serve and worship God, and by their hands to offer their external sacrifices of bread and wine, and by their mouths to offer up Eucharistical[g] prayers, and praises, and intercessions to Him, which God, through Christ our High-Priest, will accept, as He did the sacrifices and prayers of the Jews. This is very agreeable doctrine to what I have shewed was taught in the early and pure ages of the Church. *Ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀληθινὸν γένος ἐσμὲν τοῦ θεοῦ, κ. τ. λ.* (saith Justin in his Dialogue with the Jew[h];) "We are the true sacerdotal people of God, as God Himself testifies, saying, that 'in every place among the Gentiles pure

vicem sacerdotum glutino copulata.—S. Cyprian. [Epist. lxix. (Ep. lxvi. ed. Oxon.) ad Florentium Pupianum, pp. 122, 123. ed. Ben.] See also the excellent annotations on Tertull. lib. de Exhortatione Castitatis, cap. 7, notæ 39, 40 [The notes are those of Pamelius, mentioned above, note k, p. 116. Note 39 is on the words, Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus, &c. quoted above, note c, p. 268, which after quoting Rev. i. 6, there referred to, says; Minime istud favere potest Lutheri hæresi, qui omnes laicos facit sacerdotes; sed ita intelligi debet; quod reges et sacerdotes spiritales fideles omnes censeantur utpote qui sacrificia spiritalia offerunt; alioqui eodem argumento posset quis concludere omnes reges esse. Quam suam sententiam satis indicat verbis sequentibus auctor: this is then shewn at length. Note 40 is on the words, Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici; discussed in the Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. p. 238, note a, on which Pamelius observes; Hic alludere videtur, 'ubi enim sunt duo vel tres, congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum;' verum ad hæresim Montani videtur pertinere, quod addat 'licet laici,' utpote in cujus sectatores potissimum competat illud lib. de Præscript. Hær., c. 41. (Op., p. 217, C.) 'Hodie presbyter qui eras laicus; nam et laicis sacerdotalia muneri injungunt.' Ex contrario B. Cypr. teste Epist. 69. ad Florentium Pupianum; 'Ecclesia plebs est sacerdoti adunata,' &c.] Tertull., tom. ii. pp. 684, 685. Par. 1635.

[g] [*οὗτος γὰρ ἐξαίρετος ἱερεὺς καὶ αἰώνιος βασιλεύς, ὁ Χριστὸς, ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ. οὗ ἐν τῇ πάλιν παρουσίᾳ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν Ἠσαΐαν ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους προφήτας θυσίας ἄφ' αἱμάτων ἢ σπονδῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀναφέρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀληθινοὺς καὶ πνευματικοὺς, αἴνους καὶ εὐχαριστίας.*—S. Just. M. Dial. cum Tryph., c. 118. Op., p. 211, C.]

[h] [*ἀρχιερατικὸν τὸ ἀλήθινον γένος ἐσμὲν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς μαρτυρεῖ, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι θυσίας εὐαρέστας αὐτῷ καὶ*

Mal. I. 11.

and acceptable sacrifices should be brought unto Him.' But God accepts sacrifices from none but by His priests. God therefore testifies before the time that all sacrifices should be acceptable to Him in this name (of Jesus) which Jesus appointed to be done, I mean in the Eucharist of the bread and the cup, and which are offered up by Christians in all places of the earth; but your sacrifices offered up by your priests He utterly rejects, saying, 'I will not receive your sacrifices from your hands; because from the rising of the sun unto the setting thereof My name shall be glorified among the Gentiles; but you have profaned it.'" He speaks to the same purpose, citing the prophet Malachi, more perfectly, as I have transcribed the passage before[i]. Thus much, Sir, as to the prophetical book of the New Testament, in which I hope I have shewed that, setting aside the texts, in which we are said to be kings and priests, St. John hath called Christian bishops priests in the same figurative way of writing that he calls Christians Jews[k]. To which I have but one observation more to add, which relates to his description of the four and twenty elders, who had crowns or mitres of gold on their heads, and the tradition of his wearing the golden crown or mitre, in the front of which there was engraven HOLINESS TO THE LORD. Sir, you cannot but remark that this story, which is so well attested, and his description of the Christian priests, agree very well together. But it is time to put an end to my letter, and the exercise of your patience in reading of it, which I shall here do with an hearty prayer that all Christian presbyters and bishops would, as it becomes them, assert the truth of their priestly character with all boldness, and adorn it with all sanctity of life and manners, to the honour of Him who is our King[l],

καθαρὰς προσφέροντες. οὐ δέχεται δὲ παρ' οὐδενὸς θυσίας ὁ θεὸς, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ. . . . . πάντας οὖν οἱ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου θυσίας ἃς παρέδωκεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς γίνεσθαι, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, τὰς ἐν πάντι τόπῳ τῆς γῆς γενομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, προλάβων ὁ θεὸς, μαρτυρεῖ εὐαρέστους ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ· τὰς δὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ὑμῶν τῶν ἱερέων γενομένας ἀπαναίνεται, λέγων, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ὑμῶν οὐ προσδέξομαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν· διότι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου ἕως δυσμῶν τὸ ὄνομά μου δεδόξασται, λέγει, ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι· ὑμεῖς δὲ βεβηλοῦτε αὐτὸ.—Id. ibid., c. 116, 117. p. 209, D.]

[i] [Id. ibid., § 41. pp. 137, D, E. 138, A; quoted above, p. 103, note a.]

[k] [See above, p. 258.]

[l] S. Justin. M. Apol. dict. ii. [*καὶ ἄγγελος δὲ καλεῖται καὶ ἀπόστολος, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀπαγγέλλει ὅσα δεῖ γνωσθῆναι.*—Apol. i. (ii. vett. edd.) c. 63. Op.,

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Prophet, and High-Priest, the Angel and Apostle of God, from whom we derive our priestly powers and authority, and to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory in all the Churches of the saints now and for ever. Amen. With this prayer, and part of that with which St. Ambrose ended his book of the Sacerdotal Dignity[m], I conclude this Discourse of the Christian Priesthood:

Quanquam sciam pro hoc libello plurimos mihi sacerdotes, qui quæ loquimur agere nolunt, infideliter esse detracturos; credo tamen plurimos, qui hæc agunt, vel agere obnituntur, fideliter pro nobis oraturos. Sed sicut lacerationibus obtrectatorum minime prægravamur, sic demum probatorum et sanctorum virorum orationibus adjuvamur. Age jam nunc, sanctificus spiritus, qui nos in hoc opere divinis inspirationibus adjuvisti, cunctos sacerdotes adjuva, et præsta, ut faciant quæ in hoc opusculo ipse eloqui inspirasti [ut eis una mecum tribuas cœlorum regna quæ sanctis in fine sæculorum dare promisisti perpetua[n].] Amen.

p. 81, B.] Dial. cum Tryph. [καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλαβε τὸ βασιλεὺς, καὶ Χριστὸς, καὶ ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἄγγελος.—c. 86. Op., p. 184, A.]

[m] [Pseudo-Ambr. de Dignitate Sacerdotali, cap. 7. S. Ambr. Op., tom. ii. App., p. 364, E.]

[n] [The editor has presumed to add the concluding words from the original.]

THE

DIGNITY

OF THE

EPISCOPAL ORDER.

CHAPTER I.

SIR[a],

I. I AM glad to find by your answer to my letter, that you object so little to my propositions, and that the objections you make against them affect neither the truth, nor order, nor connection of them. First, you object, that my way of speaking of bishops as "spiritual princes[b]," and of their dioceses as "spiritual principalities," seems to you novel and uncouth, and will be apt to give offence to some good Churchmen, who do not think so loftily, as I write, of the episcopal office; but that the terms of princes, and lords, and principalities, and lordships, are fitter for temporal sovereigns and lords, according to what our Saviour saith to His Apostles,

SECT. I. Common notions of Jews and Gentiles as to the dignity of the Priesthood.

[a] [The person to whom this letter was addressed was Mr. Serjeant Geers, the brother of Mrs. Susanna Hopton. It was for his satisfaction that Hickes had drawn out the Propositions which gave rise to the composition of these two Discourses. See the opening of the Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. pp. 59—62, and notes, particularly note g, p. 62.]

[b] [The serjeant made several objections to Hickes' propositions. The first two are treated here. They were made to Hickes' third proposition; viz., that "Christ the archetypal, eternal Melchisedec, is the King of this spiritual kingdom, Lord of this spiritual dominion, and supreme Head of this spiritual corporation, and the bishops, as successors to the Apostles, are under Him, by commission derived from Him, spiritual lords, chiefs, and princes, as well as priests in His spiritual kingdom; to whom, in their respective spiritual dominions and jurisdictions, He requires obedience of all His subjects, of what temporal rank or condition soever, as to His stewards, vicegerents, or chief ministers over His Church."—See vol. i. pp. 64—66. The first objection is answered in this chapter; the second in the next. The remaining ones, and the replies to them, are printed in the posthumous work, entitled, the Constitution of the Catholic Church, &c., by George Hickes, D.D. 1716.]

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Matt. 20. 26, 27.

"Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." Indeed, Sir, I grant, that in a Church and age wherein the episcopal office and its authority has been so many ways depressed, some good people may be choked at those expressions; but when they shall have the same idea of it and of the Church, which I hope this letter will help to raise in you, they will be no longer offended at them, but think them just and proper, and such as the nature of that high spiritual trust and office requires. It is the unhappiness of our times, that men have too mean and low notions of the episcopal authority, and those who by succession and ordination are advanced to it. But, Sir, if you had the same notion of the dignity and honour of the priesthood that the Jews had of it, I believe you would not think I had spoken too loftily of the archieratical or episcopal office, or that the terms of "princes, and spiritual sovereigns," were so improper, or too high for it. Philo in his first book *περὶ μοναρχίας*, saith[c] that "God rewarded Phineas for his zeal with the honour of the priesthood, or service of the Father[d]," i. e. of God, "whose service was not only freedom, but more excellent than the kingly office," (*ᾧ τὸ δουλεύειν οὐκ ἐλευθερίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλείας ἄμεινον,*) and that it was the intention of the Jewish law[e], "that the priests should have equal honour and veneration with their kings." In his book *περὶ Γιγάντων*, he saith[f], that "priests and prophets are the men of God, who are of greater dignity, than that they should be immersed in mundane affairs, and become citizens of the world,

[c] [*τῇ δ', ὅτι γέρας εὐσεβοῦς ἀνδρὸς οἰκειότατον ἱερωσύνη, θεραπείαν ἐπαγγελλομένου τοῦ πατρὸς, ᾧ τὸ δουλεύειν οὐκ ἐλευθερίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλείας ἄμεινον.*—Philo *περὶ μοναρχίας*, lib. i. Op., tom. ii. p. 220. The *ἀνὴρ εὐσεβὴς* is Phinehas, of whom Philo is speaking.]

[d] Father was a solemn appellation of a heathen deity among the Greeks and Romans, as is observed by Brissonius de Formul., lib. i. pp. 48, 49, &c. in the edit. in folio, Paris, 1583. [Certum 'inter sollemnes ritus et precationes generaliter deos omnes patres nuncupatos,' Lactantius (Institut. Divin., lib. iv. c. 3.) tradit, 'non tantum honoris gratia, verum etiam rationis. Itaque,' addit, 'Jupiter a precantibus vocatur Pater, et Saturnus et Liber et cæteri deinceps dei;' quod his Lucilii versibus confirmat; 'Ut nemo sit nostrum quin pater optimu' divum; Ut Neptunu' pater, Liber, Saturnu' pater, Mars, Janu', Quirinu' pater, nomen dicatur ad unum.' —(Bibl. Patr., tom. iv. p. 288. E.) Barn. Brissonius, De Formul., lib. i. pp. 43, 44. 4to. Francof. 1592.]

[e] [*ἐξ ὧν ἁπάντων ἐστὶ δῆλον ὅτι βασιλέων σεμνότητα καὶ τιμὴν περιάπτει τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὁ νόμος.*—Philo de Præmiis Sacerdotum, Op., tom. ii. p. 234.]

[f] [*θεοῦ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἱερεῖς καὶ προφῆται, οἵ τινες οὐκ ἠξίωσαν πολιτείας τῆς παρὰ τῷ κόσμῳ τυχεῖν, καὶ κοσμο-*

but that soaring above all sensible things, they removed to the intellectual world, and dwelt there, being registered in the society of the incorruptible and incorporeal ideas." And King Agrippa[g] in the supplicatory letter he sent to Caligula, in favour of his countrymen the Jews, writes after this manner: "I was born a Jew, as your majesty knows, and Jerusalem is the place of my birth, in which is the temple of the most high God. I have had kings for my progenitors, some of whom have been high-priests, who thought the regal dignity inferior to the sacerdotal, supposing, that as much as God was more excellent than men, so much the high-priesthood was more excellent than the kingly office, the service of God being committed to that, but to this the care of men." And Josephus in the beginning of his life[h], written by himself, to set forth his illustrious and most honourable original, tells us "he descended of a priestly race," which he saith was "a proof of the splendor of his family," and then lets us know that his descent was also "of the first rank, or order of priests," and in the last place saith, that he "was also of the royal Asmonæan family, by the mother's side." I hope, Sir, you will allow the Christian priesthood and priests, to be at least as honourable and venerable as the Jewish. I am sure they are ministers of a better covenant, and a more perfect and excellent religion, and as nearly related to the Father, and His Son, the *θεῖος λόγος ἀρχιερεὺς*, as Philo calls Him[i], as the Jewish priests were, and perform as holy ministrations under the new law as they did under the old.

And how great and honourable the priesthood was among

πολῖται γενέσθαι· τὸ δὲ αἰσθητὸν πᾶν ὑπερκύψαντες, εἰς τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον μετανέστησαν κἀκεῖθι ᾤκησαν, ἐγγραφέντες ἀφθάρτων ἀσωμάτων ἰδεῶν πολιτείᾳ.—Id. de Gigantibus, Op., tom. i. p. 271.]

g [*γεγένημαι μὲν ὡς οἶδας Ἰουδαῖος. ἔστι δέ μοι Ἱεροσόλυμα πατρὶς, ἐν ᾗ ὁ τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεὼς ἅγιος ἵδρυται. πάππων καὶ προγόνων βασιλέων ἔλαχον, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἐλέγοντο ἀρχιερεῖς, τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τιθέμενοι.*—Id. de Virtutibus et Legatione ad Caium, Op., tom. ii. p. 586.]

h [*ἐμοὶ δὲ γένος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄσημον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἱερέων ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκὸς, ὥσπερ δὴ παρ' ἑκάστοις ἄλλη τίς ἐστιν εὐγενείας ὑπόθεσις, οὕτως παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ τῆς ἱερωσύνης μετουσία τεκμήριόν ἐστι γένους λαμπρότητος· ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἱερέων ἐστὶ τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἐφημέριδος τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων. πολλὴ δὲ κἂν τούτῳ διαφορά. ὑπάρχω δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός. οἱ γὰρ Ἀσαμωναίου παῖδες, ὧν ἔκγονος ἐκείνη, τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον χρόνον ἠρχιεράτευσαν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν.*—Flavii Josephi Vita, § 1. Op., tom. ii. p. 1.]

i [Philo de Profugis, Op., tom. i. p. 562. See the context quoted above, note d, p. 207.]

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the heathens many have observed; particularly a late author[k], whose words I shall transcribe for your use.

"On this account the priests were honoured with the next places to their kings and chief magistrates, and in many places wore the same habit. 'In most of the Grecian cities, and particularly at Athens,' as we are informed by Plato[l] and several others, 'the care of Divine worship was committed to the chief magistrates, who were often consecrated to the priesthood.' Thus Anius in Virgil, was king of Delos, and priest of Apollo.

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos[m]."

He also observes after Clemens Alexandrinus[n], that "'in Egypt the kings were all priests, and if any one who was not of the royal family usurped the kingdom, he was obliged to be consecrated to the priesthood, before he was permitted to govern,' and we are assured by Plutarch[o], 'that the dignity of priests was equal to that of kings.' At Sparta[p] 'the kings immediately after their promotion took upon them the two priesthoods of the heavenly and the Lacedæmonian Jupiter, which was rather esteemed an accession to their honour, than any diminution from it:'" with more to the same purpose. So Grotius in Genesis, cap. xiv. ver. 18[q]. *Erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi.*]

[k] Dr. Potter in his Archæologia Græca, or Antiquities of Greece, book ii. ch. 3. [Hickes gives the substance of Potter's statement, whose work had then been very recently published.] See also Sir John Hayward of Supremacy in Affairs of Religion, p. 22, &c. [London, 1624. The work was dedicated to King Charles I. The passage referred to contains a large collection of instances of the union of the regal and sacerdotal offices in the same persons.]

[l] [ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλαχοῦ ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀρχαῖς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα θύματα εὕροι τις ἂν προσταττόμενα θύειν. καὶ δὴ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν οὐχ ἥκιστα δῆλον ὃ λέγω· τῷ γὰρ λαχόντι βασιλεῖ φασὶ τῇδε τὰ σεμνότατα καὶ μάλιστα πάτρια τῶν ἀρχαίων θυσιῶν ἀποδεδόσθαι.—Platonis Politicus, c. 30. Op., Pars 2. tom. ii. p. 319, ed. Bekker.]

[m] [Virgil. Æneid. iii. 80.]

[n] [ὥστε περὶ μὲν Αἴγυπτον οὐδ' ἔξεστι βασιλέα χωρὶς ἱερατικῆς ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ τύχῃ πρότερον ἐξ ἄλλου γένους βιασάμενος, ὕστερον ἀναγκαῖον εἰς τοῦτο εἰστελεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τὸ γένος.—Platonis Politicus, ibid. This passage immediately precedes the one quoted in note l. Hickes has put Clemens Alexandrinus for Plato, apparently by mistaking one of the references in Potter for another.]

[o] [ὡς ἐνιαχοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀντίῤῥοπον ἦν τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀξίωμα πρὸς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας.—Plutarch. Quæstiones Romanæ, tom. vii. p. 169.]

[p] [Reges Spartanorum quum primum in eam assumpti sunt dignitatem, privilegio honoris præcipui, Jovis cœlestis et Lacedæmonii sacerdotio funguntur.—Alexander ab Alexandro, Gen. Dier., lib. ii. c. 8. (tom. i. p. 317. Lugd. Bat. 1673,) is the authority referred to by Potter.]

[q] [Grotius Annott. in Gen. xiv. 18. Crit. Sacr., tom. i. col. 388.]

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos[r].

Ubi Servius, 'sane majorum erat consuetudo, ut rex etiam esset sacerdos, vel pontifex.' Hinc 'domus, in qua pontifex habitabat regia dicebatur,' docente eodem Servio ad Æneid. viii. [362.] *qui et sæpe notat a Virgilio omnia jura sacerdotalia tribui Æneæ.*

In the first and purest ages of Christianity, all the orders of clergy were counted so honourable, that the most noble of the laity thought it an honour to be a priest or deacon, and therefore the governors of the Church, to discourage such and such blameable practices, incapacitated those who were guilty of them, to be priests. And it was in reference to the three honourable orders in that Church, St. Ignatius said[s], *τόπος μηδένα φυσιούτω*, "let no man's place puff him up."

SECT. II.
A distinct and independent spiritual authority in the Bishops of the Church.

II. I have set these things before you, dear Sir, to raise your conceptions to the full and just height of the sacerdotal dignity, which the council of Sardica[t] calls "Divine, and most venerable," and of that pre-eminent unworldly power and authority, which the spiritual governors and magistrates have over their spiritual subjects in the kingdom of Christ. I thought it proper for me to speak of them in such a style, and such expressions, as I conceived was fittest for my purpose in framing those propositions in my former letter, and useful at all times, especially in ours, to help Christian men, of all ranks and professions, to the right apprehension of that spiritual superiority to which God hath made them subject without exception; and, that being once rightly apprehended, to give them thereby a true notion of the free estate, or independent nature of the Church, and its real distinction[u], as a society, from the State. This indeed by a concurrence of unhappy causes, among which I reckon the great liberty of writing against the Church, especially by

[r] Virgil. Æneid. iii. 80.

[s] S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn., [c. 6. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 36.]

[t] Can. xx. [*ἴσμεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ*] *πλεονάκις διὰ τὴν ὀλίγων ἀναισχυντίαν, τὸ θεῖον καὶ σεβασμιώτατον ὄνομα τῆς ἱερωσύνης εἰς κατάγνωσιν ἐληλυθέναι.*—[Concilii Sardicensis, (A.D. 347.) Canon xx. Concil., tom. ii. col. 672, B.]

[u] [Postremo in rebus mere divinis sacerdotes plenariam potestatem obtinentes, princeps ovis erit; at in rebus civilibus, sacerdos communi jure cum cæteris e populo censebitur, nisi beneficio principis prerogativa honoris et privilegia illi fuerunt inducta.—De Libertate Ecclesiastica, inter Epistolas Casauboni ed. Almeloveenii, tom. ii. p. 177. Roterodami. 1709. See Appendix, No. 6.]

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the deists, is become a hard and almost unintelligible doctrine to many of the Church of England, even to some of that order, whose dignity I am defending; though it is a very familiar notion, and clearly understood not only by the most ignorant of the clergy and laity of the Church of Rome, but by the ministry and people among dissenters of all sorts, whose practice I know it is to speak with contempt of the Church of England, for being, as they conceive and object, so dependent upon the State, and against the clergy, whom they love to blame without distinction, for subjecting the rights and authority of the kingdom of Christ to the kings and kingdoms of the world. One of the causes why the doctrine of the Church's being a society distinct from the State, and independent of it, is so little known and understood among us, is and hath been, the great modesty of many of the clergy, who have forborne to preach it lest they should seem thereby to preach up themselves. Others of them have forborne to preach it purely because they did not understand it: for employing themselves too much in the study of other sorts of learning external to their profession, they have unhappily neglected the study of ecclesiastical antiquity, which was more necessary for them to know. Others of them, who studied it, and made themselves masters of it, have been silent, because they had little or no provocation for many years to preach it. Others again, when there hath been occasion enough to preach it, have for fear of offending those by whom they expected to be preferred, either been wholly silent, or shewed it only by half lights. And some, Sir, have wrote of it in such a dilute manner, as is hard to tell whether they wrote for or against it. This, Sir, was your own expression to me, when we discoursed last together on this melancholy subject, before the good lady[x]. Then I put you in mind of the notions and doctrines, which some of the gentlemen of your robe have taught of the king's supremacy, which you allowed to be another cause why the doctrine of the Church's independency, as a society really distinct from the State, was so great a stranger in our Israel; but because we then fully discoursed that point together, I shall here say nothing more of it, than that men

[x] [This lady was Mrs. Hopton. See vol. i. pp. 59, sqq.]

who have imbibed those later notions and doctrines from these writers, will be more apt than others to think the expressions, in which I call bishops princes, and their dioceses principalities, to be novel and uncouth, though in truth they are not. On the contrary, Sir, as they are very ancient, so are they the common language of primitive Christianity, as you may see by the following authorities. St. Paul calls them *προισταμένους ἐν Κυρίῳ*[y], 'presidents, prefects, rulers, or governors in the Lord,' and *προεστῶτας πρεσβυτέρους*, 'ruling, or governing presbyters.' So in Justin Martyr they are frequently called *προεστῶτες*, 'presidents[z];' and by Gregory Nyssen[a], *πνευματικοὶ προεστῶτες*, 'spiritual presidents,' and by St. Basil in Psalm xxviii.[b], *οἱ τῆς ποίμνης τοῦ Χριστοῦ προεστῶτες*, 'prefects, or presidents of the flock of Christ.' So St. Cyprian, Epist. lix. *ad Cornelium*, calls the bishop *Ecclesiæ præpositum*[c], and *præpositum* (*Christi*) *servum*[d], and the bishops those, *qui in Ecclesia Catholica fratribus præsunt*[e]. So in Epist. lxix.[f], *qui se schismaticis contra præpositos et sacerdotes miscuerint.* Epist. lxxiii.[g] *unde intelligimus non nisi in Ecclesia præpositis . . . . . licere baptizare.* St. Paul in Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24, calls the bishops *ἡγουμένους*, a word used to set forth our Lord's spiritual dominion. Matt. ii. 6, *ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος*, "for out of thee shall come a governor (or prince) who shall rule My people Israel." It is also used of the Apostles to whom Christ committed all His power, and the administration of His kingdom; Luke xxii. 26. "But ye shall not be so, but he that

1 Thess. 5. 12.
1 Tim. 5. 17.

[y] *προιστάμενος, προεστὼς*, of the same signification with *προστάτης*, 'præfectus, præses, qui alicui rei præest, eamque administrat,' all from *προΐσταμι*, 'antesto, præsum, præfectus sum.' See Budæi Commentar., p. 487, and Stephani Thesaur. in *προΐσταμαι*, [tom. iv. col. 4610, D.] *προστασία*, [ibid., col. 4611, D.] *προστάτης*, [ibid., col. 4612, C.,] the words by which Greg. Nazianzen expresseth himself, in his first apologetical oration, when he speaks of bishops and the episcopal office.—[S. Greg. Naz. Orat. ii. (al. i.) Apologetica, § 11. *τοῦ προεστῶτος.* Op., tom. ii. p. 17, C. *τὴν προστασίαν.*—Ibid., § 16. p. 20, A. *τὸν προστάτην.*—Ibid., § 44. p. 34, A.; et alibi sæpius.]

[z] [See S. Just. M. Apol. i. c. 65, 67. Op., pp. 82, 83, quoted above, pp. 105, 106, notes f, g. The word *προεστὼς* occurs repeatedly in the context of the passages there extracted.]

[a] [S. Greg. Nyssen., de Scopo Christiano, Op., tom. iii. p. 306, B. The word *προεστὼς* occurs frequently in the context.]

[b] [S. Basilii Hom. in Psalm. xxviii. § 2. Op., tom. i. p. 115, A.]

[c] [S. Cypr. Epist. lv. (lix. ed. Oxon.) pp. 82, 88. ed. Ben.]

[d] [Id. ibid., p. 82. ed. Ben.]

[e] [Id. ibid., pp. 83, 84.]

[f] [Id. Epist. lxxvi. (lxix. ed. Oxon.) ad Magnum, ibid., p. 155.]

[g] [Id., Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaianum, ibid., p. 131.]

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is greatest among you let him be as the younger, *καὶ ὁ ἡγούμενος*, and he that is chief (or prince) as he that doth serve." Clemens Romanus useth the same word to distinguish the Apostles and their Apostolic successors from presbyters in the Church of Corinth, cap. 1[h]. "You did all things without respect of persons, you walked in the laws of God, being subject *τοῖς ἡγουμένοις*[i] *ὑμῶν*, to your chief governors, or princes, and giving due honour *τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις*, to the presbyters among you." He also useth the same word, cap. 21, for the successors of the Apostles in the Church; "Let us," saith he[k], "worship our Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was offered for us, let us reverence our chiefs, [*προηγουμένους*,] let us honour our presbyters, and instruct the new disciples in the fear of God." I call it the same word though in composition, because it hath the same signification, and I have rendered *νέους* 'new disciples,' as it certainly signifies also in cap. 1, 3[l]; and as *νεώτερος* doth, Acts v. 6, and 1 Pet. v. 5. But to proceed, so Origen on Matt. xx. 20[m], *ὁ δὲ ἡγούμενος· οὕτως δὲ οἶμαι ὀνομάζειν τὸν καλούμενον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπίσκοπον*, "the prince, for so I think fit to call him that is called a bishop in the Churches." So *contra Celsum*, lib. viii.[n], where, speaking of bishops as Archons[o] of the Church, he saith, *καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἅμα καὶ δικαίως ἡγούμενοι, καὶ πάντων πεφροντικότες, κ.τ.λ.* "Our rulers, who are made so by constraint, as well as for merit, have the care of all; of

[h] [*ἀπροσωπολήπτως γὰρ πάντα ἐποιεῖτε, καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπορεύεσθε, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τιμὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ὑπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις.*—S. Clem. R. Ep. i. ad Cor. § 1, Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 147.]

[i] *ἡγούμενος*, signifies as *ἡγεμών*. See the use of the word in the civil signification, by profane authors in *ἡγέομαι, οὖμαι, ἡγεμὼν, ἡγεμονία*, in Stephani Thesaur. [*ἡγεόμαι* pro dux sum, i. e. imperator, ducto, præsum in generaliter pro præsum. Xen. (Ἀπ. i. 7. 5.) *ὡς ἱκανὸς εἴη τῆς πόλεως ἡγεῖσθαι.* Item, *ἡγούμενος τῆς Γερμανίας*, e Plut. ut Lat. dicitur 'præesse' provinciæ. Steph. Thes., tom. iv. col. 4076, D. *ἡγεμὼν*, princeps; sicut Lat. quoque ducem et principem interdum copulant.—Ibid., col. 4078, B. . . . *ἡγεμονία* imperium, generaliter pro imperio, principatu.—Ibid., D, and col. 4079, A.]

[k] *τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, οὗ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη, ἐντραπῶμεν. τοὺς προηγουμένους ἡμῶν αἰδεσθῶμεν. τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν τιμήσωμεν. τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ.*—[S. Clem. R. Epist. i. c. 21. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 160.]

[l] [*τιμὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέροις· νέοις τε μέτρια καὶ σέμνα νοεῖν ἐπιτρέπετε.*—Id. ibid., c. 1. p. 147. *ἐπηγέρθησαν . . . οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.*—Ibid., c. 3. pp. 148, 149.]

[m] [*ὁ δὲ ἡγούμενος· οὕτω δὲ οἶμαι ὀνομάζειν τὸν καλούμενον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπίσκοπον, ὡς ὁ τοῖς ὑπηρετουμένοις διακονούμενος.*—Origenes Comm. in Matt., tom. xvi. Op., tom. iii. p. 723, C. . The right translation seems rather to be "for so I think He calls him who is called a bishop," &c.]

[n] [*καὶ ἀναγκαίως ἅμα καὶ δικαίως*

those within, that they may live better and better every day; and of those without, that they may bring them to knowledge of true piety and religion in words and works, and to the worship of the true God . . . and be united to God, who is Lord over all, by His Son God the Word, the Wisdom, the Truth, and the Justice, who unites all converts to Him, who live in all things according to the Divine will."

And that this word imports greatness in its signification[p], even principality, or chief rule and authority in all communities, is evident from 1 Macc. xiv. 41, *καὶ ὅτι εὐδόκησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ εἶναι Σίμωνα ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα*: "Also that the Jews were well pleased that Simon should be their governor (or prince) and high-priest." I have observed this, because the word *ἡγούμενος*, like the

ἡγούμενοι, καὶ πάντων πεφροντίκοτες, τῶν μὲν ἔνδον, ἵν' ὁσημέραι βέλτιον βιῶσι· τῶν δὲ δοκούντων ἔξω, ἵνα γένωνται ἐν τοῖς σεμνοῖς τῆς θεοσεβείας λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις· καὶ οὕτω θεὸν ἀληθῶς σέβοντες, καὶ πολλοὺς, ὅση δύναμις, παιδεύοντες ἀνακραθῶσι τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, καὶ τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ καὶ οὕτως ἑνωθῶσι τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεῷ, διὰ τοῦ ἑνοῦντος αὐτῷ υἱοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, καὶ σοφίας, καὶ ἀληθείας, καὶ δικαιοσυνης, πάντα τὸν προτετραμμένον ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ θεὸν ἐν πᾶσι ζῆν.—Id. contr. Celsum, lib. viii. c. 75. Op., tom. i. p. 798, D—F.]

[o] Ussher, Vett. Testimonia de Ignatio, p. 4. [Ussher quotes a passage from St. Chrysostom, Hom. in S. Ignat. M., § 2. (Op., tom. ii. p. 593, D.) where, after speaking of St. Ignatius' living with the Apostles, he says; *καὶ τοσαύτης εἶναι δύξαντα αὐτοῖς ἀρχῆς ἄξιον*: and on this observes, Episcopatus autem dignitatem hic intelligit, quam ab Apostolis Ignatium accepisse in sequentibus ita ostendit; *οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὅτι τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς ἄξιος εἶναι ἔδοξε, θαυμάζω τὸν ἄνδρα ἐγὼ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἐνεχειρίσθη, καὶ αἱ τῶν μακαρίων ἀποστόλων χεῖρες τῆς ἱερὰς ἐκείνης ἥψαντο κεφαλῆς.*—(S. Chrys. ibid., p. 594, A.) Ignatii &c. Epistolæ, ed. Usser. Oxon. 1643.]

[p] See Dr. Hammond and Grotius on Heb. xiii. 7. [Hammond observes that the word *ἡγούμενος* is a common word to signify all kind of authority or rule, instancing Ecclus. ix. 22; x. 2, 24; xiii. 54; 1 Macc. xiii. 8, 42: and that the Hebrew נשיא, משל, and נגיד, which are ordinarily rendered *ἄρχων*, are often rendered *ἡγούμενος*. He quotes the instances given above, and others from the New Testament; particularly Acts xv. 22, where he understands the word to be used of Judas and Silas, as being bishops in Judea, following St. Chrysostom and others; and lastly, he shews that the persons spoken of in Heb. xiii. were bishops, in that they, ver. 7, had "spoken to them the word of God;" ver. 17, "watched over their souls;" and with the saints, ver. 24, ("Salute all the rulers and all the saints,") made up the whole Church. —Hammond, Annotations on Heb. xiii. Works, vol. iii. p. 768.

μνημονέυετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν. Mementote præpositorum vestrorum; *ἡγούμενοι*, צלופים in Veteri Testamento, sunt populorum aut exercituum duces atque principes, quod nomen hic optimo jure aptatur eis qui apud Christianos *κατ' ἐξοχὴν* (per excellentiam) tum *προεστῶτες* (præsides) tum *ἐπίσκοποι* (episcopi) dicuntur, quorum munus est non tantum præsse presbyterio, sed et *κοπιᾷν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ* (laborare in verbo) 1 Tim. v. 17. quale apud Judæos fuit et nunc est munus *τῶν ἀρχισυναγώγων* (principum synagogæ). Sic et in Epistola Clementis ad Corinthios bis ponuntur *ἡγούμενοι* (præpositi), deinde *πρεσβύτεροι* (seniores). Loquitur autem de iis qui jam obierant, ut ostendunt sequentia.—Grotius in Ep. ad Hebr., cap. xiii. 7. Crit. Sacr., tom. vii. col. 1187.]

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Hebrew *cohen*[q], carries so much greatness and excellency of power in its signification; for ἡγεμονία, the noun, signifies supreme authority both in sacred and profane writers, as Luke iii. 1. τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, "in the fifteenth year of the reign, or empire of Tiberius Cæsar." And therefore Chrysostom in Hom. xxxiv. on the Epistle to the Hebrews[r], compares them to what is chief, and preeminent in every kind, as to "the precentor and governor of a chorus, the general of an army, the captain of a ship, and the shepherd of a flock." He calls them ἄρχοντας, which in Latin and English too is familiarly translated 'princes.' It is so translated in both languages, Matt. xx. 25; Mark iii. 22; John xii. 31; and in many other places, as 1 Cor. ii. 8; Eph. ii. 2; and is also so rendered throughout the ancient Latin version of the Epistles of St. Ignatius[s], and almost wheresoever the LXX translate by ἄρχοντες, where we use the word princes, as 1 Chron. xxviii. 1, and 21. According to this observation the same father speaks of τοῦ ἀξιώματος τὸ μέγεθος[t], "the greatness of their dignity," and upon those words, "salute those who have the rule over you" (τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν, i. e. your rulers, or princes) "and all the saints." "See (saith he) how he honoured them, in writing to these for the sake of them[u]."

But before I proceed further, let me, Sir, observe to you, that it is no wonder such titles are given to bishops and their

[q] [See above, the Christian Priesthood, chap. ii. sect. 2. p. 15.]

[r] [κακὸν μὲν ἡ ἀναρχία πανταχοῦ, καὶ πολλῶν ὑπόθεσις συμφορῶν, καὶ ἀρχὴ ἀταξίας καὶ συγχύσεως· μάλιστα δὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τυσοῦτον ἐπισφαλεστέρα ἐστὶν ὅσον καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μεῖζον καὶ ὑψηλότερον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἂν χοροῦ τὸν κορυφαῖον ἀνέλῃς, οὐχὶ κατὰ μέλος καὶ κατὰ τάξιν ὁ χορὸς ἔσται, καὶ φάλαγγος στρατοπέδου τὸν στρατηγὸν ἂν ἀποστήσῃς, οὐκ ἔτι ῥυθμῷ καὶ τάξει τὰ τῆς παρατάξεως ἔσται, καὶ πλοίου τὸν κυβερνήτην ἐὰν περιέλῃς, καταδύσεις τὸ σκάφος· οὕτω καὶ ποιμνίου τὸν ποιμένα ἐὰν ἀποστήσῃς, πάντα ἀνέτρεψας καὶ ἠφανίσας.—S. Chrysost. in Hebr., Hom. xxxiv. § 1. cap. 13. Op., tom. xii. p. 311, A, B.]

[s] Edit. Voss., pp. 5, 27, 31, 42, 49, 60. [The ancient Latin version is printed parallel with the Greek in Vossius' edition of St. Ignatius' Epistles. Epistolæ genuinæ S. Ignatii M. quæ nunc primum lucem vident ex bibliotheca Florentina. Amst. 1646. It is given in Cotelerius' Patr. Apost., tom. ii. pp. 124, sqq. The passages referred to are; ad Smyrn., c. 6. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 85. Vers. Lat. p. 130; ad Ephesios, c. 19. ibid., pp. 16, 125; ad Magnes., c. 1. ibid. pp. 17, 126; ad Philadelph., c. 6. pp. 32, 129; ad Trall., c. 4. pp. 22, 127; ad Rom., c. 7. pp. 29, 128. In all these places except the first the words are ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, translated, 'princeps sæculi hujus.']

[t] [φεύγειν μὲν προορῶντας τοῦ ἀξιώματος τὸ μέγεθος.—S. Chrys., ibid., p. 313, C.]

[u] [ὅρα πῶς αὐτοὺς ἐτίμησεν, εἴγε ἐκείνοις ἐπέστειλεν ἀντ' ἐκείνων. — S. Chrys. ibid., § 2, p. 316, A. Hickes seems to have misapprehended the meaning of ἀντί.]

office, because to them is committed the government of the whole Church throughout the world, even the kingdom of Jesus Christ, which, as it is of greater extent than any worldly empire was or ever will be, so it is of greater dignity than all the kingdoms of the earth. This vast spiritual empire, which reaches from the rising to the setting sun, is committed by God to the bishops in general, as well as particular, in whole, as well as in part[v], which is a prerogative, that no temporal prince can challenge, whose authority is confined and limited to his dominions. And, Sir, if you rightly consider this, you will see the reason of the princely titles which I shall shew the fathers give them and their power. The council of Laodicea[x] calls their power *ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀρχήν*. And by the fifty-fourth Apostolical canon[y], a clergyman who unjustly calumniates a bishop is to be deposed, because it is written, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the Archon[z], the ruler of thy people." So Origen, whom I cited before, calls them[a] *βουλευτῶν*[b] *καὶ ἀρχόντων*[c] *ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ*, "senators and princes of the Church of God." And in another place[d], "We," saith he, "knowing that there is another frame of government in every city, ordained by the word of God, exhort those who are fitted by sound doctrine and holy lives, *ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐκ-*

[v] See this most learnedly set forth by Isaac Casaubon, de Libertate Ecclesiastica, in the late edition of his epistles by Almeloveen, pp. 206, &c. [The part of Casaubon's treatise here referred to is chap. iii. sect. 4, of which the heading is; A sententiis synodalibus appellabatur illis temporibus ad majorem synodum vel ad principem. In this he first shews that each bishop shared in the government of the whole Church. See the translation of the treatise in the Appendix, No. 6.]

[x] [*περὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους κρίσει τῶν μητροπολιτῶν, καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἐπισκόπων καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀρχὴν, κ. τ. λ.*—Concil. Laodicen. (circ. A.D. 364?) Canon xii. Concil., tom. i. col. 1533, A.]

[y] [*εἴ τις κληρικὸς ὑβρίζει τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, καθαιρείσθω· ἄρχοντα γὰρ τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς.* — Canon. Apost. liv. (lv. Bevereg. Pandect., p. 37.) ibid., col. 37, A. In the third edition the reference in the text, apparently by mistake, was to the 47th Apostolical canon.]

[z] Principem populi tui non maledices.

[a] [*ἵνα κατανοήσῃς, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα ἀποτυγχανομένων βουλευτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ.* — Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. iii. c. 30. Op., tom. i. p. 466, F.]

[b] The Areopagites are called *βούλευται* by Lucian, [Anacharsis, c. 19. Op., tom. iii. p. 144. Lips. 1839;] and in profane writers *βουλευτικὸς* always relates to the courts of legislation, or supreme judicature.

[c] *ἄρχων*, from *ἄρχω*, 'I am chief,' in profane authors signifies the chief commander in any society, as in that of Aristotle, *οἷον στρατιᾶς ἄρχοντι, ἢ πόλεως, ἢ οἴκου.*—[De Mundo, c. 6. § 8.] See Budæi Commentar., pp. 130, 152. [*ἄρχειν* est præesse et imperium habere, &c.—p. 130. The other passage (p. 152) is respecting the Athenian Archons.]

[d] [*ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἄλλο σύστημα πατρίδος, κτισθὲν λόγῳ θεοῦ, ἐπιστάμενοι, τοὺς δυνατοὺς λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ ὑγιεῖ χρωμένους ἄρχειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρ-*

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κλησιῶν, to govern, to reign over, or, be rulers of the Churches." For the same word is used Mark x. 42, to signify the princes of the Gentiles, οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν τῶν ἐθνῶν "they who are accounted to rule over the Gentiles." And what is more observable, it is used to signify the power and greatness of our Lord Himself, Rom. xv. 12; "There shall be a root of Jesse, and in Him who shall rise, ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, to reign over the Gentiles, shall the Gentiles trust." Then he proceeds, "and our good princes, or magistrates, οἱ καλῶς ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν, are forced to take upon them the care of the Churches, by the command of the great King, whom we believe to be the Son of God." So Church power and authority is called by Gregory Nazianz., Epist. xlvi. p. 807[e], ἀναίμακτος ἀρχὴ, "an unbloody dignity, or power," because it hath not the power of the sword; τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ ἄρχων εἶναι μοι φαίνεται, βοηθὸς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀνταγωνιστὴς κακίας· κἂν τὴν ἀναίμακτον ἄρχῃ ἀρχὴν, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, κἂν τὴν μετὰ ξίφους, καὶ τελαμῶνος: "For an Archon, or magistrate, seems to me to be nothing else than an encourager of virtue and an enemy of vice, whether he have an unbloody power and jurisdiction, as we (bishops) have, or the power of the sword and chains." So in his first apologetical oration, speaking of refusing a bishopric[f], saith he[g], ὡς εἴ γε πάντες φεύγοιεν ταύτην, τὴν εἴτε λειτουργίαν χρὴ λέγειν, εἴτε ἡγεμονίαν· which Billius renders thus, *Si omnes hoc, sive ministerium dicere oportet sive imperium, defugiant.* And then describing the anarchy and confusion of the Church without a bishop, saith he[h], οὐκ ὄντος βασιλέως, οὐδὲ ὄντος ἄρχοντος[i], οὐδὲ ἱερατείας, οὐδὲ θυσίας, *sic nec rex, nec archon esset, nec sacerdotium, nec sacrificium.* And then, speaking

χειν ἐκκλησιῶν παρακαλοῦμεν . . . . καὶ οἱ καλῶς ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν βιασθέντες ὑπάρχουσι, τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀναγκάζοντος· ὃν πεπείσμεθα εἶναι υἱὸν θεοῦ, λόγον θεοῦ.—Orig., ibid., lib. vii. c. 75. Op., tom. i. p. 798, B, C.]

[e] [S. Greg. Naz., Epist. ccxxiv. p. 187, B. ed. Paris. 1840. Hickes' reference is to the Paris edition of 1630.]

[f] [The oration was an apology for avoiding the office of a priest. See above, vol. i. p. 90, note z.]

[g] [Id., Orat. ii. § 4. Op., tom. i. p. 13, A. ed. Ben.; for the Latin see his Orationes, Jacobo Billio Interprete, tom. i. p. 3, A. ed. Par. 1630.]

[h] [Id. ibid., B. ed. Ben.; Lat. ibid., B. ed. Par. 1630.]

[i] Haberti Pontificale, p. 586. [Exarchi nomen primariam quandam cum imperio et dignitatem et principatum significat. Lexicon vetus Steph. ἔξαρχοι, principes, proceres, &c.—Observat. i. ad edicta patriarchæ quæ ad archimandritas exarchos et præfectos monachorum spectant. Pars altera. De Exarchis.]

against promoting unqualified persons to the episcopal office, "It would be strange, (saith he[k],) *ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἀναβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι, e subditorum classe, ac ordine ad imperium evehere.*" You see then, Sir, by what princely names the rulers of the Church were then called. So St. Ignatius is introduced speaking in that pretended epistle of his to the Antiochians[l]. "O ye presbyters, feed the flock among you, *ἕως ἀναδειξῇ ὁ θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν*, until God shall shew whom He will have to rule over you." In the Apostolical Constitution[m] for electing bishops we find these words: *ὁ δὲ πρόκριτος τῶν λοιπῶν ἐρωτάτω πρεσβυτέριον καὶ λαὸν, εἰ αὐτός ἐστιν, ὃν αἰτοῦνται εἰς ἄρχοντα· καὶ ἐπινευσάντων, προσεπερωτάτω εἰ μαρτυρεῖται ὑπὸ πάντων ἄξιος εἶναι τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης καὶ λαμπρᾶς ἡγεμονίας*: "The chief of the rest (that is, of the bishops presiding in the election) shall ask the priests and the people if that be the person whom they desire to have for their ruler (or prince); and they signifying their consent, he shall ask them again if they all testify that he is worthy of this great and glorious principality." And so St. Chrysostom, in his fifteenth homily on the second Epistle to the Corinthians, calls it *ἀρχὴν πνευματικὴν*[n], a "spiritual principality," of which he speaks in this manner[o]: "If the civil empire or government is an art or science better than all others, how much more is this of ours? which truly is so much more excellent than that as that is more excellent than others, yea, and much more excellent . . . . . For there are two sorts[p] of empire or government; one relating to civil life, by which men govern people and cities, of which St. Paul speaks, when he said, 'Let every soul be subject to the

[k] [*ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ξένον τι καὶ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ θεῖα φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν, κ.τ.λ.* Hickes has overlooked the negative particle.—S. Greg. ibid., C. ed. Ben.; ibid., C. ed. Par. 1630.]

[l] [*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ποιμήνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον, ἕως ἀναδείξῃ ὁ θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν.*—S. Ignat. adscript. Epist. ad Antioch., c. 8. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 106.]

[m] Constit. Apost., lib. viii. cap. 4. [Concilia, tom. i. col. 460, E.]

[n] [*ἀλλ' οὔτε ὁ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν μετιὼν, οὔτε ὁ τὴν πνευματικὴν, κ.τ.λ. . . . . καὶ πάλιν κἀνταῦθα ἀμείνων τῆς πολιτικῆς ἡ πνευματικὴ, ὥσπερ ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξεν.* S. Chrysost. ad 2 Cor. Hom. xv. § 4. Op., tom. x. p. 548, C, D. These clauses are a part of the passage quoted below note p, following the words *πλάττοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.*]

[o] [*εἰ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἀρχὴ, τέχνη καὶ ἐπιστήμη πασῶν βελτίων ἐστὶ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον αὕτη· καὶ γὰρ τοσούτῳ ἀμείνων ἐκείνης αὕτη ἡ ἀρχὴ, ὅσῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκείνη· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πολλῷ πλέον.*—Ibid., § 3. p. 546, E.]

[p] [*ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχῆς εἴδη· ἓν μὲν καθ' ὃ δήμων καὶ πόλεων ἄρχουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τὸν πολιτικὸν τοῦτον διορθοῦντες βίον.*

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higher powers' . . . . . and another more sublime than that, I mean that of the Church, of which St. Paul speaks, saying, 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, because they watch for your souls, as those that must give an account.' This government is as much more excellent than the civil as heaven is than the earth; yea, and much more, for it takes care chiefly that crimes may not be committed, rather than punish them when they are committed; and when they are committed, it doth not destroy the criminal, but takes care that his crimes be taken away. And it hath little regard to the things of this life, but all its concerns are for heavenly things. 'For our conversation is in heaven,' and 'our life is there hid with Christ, in God.' Moreover, there are the rewards for our labours, and here we run for the crowns that are there; for this life is not extinguished by death, but then shines with greater lustre. Wherefore those to whom this empire is entrusted have a greater honour committed to them, not only than the governors of provinces, but [than] those who are encircled with the imperial diadem, as being ordained to form and fit men for greater and more excellent things . . . Farthermore, those who are governors in this life are as much inferior to them who have the ecclesiastical government, as it is more excellent to have the authority over the willing more than the unwilling; for the former is a natural empire, but the latter is full of fear and force; this is the effect of compulsion, but that of election and free-will. Again, that empire is more excel-

ὅπερ ὁ Παῦλος δηλῶν ἔλεγε· πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω... ἐνταῦθα δέ ἐστι καὶ ἑτέρα ἀρχὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνωτέρα. τίς οὖν ἐστιν αὕτη, ἡ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἧς καὶ αὐτῆς ὁ Παῦλος μεμνῆται λέγων, πείθεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, καὶ ὑπείκετε· ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσοντες. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοσοῦτον τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀμείνων, ὅσον τῆς γῆς ὁ οὐρανός· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ πολλῷ πλέον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως γενόμενα κολάσειεν ἁμαρτήματα σκοπεῖ προηγουμένως, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ γένοιτο τὴν ἀρχήν· ἐπεῖτα γενόμενα, οὐκ ὅπως ἀπενέγκοι τὸν κάμνοντα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀφανισθείη. καὶ βιωτικῶν μὲν οὐ πολὺς αὐτῇ λόγος· πάντα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς πραγμάτων χρηματίζει· ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἐκεῖ. κέκρυπται γάρ, φησι, σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ. καὶ τὰ ἔπαθλα ἐκεῖ, καὶ οἱ δρόμοι περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ στεφάνων. οὐδὲ γὰρ καταλύεται μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὕτη ἡ ζωή, ἀλλὰ τότε διαλάμπει μειζόνως· διὰ δὴ τοῦτο, οὐκ ὑπάρχων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν τὰ διαδήματα περικειμένων μείζονά εἰσιν ἐγκεχειρισμένοι τιμὴν οἱ ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν ἀρχήν, ἅτε ἐν μείζοσι καὶ ἐπὶ μείζοσι πλάττοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους . . . οἱ δὲ τοῦ βίου τοῦ παρόντος ἄρχοντες, τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς ἐλάττους πάλιν, ὅσον τὸ ἑκόντος τοῦ ἄκοντος κρατεῖν, βέλτιον. αὕτη γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἡ φύσει ἀρχή. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ τὸ πᾶν τῷ φόβῳ γίνεται καὶ τῇ

lent than this, because it is not only an empire but a paternity, as having all the gentleness and sweetness of a paternal government, commanding greater things than the civil government, and at the same time persuades. For the civil magistrate saith, if thou committest adultery thou shalt die; but the ecclesiastical threatens the greatest punishment that can be to him who looks on a woman with a wanton eye. This then is a venerable tribunal, which arraigns the body and reacheth the soul; and therefore there is as much difference between this empire and the other as between the body and the soul. Moreover, he that is a judge in the one can only sit in judgment upon open crimes; and not of all open crimes neither, but only of such as are proved. But on the contrary, our court informs all who appear in it that He who sits judge with us will lay open all things, and manifest them upon the stage of the whole world, and that it will be impossible for any man to hide himself from Him." And in his homily on Acts xv. he commends St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, that he let Peter and Paul speak before him in the council[q], "seeing he was placed in the supreme power, (*τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος*). For it becomes those who were in great power or principality (*ἐν μεγάλῃ δυναστείᾳ*[r]), to be more humble and gentle," &c. So then the Church hath an empire and is a principality, as well as the state, of which the bishops are Archons or princes under Christ Jesus, as the Apostles were. So Isidorus Pelusiota, in the case of

ἀνάγκῃ· ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἐστὶ κατόρθωμα. καὶ οὐ ταύτῃ μόνον αὕτη βελτίων ἐκείνης ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀρχὴ μόνον ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρότης, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι. καὶ γὰρ πατρὸς ἔχει τὸ ἥμερον, καὶ μείζονα ἐπιτάττουσα πείθει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἄρχων φησὶν, ἐὰν μοιχεύσῃς, ἀπέθανες· οὗτος δὲ κἂν ἀκολάστοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἴδῃς, τὰ μέγιστα ἀπειλεῖ. καὶ γὰρ σεμνὸν τοῦτο δικαστήριον, καὶ ψυχῆς, οὐχὶ σώματος μόνον διορθωτικόν. ὅσον οὖν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος τὸ μέσον, τοσοῦτον πάλιν αὕτη διέστηκεν ἐκείνης ἡ ἀρχή. κἀκεῖνος μὲν τῶν φανερῶν κάθηται κριτὴς, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτων ἁπάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐλεγχομένων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τούτων προδότης γίνεται τὸ δὲ κριτήριον τοῦτο παιδεύει τοὺς εἰσιόντας, ὅτι ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν δικάζων, πάντα γυμνὰ καὶ τετραχηλισμένα εἰς μέσον ἄξει ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης θεάτρου, καὶ λαθεῖν ἀμήχανον.—Ibid., pp. 547, E.; 548, A—550, A.]

[q] [*μετὰ Πέτρον Παῦλος φθέγγεται, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιστομίζει· Ἰάκωβος ἀνέχεται καὶ οὐκ ἀποπηδᾷ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος . . . ἐξ ἀρχῆς σφοδρότερον μὲν ὁ Πέτρος διελέγετο· οὗτος δὲ ἡμερώτερον. οὕτως ἀεὶ χρὴ τὸν ἐν μεγάλῃ δυναστείᾳ ποιεῖν· τὰ μὲν φορτικὰ ἑτέροις παραχωρεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀπὸ ἡμερωτέρων διαλέγεσθαι.*—S. Chrys. in Act. Apost., Hom. xxxiii. § 2. Op., tom. viii. p. 255, A, B.]

[r] A word often used in his book de Sacerdotio. [e.g. *οὐ τοῦ ἔργου, τῆς δὲ αὐθεντίας καὶ δυναστείας ἐπιθυμεῖν.*—S. Chrys. de Sac., lib. iii. c. 10. Op., tom. i. p. 388, B. *ἱερατικῆς δυναστείας μέτρον.*—Ibid., c. 17. p. 400, A.]

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Zosimus, Maro, and Eustathius: "There is this difference (saith he[s]) betwixt *ἀρχὰς κοσμικὰς* and *ἀρχὰς πνευματικὰς*[t], the ecclesiastical ministers or magistrates, and ministers or magistrates of state; if these offend, the whole world can distinguish betwixt their persons and their functions; no disparagement falleth upon any but the offenders. But if ecclesiastical persons become obnoxious, then they confound their persons and their functions, and transfer the shame of the faults of some even upon all, yea upon the whole order itself." We who live in these latter times, wherein Church authority and the spiritual power of Church governors is so little understood, and so much despised and depressed, must not wonder that the ancient writers styled the Church a spiritual principality, and the bishops the spiritual princes thereof. For they taught that the Church, as the Scriptures represent it, was the kingdom or empire of Jesus Christ, whose vicegerents they were, to govern it, as I have before observed, jointly as well as severally, in part as well as in whole. Thus St. Clement, in his epistle to the Corinthians, calls Christ *τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ θεοῦ*, "the sceptre of God's majesty," proposing Him as an example of humility to those who with pride and haughtiness "exalted themselves over His flock[u]." And St. Ignatius, in his epistle to the Ephesians, saith, that "He received a perfect *ἀρχὴν*, principality or empire from God[x];" which principality is the Church, called in the Scripture phrase by St. Barnabas[y] His *βασιλεία*, "kingdom or empire," of which He is the supreme head and governor, and the bishops the subordinate gover-

[s] [The passage referred to seems to be, *εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἀρχῶν, ἄλλο μέν τοί ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ οὐ δεόντως αὐτὸ μετιών· καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐχούσης τάξιν τε καὶ ἀξίαν, ὁ παροινήσας εἰς αὐτὴν, δίκην δίδωσι τὴν ἐσχάτην, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης συγχέουσι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὰ τῶν οὐ δεόντως αὐτὴν μεταχειριζομένων ἁμαρτήματα εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναφέρειν πειρῶνται. παυέσθωσαν οὖν οἱ δι' Εὐσέβιον* (fors. *Εὐστάθιον*) *καὶ Ζώσιμον, Παλλαδίον τε, καὶ Μάρωνα τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἐξευτελίζοντες, κ.τ.λ.*—S. Isidori Pelusiotæ Epist., lib. ii. Ep. 52. ad Theodosium Episcopum, p. 144, C, D. The words *ἀρχαὶ πνευματικαὶ* do not occur in the epistle.]

[t] S. Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, hath the same distinction. [e. g. lib. iii. c. 5., p. 383, C. quoted below, Sect. iv.]

[u] [*ταπεινοφρονούντων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐκ ἐπαιρομένων ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ. τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐν κόμπῳ ἀλαζονείας, οὔδε ὑπερηφανίας, καίπερ δυνάμενος, κ.τ.λ.*—S. Clem. R. Ep. i. ad Cor. c. 16. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 16.]

[x] [*ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανε τὸ παρὰ θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον.*—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Ephes. c. 19. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 16.]

[y] [*οὕτω, φησὶν* (*ὁ Χριστὸς*), *οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἅψασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας, ὀφείλουσι θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.*—S. Barnab. Ep. c. 1. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 24.]

nors of it under Him, as the worldly emperors and kings are also under God. I suppose that this sceptre or principality did not cease when the imperial sceptre and civil empire submitted to it, and owned the Church as a spiritual society, of which Christ Jesus was the head. And according to this great spiritual authority and dignity of the Church, and its rulers under Christ, Eusebius setting down the successions of these archons, the bishops in the several Churches, according to the common appellation then in use calls their chairs thrones. So he saith of Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem[z], that "he was worthy of his throne;" and of Justus his successor[a], that he succeeded him "in the throne of the bishopric of Jerusalem." And lib. vii. cap. 32[b], he calls the see of Jerusalem *θρόνον ἀποστολικὸν*, "the apostolic throne." And lib. vii. cap. 14, he saith[c], that "after the death of Mazaban, bishop of Jerusalem, Hymenæus obtained the episcopal throne." This way of speaking is taken from the words of our Lord, who said unto His Apostles; "Verily I say unto you, that ye who have followed Me, in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Among the false accusations of St. Athanasius in the synod of Tyre this was one, that[d] *ἐπισκοπικὸν καθεῖλε θρόνον*, "he pulled down the bishop's throne." And that father speaking of an Arian, who in pulling down the bishop's throne was killed by it, saith[e], *καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ θρόνος, κ.τ.λ.* "the throne rather destroyed him than he the throne." St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his valedictory oration, speaks thus[f]:

Matt. 19. 28.

[z] [*καὶ δὴ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης τοὺς πάντας Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύει γραφὴ, τοῦ τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας θρόνου ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι ἀνεψιόν γε, ὡς φασὶ, γεγονότα τοῦ σωτῆρος.*—Euseb. Eccl. Hist., lib. iii. c. 11. tom. i. p. 105.]

[a] [*ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συμεῶνος τὸν δηλωθέντα τελειωθέντος τρόπον, τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν θρόνον Ἰουδαΐός τις ὄνομα Ἰοῦστος, μυρίων ὅσων ἐκ περιτομῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τηνικαῦτα πεπιστευκότων εἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ὤν, διαδέχεται.*—Ibid., lib. iii. c. 35. p. 129.]

[b] [*Ἕρμων . . . τὸν εἰσέτι νῦν ἐκεῖσε πεφυλαγμένον ἀποστολικὸν διαδέχεται θρόνον.*—Ibid., lib. vii. c. 32. p. 372.]

[c] [*ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἀναπαυσαμένου Μαζαβάνου, τὸν θρόνον Ὑμέναιος, . . . διεδέξατο.*—Ibid., c. 35. p. 340.]

[d] [*κατηγόρουν δὲ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μέρους Ἰωάννου, Καλλίνικος ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Ἰσχυρίων τις, ὅτι μυστικὸν ποτήριον συνέτριψε, καὶ ἐπισκοπικὸν καθεῖλε θρόνον.*—Sozom. Eccl. Hist., lib. ii. c. 25. Hist. Eccl., tom. ii. p. 78.]

[e] [*εἶτα ἀναστὰς ἐβιάζετο τὸν θρόνον ἀποσπᾶν, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἕλκειν . . . . καὶ ὅπερ εἷλκεν, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπεσπάσατο, . . . καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ θρόνος ἐκείνου τὸ ζῆν ἀπέσπασεν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἀπεσπάσθη πρὸς ἐκείνου.*—S. Athan. Hist. Arian. ad Monachos, § 57. Op., tom. i. pp. 378, E.; 379, A.]

[f] [*οὐ γὰρ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀπολοῦσιν οἱ*

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"Farewell, O my chair, for they do not lose God who cede from their thrones, but shall have more sublime and stable chairs above." St. Chrysostom saith, in Hom. lxxxvi. on St. John's gospel[g], Christ did invest His Apostles with power, *καθάπερ τὶς βασιλεὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποστέλλων*, "as a king sends forth his archons," i. e. princes and governors with power immediately from himself. And accordingly as a viceroy sits upon the king's throne, he saith that the first action of a new bishop is *τὸν θρόνον ἀναβαίνειν*[h], "to mount into his throne," or as we say, to be thronized. And in the beginning of his third homily to the Antiochians, saith he[i], *ὅταν εἰς τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, κ. τ. λ.* "when I look upon this empty throne I both rejoice and weep." This was said in the absence of the bishop upon a sad occasion, when he was gone to the emperor to intercede for mercy in behalf of the people of Antioch. And in the packed synod, *ad Quercum*, it was one article of accusation against him[k], "that he robed and unrobed himself in his throne." So Nilus, archbishop of Thessalonica, transcribes these words out of the acts and subscriptions of the sixth general council[l]; "Peter, presbyter and vicar of the apostolical throne of the metropolis of Alexandria." And so the five patriarchal sees[m] were called *καθολικοὶ, καὶ οἰκου-*

τῶν θρόνων παραχωρήσαντες, ἀλλ' ἔξουσι τὴν ἄνω καθέδραν, ἣ πολὺ τούτων ἐστὶν ὑψηλότερά τε καὶ ἀσφαλέστερα.—S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xlii. (al. xxxii.) Supremum vale coram centum quinquaginta episcopis.—Op., tom. i. p. 768, A. The words "Farewell O my chair" are not in the original.]

[g] [*καθάπερ γάρ τις βασιλεὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποστέλλων, καὶ ἐξουσίαν εἰς δεσμωτήριον καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ ἀφίεναι δίδωσιν· οὕτω, κ. τ. λ.*—S. Chrys. Hom. lxxxvi. (al. lxxxv.) in S. Joan. (cap. xx. 21—23.) Op., tom. viii. p. 516, D.]

[h] [*ὁ γὰρ φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς . . . ταχέως ἡμῖν ἕτερον ποιμένα ἀνέδειξε . . . ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ἀναβὰς, κ. τ. λ.*—Id. Orat. de S. Meletio Antioch., § 3. Op., tom. ii. p. 521, C.]

[i] [*ὅταν εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἀπίδω τοῦτον ἔρημον ὄντα καὶ κενὸν τοῦ διδασκάλου, χαίρω τε ὁμοῦ καὶ δακρύω.*—Id. Hom. ad Pop. Antioch. iii. § 1. ibid., p. 35, A.]

[k] [*εἰκοστὸν ὄγδοον· ὅτι ἐν θρόνῳ ἀποδύεται καὶ ἐνδύεται καὶ πάστιλον τρώγει.*—Synodus in Quercu, ap. Photii Biblioth. Cod. 59. p. 18. Berolini. 1824. The above is part of an enumeration of the charges against St. Chrysostom.]

[l] [*Πέτρος πρεσβύτερος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων μητροπόλεως* (*ὑπέγραψε.*) Concilii Constantinop. III. (A.D. 680.) Subscriptiones.—Concilia, tom. vii. col. 1064, D; quoted by Nilus de primatu papæ, ad calcem Salmasii de primatu papæ, p. 49. Lugd. Bat. 1645. (See above, vol. i. p. 309, note r.)]

[m] Theophan. in Chronographia, et in vita Constantini Copronymi. [*τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν μεγάλων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν θρόνων, Ῥώμης τε, φημὶ, καὶ Κωνσταντινοπόλεως, Ἀλεξανδρείας τε, καὶ Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων.*—S. Theophanis Chronographia, Procœmium, p. 1. apud Corpus Histor. Byzant. Venet. 1729. *οἱ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς τὰ δόξαντα δογματίσαντες μηδενὸς παρόντος τῶν καθολικῶν θρόνων, Ῥώμης φημὶ, Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων.*—Ibid., p. 285, D. (p. 359. ed. Par.) Theophanes is speaking of the Iconoclast council at Constantinople (A.D. 754) in that portion of the history which treats of the times of Constantine Copronymus.]

μενικοὶ θρόνοι, "the catholic and œcumenical thrones." Here I cannot but put you in mind, that hierarchy from the Greek *ἱεραρχία* signifies "an holy government," and the word bishopric, which is the word for a diocese in our mother tongue, signifies a bishop's principality[n]; a word which Irenæus used of the Church of Rome, which being the most powerful of all Churches when he wrote, he speaks thus[o]; *Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem*, &c.; "Unto this Church, upon the account of its more powerful principality, every Church must resort." Every Church then was a principality[p], though this then was the greatest. But to return to the ancient writers, who called the bishops' chairs thrones: they are so called by Epiphanius, Hæres. lxxviii. 7, who speaking of St. James our Lord's brother, who was first bishop of Jerusalem, saith[q]; *καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος εἴ-*

[n] ["Bishopric; biꝼcoppice, Saxon; literally, as Mr. Malone also observes, the kingdom of a bishop; the Saxon ꝑice signifying a kingdom. The appurtenances of a bishop are all of princely denomination; his diocese is his kingdom; his mansion his palace; his seat his throne; and he has also his chancellor."—Todd's additions to Johnson's Dictionary, ed. 1818. But ꝑice primarily is "'regio;' Cal þ ꝑice, 'Omnia ista regio,' Matt. iii. 5; Iuððeiꝼe ꝑice, 'Judaica regio,' Mar. i. 5. Item, Regnum, imperium, ditio, jurisdictio.' Rice, 'terminatio plurium substantivorum munus et dominium significantium; ut Lȳn-ꝑic, 'regnum;' Biꝼceoꝑ-ꝑic, 'Episcopatus.'"—Lye's Dict. Anglo-Saxon. et Goth. ad verb. Rice.]

[o] Lib. iii. cap. 3. Cum Johannis Ernesti Grabe notis in locum. [Ad hanc igitur ecclesiam, propter potiorem (potentiorem, ed. Oxon. ut omnes editt. et MSS. codices præter unum Clarom.) principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio.—S. Iren. adv. Hær., lib. iii. c. 3. pp. 175, 176. ed. Ben. Grabe, after stating and examining the more obvious interpretations of these words, says; per conventum omnis ecclesiæ, id est, eorum qui sunt undique fidelium, ad ecclesiam Romanam propter potentiorem principalitatem, intelligo confluxum eorum qui ab omni ecclesia Romam mittebantur, ut causam Christianorum agerent apud imperatores, quorum potentior erat principalitas, id est suprema potestas.—Grab. not. in loc. p. 201. This interpretation, however, which understands principalitas of the imperial power, is inconsistent with Hickes' application of the passage. He might possibly refer to Grabe's observation, that Irenæus did not hold it to be absolutely necessary to agree and hold communion with the Church of Rome, because when Pope Victor had excommunicated the Churches of Asia Minor for holding to their peculiar tradition as to the observance of Easter, Irenæus reproved him for so doing.—See S. Iren. adv. Hær. ed. Grabe, pp. 201, 202.]

[p] See Archbishop Laud's Conference with Fisher the Jesuit, p. 110. [ed. 3. 1673. "Nor is the word principatus so great, nor were the bishops of those times so little, as that *principes* and *principatus* are not commonly given them both by the Greek and the Latin fathers of this great and learnedest age of the Church, made up of the fourth and fifth hundred years: always understanding *principatus* of their spiritual power, and within the limits of their respective jurisdictions." This statement is supported in a note by instances in part the same as those given above by Hickes.—Laud's Conference, &c. sect. 25. § 10. p. 139. Oxford, 1839.]

[q] [S. Epiphanii adv. Hær., lib. iii. tom. 2. Op., tom. i. p. 1039, B.]

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ληφε τὴν καθέδραν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾧ πεπίστευκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πρώτῳ; "He first received the episcopal chair, being the person to whom Christ first communicated His throne upon earth." So in the prayer at the consecration of a bishop in the Greek ordinal, set forth by Habertus[r]: "O Lord our God, who because human nature cannot bear the presence of Thy Godhead, in compassion to it hast in Thy dispensation constituted doctors for us to sit upon Thy throne, (τὸν σὸν ἐπέχοντας θρόνον,) and to offer sacrifice and oblations for all Thy people. Do Thou, O Lord," &c. The chair of every bishop then is the throne of Christ, and therefore are the bishops' chairs called thrones by the Emperor Justinian in the Code and Novels, as when he calls the see of Constantinople "the throne of Epiphanius[s]." Sir, you may see more to this purpose out of Justinian's Code, in pp. 119, 120 of a most exact book, entitled, Of the subject of Church Power[s], written by the learned Dr. Simon Lowth, and printed in the year 1685, against the Erastians, Latitudinarians, and mongrel Churchmen of this age. And you need not wonder that their chairs are called thrones, since as Ignatius saith[t], "they preside εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, in the place of God:" according to Acts xx. 28, "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you ἐπισκόπους, bishops." In the Latin version[u], *Attendite vobis et universo gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit episcopos.* So Gregory Nazianzen speaks to the bishops he had consecrated[x]; "Come, O most excellent pastor, and with us

[r] [Ex ordine qui observari solet in ordinatione episcopi. Haberti Pontificale, p. 318. The passage is quoted above, p. 141, note col. 2.]

[s] [Lowth's words are; "ὁ τῆς σῆς μακαρίοτητος θρόνος: so Justinian the emperor calls the see of Constantinople, the throne of Epiphanius, then patriarch there. (The passage is an extract from a rescript addressed by Justinian to Epiphanius, Codex Justin., lib. i. tit. 4. c. 34. § 4. ap. Corpus Jur. Civilis,) and he evidently distinguishes between ἱερωσύνη and βασιλεία, betwixt the priesthood and the empire; he assigns them two distinct offices and apart duties, ἡ μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπηρετουμένη, ἡ δὲ ἀνθρωπικῶν ἐξάρχουσή τε καὶ ἐπιμελουμένη.—(Authentic. Collat., lib. i. tit. 6. Novell. 6. Præfat.) He calls the ecclesiastical power τῶν ἱερατικῶν θρόνων.—(Ibid., lib. iv. tit. 19. Novell. 42. Præfat.") He adds references to lib. vi. tit. 12. Novell. 83. and lib. ix. tit. 14. Novell. 131. cap. 1, which recognise the distinct authority of the ecclesiastical powers.]

[t] [προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων, τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. —S. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes., c. 6. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 19.]

[u] [Acts xx. 28. ed. Vulg.]

[x] [νῦν δὲ, ὦ ποιμένων ἄριστε καὶ τελεώτατε, δεῦρό μοι καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀπολάμβανε λαὸν, οὗν ἡμῖν τε καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν,

and before us, receive thy people which the Holy Ghost hath committed to thee." Hence, Sir, proceeded the ancient subscriptions of the bishops in council, *in Christi nomine;* and that of St. Basil, Epist. 393, to Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium[y]: "Quit thyself like a man, and be strong, and precede before the people which God hath committed to thy trust." But to return to these spiritual archons or princes who sit on our Lord's throne, I must add what St. Hierome writes in his Commentary upon Isaiah, chap. lx. 17, as the words are in the Greek translation[z]; "I will give thy archons or princes (*τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου*) in peace, and thy bishops in righteousness." Upon which words saith that father[a]: *In quo Scripturæ sanctæ admiranda majestas, quod principes futuros ecclesiæ episcopos nominavit, quorum omnis visitatio in pace est, et vocabulum dignitatis in justitia:* "In which the admirable majesty of the Scriptures appears in that he called the bishops who were to be in the Church princes, whose visitation is all in peace." The version of the ancient Greek, and the sense in which St. Jerome explains it, was followed in the primitive times, and so understood, as you will see by the following words out of St. Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xlii.[b]; "The Apostles preached the Gospel from the Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ from God. Christ therefore was sent from God, and the Apostles from Christ, and both their missions were in order from the will of God; wherefore having received the command, and being full of assurance by the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and being confirmed by the

ὃν ἐνεχείρισέ σοι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.—S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xiii. (al. xxx.) § 4. Op., tom. i. p. 254, D.]

y [ἀνδρίζου τοίνυν καὶ ἴσχυε καὶ προπορεύου τοῦ λαοῦ, ὃν ἐπίστευσε τῇ δεξιᾷ σου ὁ ὕψιστος.—S. Basil. Epist. clxi. (al. cccxciii.) §. 2. Op., tom. iii. p. 252, B.]

z [καὶ δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.—Is. lx. 17. vers. LXX.]

a [The passage begins; De auro et argento, quod significent in Scripturis sanctis, sæpius diximus. *Ponam*, inquit, *principes tuos in pacem, et episcopos tuos in justitiam.* Pro quo in Hebraico scriptum est: *Ponam visitationem tuam pacem, et præpositos tuos in justitiam.* In quo Scripturæ sanctæ admiranda majestas, quod principes futuros ecclesiæ, episcopos nominavit, quorum omnis visitatio in pace est, et vocabulum dignitatis in justitia.—S. Hieron. Comment. in Isaiam, lib. xvii. cap. lx. 17. Op., tom. iv. p. 728, E, F.]

b [οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῖν εὐαγγελίσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χρίστοῦ, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐξεπέμφθη ὁ Χριστὸς οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐγένοντο οὖν ἀμφότερα εὐτάκτως ἐκ θελήματος θεοῦ. παραγγελίας οὖν λαβόντες, καὶ πληροφορηθέντες διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ πιστωθέντες τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἐξῆλθον

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will of God, and the full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went out to publish the good news of the kingdom of God which was to come. Therefore preaching in all countries and cities, they ordained their first converts bishops and deacons of those who were believers, trying and proving them by the Holy Ghost. And this not without authority, for bishops and deacons were written of many ages before, for the Scripture somewhere saith, 'I will constitute your bishops in righteousness, and your deacons in faith.'" The Scripture which this father citeth is the Scripture of the Old Testament; for he is the same St. Clement whom St. Paul calls his fellow-labourer, and who, when he wrote this epistle, or shortly after, was bishop of Rome. But there is no place of the Old Testament but this of Isaiah, chap. lx. 17, to which his words can refer; which, as the annotators on this epistle rightly observe[c], he applied to the Church Christian, changing the order of the words, and reading the original word in the Hebrew and that in the Greek version which signifies 'peace,' not without reason, 'faith.' In the place above cited, you see St. Clement expressly saith that the Apostles ordained or constituted bishops; and so saith Irenæus, *Advers. Hær.*, lib. iii. cap. 3[d]: "The tradition of the Apostles is evident in every Church to those who desire to know the truth; for we can produce those who were or-

εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι. κατὰ χώρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐγέγραπτο περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ διακόνων· οὕτως γάρ που λέγει ἡ γραφή· καταστήσω τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει.—S. Clem. R. Ep. i. ad Cor. c. 42. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 171.]

[c] [See Bishop Fell's note, in loc. ap. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 173. In Hebr. וישמתי פקדתך שלום וכנגשיך צדקה, quod LXX Intt. vertunt, δώσω τοὺς ἄρχοντάς σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους σου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ Fell then observes that the two portions of the verse are transposed by St. Clement, and that פקדה quod alibi sæpe ἐπισκοπὴ redditur, sed procurationem et officium omne significat, hic efferri per διακόνους, et שלום quod per εἰρήνην explicari solet, sed bona quæcunque denotat, hic πίστιν, nec id quidem incommode, verti ... hæc autem satis opportune a S. Clemente referri ad ecclesiæ Christianæ præfectos, non facile diffitebitur quisquis locum Isaiæ inspexerit, atque totum hoc caput ad Messiæ tempora pertinere, Judæis ipsis calculum apponentibus, meminerit.]

[d] [Traditionem itaque Apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre; et habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur.—S. Iren. adversus, lib. iii. c. 3. p. 175.]

dained bishops by the Apostles, and their successors to our own time, who neither taught nor knew any such thing." And Tertullian, *De Præscript. Hæreticor.*, cap. 32, challenging heretics to appeal to the time of the Apostles, writes thus[e]: "Let them publish the original of their Churches, and unfold the succession of their bishops in order from the beginning, so that it may appear that the first bishop had one of the Apostles, or apostolic men who lived with the Apostles, for his predecessor. For thus the apostolic Churches report, as that of Smyrna affirms Polycarp to be placed there by St. John, and that of Rome reports Clement to have been ordained by St. Peter. In like manner other Churches shew them, whom being made bishops by the Apostles, they had [as] propagators of the apostolic doctrine. And let the heretics shew the like." And can you, Sir, when you consider that bishops are appointed to succeed the Apostles, and like them to stand in Christ's place, and exercise His kingly, priestly, and prophetical office over their flocks, can you, when you consider this, think it novel, or improper, or uncouth, to call them spiritual princes, and their dioceses principalities, when they have every thing in their office that can denominate a chief or prince? For what is a prince but the principal or chief ruler of a society, that hath authority over the rest to make laws for it, to challenge the obedience of all the members and all ranks of men in it, and power to coerce them if they will not obey? And now, Sir, I pray you attend to what follows, and then tell me if the office of bishops contains not every thing that is in the definition of a chief or prince. St. Ignatius, who was St. John's disciple, writes of them as such. So in his epistle to the people of Smyrna[f]; "All of you follow the bishop, (τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε[g],)

[e] [Ceterum, si quæ audent interserere se ætati Apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab Apostolis traditæ, quia sub Apostolis fuerunt, possumus dicere: Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem. Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert: sicut Romanorum, Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem. Perinde utique et cæteræ exhibent quos ab Apostolis in episcopatum constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. — Tert. de Præscript. Hæreticor., c. 32. Op., p. 213, B.]

[f] [πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί· καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς θεοῦ ἐντυ-

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as Christ followed the Father, and the presbyters as the Apostles, and reverence the deacons as the ordinance of God." This regards the subjection and obedience of the laity to the bishop and presbyters, but what follows concerns the subjection of the clergy to the bishop; "Let no man do any thing in Church matters without the bishop, and let that be a valid Eucharist that is administered by the bishop, or by one licensed by him. For where the bishop is there let the Church be, as where Christ is there is the Catholic Church. Without the bishop (i. e., without the bishop's license) it is neither lawful to baptize nor celebrate the love feast[h], but that which he approves that is pleasing to God, that whatsoever is done may be secure and firm. . . . . Again, it is good to have regard[i] to God and the bishop, and who honours the bishop (*ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον*)[k] shall be honoured of God; but he that doth things clandestinely without the bishop doth service to the devil." In the interpolated epistle of this martyr his precepts are paraphrased out of the Apostolical Constitutions in these words, according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church[l]: "Honour God as the Creator and Lord of all things, and the bishop as the high-priest representing God; representing God as a prince, and Christ as a priest. After (or next to) God you are to honour the king, (*βασιλέα*, emperor.) For there is nothing

λήν· μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ· ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω· ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία· οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' ὅ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον· ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὅ πράσσεται . . . καλῶς ἔχει, θεὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι· ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον, ὑπὸ θεοῦ τετίμηται· ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τι πράσσων, τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει.—S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn., c. 8, 9. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. pp. 36, 37.]

[g] Here it is to be observed that St. Ignatius, as the other Apostolic fathers, useth the words of the New Testament in the sense of the New Testament; so he here uses the word ἀκολουθεῖτε, which denotes the highest fidelity and obedience; as in John x. 27; xxi. 22; Mark viii. 34; x. 21; Luke ix. 23; xviii. 22; John xii. 26; Luke xviii. 28; Rev. xiv. 4.

[h] i. e. the holy Eucharist, which was then administered at the conclusion of the love feasts, 1 Cor. xi. [20, sqq.]

[i] θεὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι: where εἰδέναι signifies to 'acknowledge, value, esteem, and regard,' as in 1 Thess. v. 12, "We beseech you, brethren, εἰδέναι, to know them who labour among you, and are over you in the Lord." See 1 Cor. ii. 2.

[k] ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον: to 'honour' in the Scripture signifies all submission and obedience of an inferior to a superior, as of a child to a father, Matt. xv. 4, 8; John viii. 49; a subject to his prince, 1 Pet. ii. 17, "Fear God, honour the king."

[l] [τίμα μὲν τὸν θεὸν, ὡς αἴτιον τῶν ὅλων καὶ κύριον· ἐπίσκοπον δὲ, ὡς ἀρχιερέα, θεοῦ εἰκόνα φοροῦντα· κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν, θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεύειν, Χριστοῦ. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον, τιμᾶν χρὴ καὶ βασιλέα. οὔτε γὰρ θεοῦ τις κρείτ-

more excellent than God, or like unto Him in the whole creation; nor is there any thing greater in the Church than a bishop, who is consecrated to God for the salvation of the world; neither among princes (ἐν ἄρχουσιν) or magistrates, is any like to an emperor (or king), who administers and governs for the peace and happiness of his subjects. He that honours the bishop shall be honoured of God, in like manner as he that dishonours the bishop shall be punished by God. For if he that riseth up against emperors is justly thought worthy of punishment, as violating the good legal order and constitution, of how much more grievous punishment do you think him worthy who dares presume to do any thing without the bishop, breaking the unity and confounding the good order of the Church? For the episcopate[m] is the top of all the honours among men, which whosoever doth furiously oppose he dishonours not man but God, and Christ Jesus the first-born, who alone by nature is the High-Priest of the Church to mediate for us with the Father. Let all things, therefore, be done by you in Christ, with orderly subordination. Let the laics be subject to the deacons, the deacons to the presbyters, the presbyters to the bishop, the bishop to Christ, as Christ is to the Father." So in the interpolated epistle to the Trallesians, his precept of the people's obedience to the bishop, and presbyters, and deacons is also paraphrased out of the Apostolical Constitutions in these words[n]: "For what else is the bishop but one that hath all power and authority

των, ᾗ παραπλήσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν· οὔτε δὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπισκόπου τι μεῖζον, ἱερωμένου θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς σωτηρίας· οὔτε βασιλέως τις παραπλήσιος ἐν ἄρχουσιν, εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις πρυτανεύοντος· ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον, ὑπὸ θεοῦ τιμηθήσεται· ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ ἀτιμάζων αὐτὸν, ὑπὸ θεοῦ κολασθήσεται. εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγειρόμενος, κολάσεως ἄξιος δικαίως γενήσεται, ὥς γε παραλύων τὴν κοινὴν εὐνομίαν· πόσῳ δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας, ὁ ἄνευ ἐπισκόπου τι ποιεῖν προαιρούμενος, καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν διασπῶν, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν συγχέων; ἱερωσύνη γάρ ἐστι, τὸ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀναβεβηκός· ἧς ὁ καταμανεὶς, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀτιμάζει, ἀλλὰ θεὸν, καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν πρωτότοκον, καὶ μόνον τῇ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχιερέα. πάντα οὖν ὑμῖν μετ' εὐταξίας ἐπιτελείσθω ἐν Χριστῷ. οἱ λαϊκοὶ, τοῖς διακόνοις ὑποτασσέσθωσαν. οἱ διάκονοι, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, τῷ Χριστῷ, ὡς αὐτὸς τῷ πατρί. — S. Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Smyrn., c. 9. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 87. See Const. Apost., lib. vi. c. 2. Concilia, tom. i. col. 372, E. quoted below, p. 308, note c; and Ussher's Dissertationes de Ignatii M. Epistolis, c. 10; ad calc. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. pp. 222, 223.]

[m] *ἱερωσύνη*, generally used *κατ' ἐξοχὴν* for the episcopal dignity, as sacerdos in Latin for a bishop. [See instances in Suicer, Thes. Eccl. in voc. *ἱερεύς*. § ii. tom. i. col. 1441, 1442.]

[n] [*τί γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος; ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα πάν-*

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(*πάσης ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐξουσίας*) above all men, as much as a man can have that represents the person of Jesus Christ? and what is the presbytery but a holy meeting, in which the presbyters are the counsellors and assessors of the bishop? And what are the deacons but representations of the angelical office, ministering a holy and unblameable ministry to the bishop, as St. Stephen to James the Blessed, and Timothy and Linus to Paul, and Anacletus and Clemens to Peter?" In his epistle to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna[o], saith he, "Let nothing be done without thy will (or pleasure), nor do thou any thing but what is the will of God:" and then to the people[p]; "Take heed[q] to the bishop that God may regard you; my soul shall answer for theirs to God, who obey[r] the bishop, presbyters, and deacons, and let me have my part with them to enjoy God." In his epistle to the Ephesians[s]; "You ought to regard the Bishop Onesimus as the Lord. For we ought to receive every one whom the master of the house sends into his house for the government of it as him that sent him, and therefore we ought to regard the bishop as God. And God resisteth the proud; let it

των κρατῶν, ὡς οἷόν τε ἄνθρωπον κρατεῖν, μιμητὴν γινόμενον κατὰ δύναμιν Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· τί δὲ πρεσβυτέριον; ἀλλ' ἢ σύστημα ἱερὸν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· τί δὲ διάκονοι; ἀλλ' ἢ μιμηταὶ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων, λειτουργοῦντες αὐτῷ λειτουργίαν καθαρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον, ὡς Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος Ἰακώβῳ τῷ μακαρίῳ, καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Λῖνος Παύλῳ, καὶ Ἀνέγκλητος καὶ Κλήμης Πέτρῳ.—S. Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Trall., c. 7. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 63. See Const. Apost., lib. ii. c. 26. Concilia, tom. i. col. 264, B. see below, p. 306, note s, and Ussher, ibid.]

[o] [*μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης σου γινέσθω, μηδὲ σὺ ἄνευ θεοῦ γνώμης τι πράσσε.*—S. Ignat. Epist. ad Polycarp., c. 4. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 40.]

[p] [*τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν· ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις· καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο σχεῖν ἐν θεῷ.*—Ibid., c. 6. p. 41.]

[q] *τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε*, where the word *προσέχειν* signifies to have regard, or give heed to an eminent person, and of great authority, as in Acts viii. 6, 10, 11.

[r] *τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ*, which is the very word of the Apostle where he commands subjection to the higher powers, Rom. xiii. 1, *πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω*, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." He uses the same word ad Magnes. [c. 13. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 21.] *ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ.* So ad Tralles. [c. 13. ibid., p. 25.] *ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ*, where *ἐντολὴ* also signifies the commandment of God, as in Matt. xix. 17; xxii. 38; Mark x. 19; Luke xxiii. 56.

[s] [The passage runs thus; *γέγραπται γὰρ· ὑπερηφάνοις ὁ θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται· σπουδάσωμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὦμεν θεοῦ ὑποτασσόμενοι. καὶ ὅσῳ βλέπει τις σιγῶντα ἐπίσκοπον, πλειόνως αὐτὸν φοβείσθω· πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα· τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον, ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν.*—S. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes., § 5, 6. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 13. Onesimus is mentioned as bishop in the following sentence.]

therefore be our care and study not to resist[t] the bishop, that we may be subject unto God." To the Magnesians[u]; "You ought not to despise the age of your young bishop, but to give him reverence according to the ordinance of God, as I know the presbyters do . . . . . submitting to him, and not to him (only) but to the Bishop of all, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore for His honour it is our duty to obey without dissimulation, because no man deceives the visible bishop, but he goes about to put fallacies upon the invisible Bishop, who knows all secret things." Again[x]; "I exhort you to do all things in Divine unity, the bishop presiding in God's place, and the presbyters in the place of the apostolic college, and the deacons as those to whom is committed the service of Jesus Christ." To the Philadelphians[y]; "As many as are of God and Christ they are with the bishop." To the Trallesians[z]; "Being subject to the bishop as to Christ Jesus, (*τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ*) you seem to me not to live after the manner of men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us." In another place, which I translate thus[a]; "In like manner reverence the deacons as the order of Jesus Christ, who is the Son of the Father; and the presbyters as the senate of God and the constitution of the Apostles; for without these there can be no Church." Again[b]; "It behoves every one of you to re-

[t] *μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ*, "not to rebel against the bishop." This is the very word the Apostle useth for not resisting the secular potentates, Rom. xiii. 2. [*ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ.*]

[u] [*καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ συγχρᾶσθαι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δύναμιν θεοῦ πατρὸς πᾶσαν ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν, καθὼς ἔγνων καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πρεσβυτέρους, οὐ προσειληφότας τὴν φαινομένην νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ὡς φρονίμους ἐν θεῷ συγχωροῦντας αὐτῷ· οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ. εἰς τιμὴν οὖν ἐκείνου τοῦ θελήσαντος ἡμᾶς πρέπον ἐστὶν ἐπακούειν κατὰ μηδεμίαν ὑπόκρισιν· ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται, τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον, οὐ πρὸς σάρκα ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεὸν τὸν τὰ κρύφια εἰδότα.*—S. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes., c. 3. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 18.]

[x] [*παραινῶ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν, προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον θεοῦ, κ.τ.λ.*—Ibid., c. 6. p. 19. The rest of the passage is quoted above, p. 292, note t.]

[y] [*ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν.*—Id. Epist. ad Philadelph., c. 3. ibid., p. 31.]

[z] [*ὅτ' ἄν γὰρ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἀνθρώπινον ζῶντες, ἀλλὰ κατα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντα.*—Id. Epist. ad Trall., § 2. ibid., p. 22.

[a] [*ὁμοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους ὡς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· ὡς κατὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ πατρός· τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους ὡς συνέδριον θεοῦ, καὶ ὡς σύνδεσμον ἀποστόλων. χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.*—Ibid., c. 3, p. 22. Hickes read *τοὺς διακόνους ὡς ἐντολὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* See above p. 265, note m.]

[b] [*πρέπει γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῖς καθ' ἕνα, ἐξαιρέτως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέρυις, ἀνα-*

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fresh the bishop[c], to the honour of Jesus Christ and the Apostles." Again[d]; "Honour the bishop as Christ, according to the commandment of the Apostles." Lastly[e]; "Farewell in Christ Jesus, being subject to the bishop as to the commandment of God; likewise to the college of presbyters," or, as other copies have it, "to the presbyters," who were governors of the Church under the bishop, as under their prince or chief.

You see, Sir, how this saint and martyr speaks of bishops and their office. They stand in God's and Christ's stead over their flocks; the clergy as well as the people are to be subject to them, as to the vicegerents of our Lord. Nothing was to be done without them in the Church. But all laws and orders in their respective districts had their sanction from

ψύχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, εἰς τιμὴν πατρὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.—Ibid., c. 12. p. 24.]

[c] ἀναψύχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον. See 2 Tim. i. 16. [πολλάκις με ἀνέψυξε.] But besides these there are many other emphatical words in St. Ignatius' epistles which emphatically set forth the duty of the people to the bishop and the clergy, as ἐπιτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, "commanded by the bishop," ad Ephes. [c. 2. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 12. ὑποτασσόμενοι conj. Hefele]—ὑπακούειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χάριτι θεοῦ, "to obey the bishop, as the commission of God," or "according to the commission given him from God," ibid. [ὑπακούειν ὑμᾶς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ occurs ad Eph., c. 20, p. 16. ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χάριτι θεοῦ, ad Magn., c. 2. p. 18.] —ἐπακούειν, [ad Magn., c. 3. p. 18. quoted above, note z.]—ἀγαπᾶν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν (τὸν ἐπίσκοπον,) 'to love the bishop in Jesus Christ,' ad Ephes. [c. 1, p. 12.]—δέχεσθαι: πάντα ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα, "whomsoever the master of the house sends to be over His household, we ought to receive him in such manner as we would receive Him that sent him," [Ibid., c. 6. p. 18.]—συγχωρεῖν: ὡς φρονίμους ἐν θεῷ συγχωροῦντας αὐτῷ, οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ, "submitting to him as those who have wisdom from God, or rather not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ, the Bishop of us all;" ad Magnes. [c. 3. p. 18.]—Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώμῃ (see Rev. xvii. 17; Philem. 14. γνώμη placitum, decretum, sententia) ὡς καὶ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὁρισθέντες ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώμῃ εἰσίν, "for even as Jesus Christ is sent by the will of the Father, so the bishops are appointed unto the utmost parts of the earth by the will of Jesus Christ. Wherefore it will become you to concur according to the will of the bishop;" ad Ephes. [c. 3, 4, p. 12.]

All the words I have here observed to set forth the eminent spiritual power, authority, and dignity of bishops, and their office, are in the New Testament, except one [sc. ἐπακούειν], and I desire those to consider the emphasis of them, and the expressions in which they are used, who object that I have carried the notion of the episcopal dignity too high, and in too high expressions.

[d] [The passage stands thus in the genuine epistle; φυλάττεσθε οὖν τοῖς τοιούτοις· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν μὴ φυσιουμένοις, καὶ οὖσιν ἀχωρίστοις θεοῦ, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων τῶν ἀποστόλων.—Ibid., c. 7. p. 23. But the quotation is evidently from the interpolated epistle, where the passage runs thus: αἰδεῖσθε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν, ὡς Χριστὸν, καθ' ὃ ὑμῖν οἱ μακάριοι διετάξαντο ἀπόστολοι.—S. Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Trall., c. 7. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 63.]

[e] [ἔρρωσθε ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐντολῇ, ὁμοίως καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ.—Id. Epist. ad Trall., c. 13. ibid., p. 25.]

them, they presiding in all meetings of the clergy as Christ did among the Apostles. Several such precepts, orders, and directions occur in the epistles of St. Paul to the Churches of his foundation; in this holy martyr's epistles; in that of St. Polycarp to the Philippians; and in that of St. Clement to the Corinthians; all which express that authority with which St. Paul spoke to the Corinthians in these words: "If any man among you think himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things which I wrote to you (as your Apostle) are the commandment of the Lord." 1 Cor. 14. 37.

SECT. III. Bishops have a power of coercion by means of spiritual punishments.

III. And as they had power to make laws and orders, and give directions for the regulation of the Church, and all orders of men in it, so had they power to coerce or compel their subjects of the clergy and laity, without distinction of persons, to obey them, by spiritual censures and punishments, particularly by excommunication, which in the most holy and pure times was ever accounted more dreadful than death itself. This power of spiritual coercion was promised by Christ to the Apostles in those most solemn words; "Whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Matt. 18. 18. This is the power which He promised to give St. Peter, Matt. xvi. 19; "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Thus our Lord, who instituted the apostolical office, gave authority therewith not only to instruct, command, and direct, but to punish and compel, yea to extirpate and cut off those who were rebellious and contumacious, and would not submit to their orders, and the censures of the Church. They were actually invested with this coercive power after His resurrection, when He said unto them, "Peace be unto you; as My Father sent Me, so send I you: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." John 20. 21, 23.

When He said, "As My Father sent Me, so send I you," according to the common import of the words, as well as the received sense of them in the Catholic Church, He was to be understood as if He had said, With the same power and au-

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thority that My Father sent Me into the world to constitute and govern My Church, I send you and your successors; i. e. with all spiritual power and authority directive and coercive, which is necessary to your office and charge, in gathering, fixing, and governing Churches unto the end of the world.

This power was exercised in various corrections and punishments by the Apostles, as by St. Peter on Simon Magus, when he said, "Thy money perish with thee. . . . . Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter, for thy heart is not right in the sight of God." By these words he was cut off from the Church, and all spiritual benefits belonging to it, which, as a father observed, was a more dreadful punishment than to be burned, or drowned, or pierced through with a temporal sword. It was variously exercised by St. Paul, as where he commanded the faithful "not to keep company with Christian fornicators;" and to "note those who behaved themselves disorderly, and would not obey his word, and to have no company with them that they might be ashamed." So in the name of Christ, and his own apostolic authority, though absent, he ordered the incestuous Corinthian to be separated and cut off from the communion of the Church, and thereby delivered up to the power of the devil till he should repent. "I have already judged, as though I were present, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and my spirit, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus." The same discipline he exercised on Hymenæus and Philetus, 1 Tim. i. 20, according to what he wrote, 2 Cor. x. 4—6: "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God, &c. and having in readiness to revenge all disobedience." So in 1 Cor. iv. 21, saith he, provoked by the disobedience of some that were puffed up with spiritual gifts, "What will you? that I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?" By the rod is here to be meant some of the greater spiritual punishments, and in all appearance excommunication, of which he saith, 2 Cor. x. 8, "Though I should boast somewhat of our authority, which God hath

Acts 10. 20, 21.

1 Cor. 5. 9.

2 Thess. 3. 14.

1 Cor. 5. 3—5.

given us for edification, and not for destruction, I should not be ashamed." It was with some of these spiritual censures, and likely with excommunication, that St. John threatened Diotrephes for "prating against him with malicious words, and for not receiving the brethren himself, and forbidding others that would." 3 John 9. 10.

And the successors of the Apostles, the bishops, like spiritual princes, exercised the same authority, the same coercive authority that they did[f], in inflicting spiritual censures upon their disobedient subjects. It would require a volume to shew you the various punishments with which they corrected their disobedience. They suspended and deprived clergymen, or degraded them from their order[g]; and as for the people, they put down those who were in the uppermost class of communion into the station of penitents, and prostrators; others they forbid to come farther than the church doors; and those whom they did not so disgrace, they often suspended from the Sacrament, some for a longer, some for a shorter time, and some till their last hours[h]. The contumacious, both of the clergy and laity, they punished with excommunication; from which, after very long and very severe penances, as I have mentioned, they absolved some; and others, who were enormous and very frequent lapsers, they would not absolve and reconcile to the peace of the Church, but at their last breath, or perhaps not at all[i], leaving them to the mercy of God at His own tribunal. I need not tell you how much the ancient Christians stood in awe of the apostolic rod in the hands of their bishops, as well after as before the empire came to the Church, when she as a distinct society inflicted her censures upon the same Christian criminals, and for the same crimes, which the empire punished by its laws[k]; as likewise upon others for crimes which the empire

[f] Disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere ut apud certos de Dei conspectu; summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegetur.—Tertull. Apol. [cap. 39. p. 31, A.]

[g] [See Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, book xvii.]

[h] [Ibid., c. 1.]

[i] [Ibid., c. 4. § 2—4.]

[k] See the canons of St. Basil the Great, ad Amphilochium Iconii Episcopum. [e. g. Can. 7. φονεῖς, καὶ φαρμακοὶ καὶ μοιχοὶ, καὶ εἰδωλολάτραι τῆς αὐτῆς καταδίκης εἰσὶν ἠξιωμένοι.— S. Basilii Epist. clxxxviii. Canonica i. ad Amphilochium. Op., tom. iii. p. 272,

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did not punish but allow, as in the Abyssinian Æthiopia [l], where though the State allows polygamy, or having many wives at once, the Church punishes polygamists with deprivation of the holy Communion, which was looked upon as a great dishonour, and grievous punishment in the pure ages of Christianity, as to be repelled from their sacrifices was among the heathens; and it was called the lesser excommunication to distinguish it from the greater [m], which the ancient Christians looked upon as the spiritual axe and sword [n] to the soul, and thought more terrible than death.

Sir, I have wrote all this to help you to a just idea of the episcopal office and power, and to shew you what reason I had in my letter to call them spiritual princes, and their dioceses principalities, which I did, not rashly or by chance, but upon thought, knowing how the ancients wrote of it, as you shall see in a few more examples.

B. et apud Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1511, B.]

[l] [De ritibus nuptialibus nunc dicere restat, cum et illi Christianis sacri habeantur; et conjugiorum jura e lege divina decisionem fere sumant. Id vero imprimis notabile est, polygamiam in ecclesia Habessinorum improbari: et tamen in republica civili tolerari. Non enim a magistratibus puniuntur qui plures simul uxores ducunt, et tamen a sacra cœna arcentur: tanquam ex eorum genere sit quæ rempublicam non lædant, et tamen sanctitati Christianorum adversentur; quasi sanctos et probos homines efficere, non regum et principum, sed episcoporum ecclesiæ officium sit.] Jobi Ludolphi Hist. Æthiopica, lib. iii. cap. 6. § 99, 100. [Matrimonia Christiano more contrahunt Habessini cum singulis uxoribus. Plures ducere nulla quidem lege civili prohibentur, id tamen pœnis ecclesiasticis coercetur: quia Christianorum institutis sacrisque canonibus adversatur. He then refers to what he had said as above.]—Ibid., lib. iv. cap. 4. § 1—3.

[m] [See Bingham, book xvi. chap. 2. § 7, 8.]

[n] Cujus, ut gladium spiritalem, et venturum judicii diem unusquisque fratrum possit evadere omni consilio providere, et elaborare debemus. . . . Interfici Deus jussit sacerdotibus suis non obtemperantes, et judicibus a se ad tempus constitutis non obaudientes, et tunc quidem gladio occidebantur, quando adhuc et circumcisio carnalis manebat. Nunc autem quia circumcisio spiritalis esse apud fideles servos Dei cœpit, spiritali gladio superbi et contumaces necantur, dum de ecclesia ejiciuntur.—S. Cypr. Epist., [lxii. (iv. ed. Oxon.) ad Pomponium, p. 103. ed. Ben.] εἶδες πῶς καὶ ξίφος ἔχουσιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι, κ. τ. λ.—S. Chrysost. Serm. de utilitate legendi Scripturas. [Op., tom. iii. p. 78, C. See the passage quoted below, p. 319.] Phineas sacerdos adulteros simul inventos ferro ultore confixit. Quod utique degradationibus, et excommunicationibus significatum est esse faciendum hoc tempore, cum in ecclesiæ disciplina visibilis fuerat gladius cessaturus.—S. August. De Fide et Operibus, cap. 2. [Op., tom. vi. p. 166, B.] Galat. v. 12, "I would they were cut off that trouble you." 1 Cor. iv. 21, "Shall I come unto you with a rod?" See Is. Casaub. de Libert. Eccles., lib. ii. Thesis 4. [Quum non alias pœnas vetus ecclesia noverit præter presbyterii censuras et anathematis vinculum, qui est gladius ille spiritualis: opinio magni hujus patris (S. Chrysostomi) fuit, dirum illud telum aut quam rarissime aut ne sic quidem, adversus fideles esse vibrandum.—Apud Epistolas Is. Casaubon, tom. ii. p. 183. Amst. 1709. See Appendix, No. 7.]

Constantine the Great, in his speech to the bishops of the Catholic Church assembled in the first general council, speaks to them in these words[o]; "God hath appointed you to be priests and princes, (*ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας,*) to judge the people, and determine causes, and hath described you to be gods, as being more excellent than all other men; according to what is written, 'I have said ye are gods, and all the sons of the Most High:' and again, 'God standeth in the congregation of gods.'" That this place was applicable to Christian bishops, as priests, is plainly to be proved from the exposition of it in the commentary of Eusebius Cæsariensis, "I have said ye are gods[p]," &c. "God the Word, (*ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος,*) judging the presidents of the people, to wit, the priests, and high-priests, *τούς τε λοιποὺς ἄρχοντας,* and the other rulers, or princes, declareth these things; and therefore it is said, 'God standeth in the congregation of gods,'" &c.

Ps. 82. 6.

ver. 1.

In the eleventh chapter of the second book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which were of great authority in the Church[q], the bishop is thus described[r]: "Wherefore, O bishop, study to be pure, and to make known thy conversation and dignity, as one that represents God among men (*ὡς θεοῦ τύπον ἔχων ἐν ἀνθρώποις*) in presiding over all men, (*τῷ πάντων ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων,*) priests, kings, princes,

[o] [*τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμᾶς προχειρισαμένου ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας, κρίνειν τε καὶ διακρίνειν τὰ πλήθη, καὶ θεοὺς εἶναι, ἅτε δὴ ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ὑπερέχοντας, ὁρισαμένου, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· ἐγὼ εἶπα θεοί ἐστε, καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες· καὶ τό· ὁ θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν.*]—Gelasii Cyziceni Hist. Conc. Nic., cap. 8. [The words are part of an address of Constantine to the bishops. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 176, A, B.]

[p] [*τοὺς δὴ οὖν τοῦ λαοῦ προεστῶτας, ἱερέας δηλαδὴ καὶ ἀρχιερέας, τούς τε λοίπους ἄρχοντας ἀνακρίνων ὁ θεὸς λόγος, τὰ μετὰ χεῖρας διέρχεται. διὸ εἴρηται· ὁ θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγώγῃ ἰσχυρῶν.*—Euseb. Cæsar. Comm. in Psalm. lxxxi. ap. Montfaucon. Nov. Collect. Patrum, Par. 1706. tom. i. p. 506, A. The word 'gods,' at the end of the translation by Hickes, seems to be put in by mistake from the extract from Gelasius. The Hebrew is אלהים, which the LXX translate literally *θεῶν,* as Constantine quoted it, but Eusebius *ἰσχυρῶν.*]

[q] See Canon. Apost. lxxxv. [In this Canon the Apostolical Constitutions are enumerated among the sacred books. *ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν κληρικοῖς καὶ λαικοῖς βιβλία σεβάσμια καὶ ἅγια, τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, Μωσέως πέντε, κ. τ. λ. . . . ἡμέτερα δὲ, τοῦτ' ἔστι, τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα . . . Παύλου ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες, Πέτρου ἐπιστολαὶ δύο, Ἰωάννου τρεῖς, Ἰακώβου μία, Ἰούδα μία, Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολαὶ δύο, καὶ αἱ διαταγαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις δι' ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν ὀκτὼ βιβλίοις προσπεφωνημέναι (ἃ οὐ δεῖ δημοσιεύειν ἐπὶ πάντων, διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μυστικὰ) καὶ αἱ πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.*—Canon. Apost., lxxxiv. (al. lxxxv.) Concilia, tom. i. col. 44, A—C; but see below, p. 309, note f.]

[r] [*διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἐπίσκοπε, σπούδαζε καθαρὸς εἶναι τοῖς ἔργοις, γνωρίζων τὸν τρόπον σου καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν, ὡς θεοῦ τύπον ἔχων ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τῷ πάντων ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων, ἱερέων, βασιλέων, ἀρχόντων, πατέρων, υἱῶν, διδασκάλων, καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ὑπηκόων, καὶ οὕτως ἐν ἐκκλη-*

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fathers, sons, doctors, and all who in like manner are thy subjects; and so preach from thy seat in the Church as one who hath power to judge offenders; for it is said to you bishops, "Whatsoever you bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven." So in the [twenty-sixth] chapter of the same book[s]: "The bishop is the minister of the word, the keeper of knowledge, the mediator in the Divine worship betwixt you and God; the teacher of religion; the father in God, who regenerated you by water and the Spirit unto adoption; the prince (*ἄρχων*), and governor (*ἡγούμενος*); the king (*βασιλεὺς*), and potentate (*δυνάστης*); under God the earthly god whom you ought to honour: for of him and those like him God saith, 'I said ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High, and, 'Thou shalt not speak evil of the gods[t].' Therefore let the bishop so preside over you as honoured with authority from God, by which he governs the clergy and all the people." So chap. 28, 29, 30[u]: "Honour God by those who preside over you (*προεστώτων*), esteeming the bishops as the mouth, or oracles of God. For if Aaron was called a prophet for speaking the words of Moses to Pharaoh, and Moses was called the god of Pharaoh, as being king and high-priest, as it is

Ps. 82. 6.

Ex. 22. 28.

σία καθέζου τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος, ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν κρίνειν τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας, ὅτι ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις εἴρηται, ὃ ἐὰν δήσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· καὶ ὃ ἐὰν λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται λελυμένον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.—Const. Apost., lib. ii. cap. 11. Concilia, tom. i. p. 234, D, E.]

[s] [ὁ ἐπίσκοπος οὗτος λόγου διάκονος, γνώσεως φύλαξ, μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν λατρείαις· οὗτος διδάσκαλος εὐσεβείας· οὗτος μετὰ θεὸν πατὴρ ὑμῶν, δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἀναγεννήσας ὑμᾶς εἰς υἱοθεσίαν· οὗτος ἄρχων καὶ ἡγούμενος ὑμῶν· οὗτος ὑμῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ δυνάστης. οὗτος ὑμῶν ἐπίγειος θεὸς μετὰ θεόν, ὃς ὀφείλει τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν τιμῆς ἀπολαύειν. περὶ γὰρ τούτου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἔλεγεν· ἐγὼ εἶπα, θεοί ἐστε, καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες. καὶ θεοὺς οὐ καταλογήσεις· ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος προκαθεζέσθω ὑμῶν ὡς θεοῦ ἀξίᾳ τετιμημένος· ᾗ κρατεῖ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἄρχει.—Ibid., cap. 26. col. 264, A, B. The editor has substituted in the text the word twenty-sixth for eleventh, the reading of the third edition. The eleventh chapter, which is on the treatment of penitents, does not contain any thing to this effect.]

[t] [ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπον ἢ λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ κακολογῶν, θεῷ προσπταίει, οὐκ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος, θεοὺς οὐ κακολογήσεις· οὐ γὰρ περὶ λίθων ἢ ξύλων προσοχθισμάτων ἐνομοθέτει, βδελυκτῶν ὄντων διὰ τὴν ψευδωνυμίαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν κριτῶν· οἷς καὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι θεοί ἐστε, καὶ υἱοὶ ὕψιστοι.—Ibid., c. 31. col. 248, E.]

[u] [τιμᾶν διὰ τῶν προεστώτων κύριον τὸν θεὸν, ἡγουμένους στόμα θεοῦ εἶναι τοὺς ἐπισκόπους. εἰ γὰρ Ἀαρὼν ἐπειδὴ ἤγγειλε τῷ Φαραὼ παρὰ Μωσέως τοὺς λόγους, προφήτης εἴρηται, Μωσῆς δὲ θεὸς τοῦ Φαραὼ, ὡς βασιλεὺς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς, ὡς φησὶν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν, θεὸν τέθεικά σε τῷ Φαραὼ, καὶ Ἀαρὼν ὁ

written: 'See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet,' why then do you not esteem the messengers and ministers among you as prophets, and honour them as gods? For the deacon or minister is as Aaron to you, and the bishop as Moses. If therefore Moses was called a god by the Lord, let the bishops be honoured among you as God, and the deacon as His prophet. For as Christ doth nothing without the Father, so let not the minister do any thing without the bishop." So chap. 33, 34[x]: "If you honour your fathers according to the flesh, how much more ought you to honour your spiritual fathers, as your benefactors and mediators unto God, who regenerated you by water and replenished you with the Holy Ghost, &c.? Wherefore fear and honour them who have received power of life and death from God in judging sinners, and condemning them to eternal fire, and absolving those who repent from their sins. Esteem them therefore as your Archons; esteem them as your kings or emperors, and offer tribute to them as kings, for they and their families ought to be maintained by you. For as Samuel ordained that the people should maintain the king, and Moses that they should maintain the priests[y], so we command that

ἀδελφός σου ἔσται σου προφήτης, διατὶ μή καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς μεσίτας ὑμῶν τοῦ λόγου προφήτας εἶναι νομίσητε, καὶ ὡς θεοὺς σεβασθήσεσθε; νῦν γὰρ ὑμῖν μὲν ὁ Ἀαρών ἐστιν ὁ διάκονος, Μῶυσῆς δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· εἰ οὖν ἐῤῥέθη Μῶυσῆς ὑπὸ κυρίου θεὸς, καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς θεὸν τετιμήσθω, καὶ ὁ διάκονος ὡς προφήτης αὐτοῦ· ὡς γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ, οὕτως οὐδὲ ὁ διάκονος ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.—Ibid., cap. 28—30. col. 267, A—D.]

[x] [εἰ γὰρ περὶ τῶν κατὰ σάρκα γονέων φησὶ τὸ θε῞ον λόγιον, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου, πόσῳ μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν γονέων ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος παραινέσει τιμᾷν αὐτοὺς, καὶ στέργειν ὡς εὐεργέτας καὶ πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς θεὸν τοὺς δι' ὕδατος ὑμᾶς ἀναγεννήσαντας· τοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πληρώσαντας, κ.τ.λ. . . . τούτους εὐλαβούμενοι τιμᾶτε παντοίαις τιμαῖς· οὗτοι γὰρ παρὰ θεῷ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἐξουσίαν εἰλήφασιν ἐν τῷ δικάζειν τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας, καὶ καταδικάζειν εἰς θάνατον πυρὸς αἰωνίου· καὶ λύειν ἁμαρτιῶν τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας· καὶ ζωογονεῖν αὐτούς. τούτους ἄρχοντας ὑμῶν καὶ βασιλεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι νομίζετε, καὶ δασμοὺς ὡς βασιλεῦσι προσφέρετε, ἐξ ὑμῶν γὰρ αὐτούς τε καὶ συνοίκους αὐτῶν τρέφεσθαι χρή. ὡς Σαμουὴλ διετάξατο πρὸς τὸν λαὸν περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν βασιλειῶν, καὶ Μωσῆς περὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἐν τῷ Λευιτικῷ, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων διατασσόμεθα, ... πλεῖον οὗτος λαμβανέτω, ἢ ἐκεῖνος τὸ παλαιόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ στρατιωτικὰ μόνα διεῖπε, πόλεμον καὶ εἰρήνην ἀναδεδεγμένος εἰς φυλακὴν σωμάτων, ὁ δὲ, τὴν εἰς θεὸν ἱερωσύνην, σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν παραιτούμενος κινδύνων· ὅσῳ τοίνυν ψυχὴ σώματος κρείττων, τοσούτῳ ἱερωσύνη βασιλείας· δεσμεύει γὰρ αὐτὴ, καὶ λύει τοὺς τιμωρίας ἢ ἀφέσεως ἀξίους· διὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον στέργειν ὀφείλετε ὡς πατέρα, φοβεῖσθαι ὡς βασιλέα· τιμᾷν ὡς κύριον· τοὺς καρποὺς ὑμῶν, καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν εἰς εὐλογίαν ὑμῶν προσφέροντες αὐτῷ, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ὑμῶν, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid., cap. 33, 34. col. 270, C, D, E, A.]

[y] Philo Jud. [de Præmiis Sacerdotum, Op., tom. ii. p. 234, quoted vol. i. p. 183, note d.]

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you should maintain the bishops, &c. For if they administered in so many things to the king, who administered peace and war for bodily safety, how ought they not to administer more liberally to him, who administering the priesthood towards God, secures both body and soul from danger by his prayers? Wherefore, by how much the soul is more excellent than the body, by so much is the priesthood more excellent than the kingly power; for he binds and also looses from punishment those who are worthy of absolution; therefore ought you to love the bishop as a father; to fear him as a king or emperor; to honour him as a lord; offering to him your fruits, and the works of your hands, and your first-fruits," &c. To these testimonies add what is said in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth chapters of this book[z]: *ὦ ἐπίσκοποι . . . . . ὑμεῖς τοῖς ἐν ὑμῖν λαϊκοῖς ἐστὲ προφῆται, ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἡμούμενοι, καὶ βασιλεῖς*: "O bishops, ye are to the laity or people, prophets, princes, rulers, and kings." So in the twenty-sixth chapter[a]: "He that is a bishop is a minister of the word, the keeper of knowledge . . . . after God your Father, who regenerated you into the adoption of sons by water and the Holy Spirit. *οὗτος ἄρχων, καὶ ἡγούμενος ὑμῶν· οὗτος ὑμῶν βασιλεὺς, καὶ δυνάστης· οὗτος ὑμῶν ἐπίγειος θεὸς μετὰ θεὸν*: He is your prince and governor, he is your king and lord, he is under God your god upon earth, whom you ought to honour; for of him and such like God hath said, 'I have said ye are gods, and the sons of the Most High,' and 'Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people.'" To these may also be added the thirty-fourth chapter[b], and to the same purpose is the second chapter of the sixth book[c]: "If any who rose up against kings deserved punishment, though a son or a friend, how much more he who rises up against the bishops? For as the priesthood is more excellent than the kingly office, as labouring for the soul's health, so is he

[z] [Apost. Const., lib. ii. cap. 25, 26, ibid., col. 260, E.]

[a] [This extract is a repetition of that given above, p. 306, note s.]

[b] [The thirty-fourth chapter has been quoted just before, p. 307, note x. The passage from the words "the twenty-fifth" to "the same purpose is" was added in the third edition: apparently through some mistake.]

[c] [*εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγειρόμενος κολασέως ἄξιος, κἂν υἱὸς ᾖ, κἂν φίλος, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ ἱερεῦσι ἐπανιστάμενος; ὅσῳ γὰρ ἱερωσύνη βασιλείας ἀμείνων, περὶ ψυχῆς ἔχουσα τὸν ἀγῶνα, τοσούτῳ καὶ βαρυτέραν ἔχει τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὁ ταύτῃ τολμήσας ἀντομματεῖν.*—Const. Apost., lib. vi. cap. 2. col. 372, E, A.]

worthy of greater punishment who dares move his eye against it." Sir, you ought not to wonder that the ancients equal bishops in their spiritual office to kings, for in the ancient glossary of Hesychius 'bishop' is explained by 'king' (ἐπίσκοπος· βασιλεὺς[d],) because as kings are bishops of the State, so bishops are as kings in the Church. The comparison between them, and their offices, is properly and elegantly expressed by St. Fulgentius in these words[e]: *Quantum ergo pertinet ad hujus temporis vitam, constat quia in Ecclesia nemo pontifice potior, et in seculo nemo Christiano imperatore celsior invenitur;* and this comparison of the two offices in their several spheres, as it seems to be just, so it seems to be grounded in Scripture, not only in that of the Psalms, "I have said ye are gods;" but in Rev. v. 10, "Thou hast redeemed us unto God by Thy blood, and hast made us kings and priests." Sir, all these terms, even that of king itself, were applied to bishops as spiritual princes, by the best Christian authors, as you may observe by other authorities cited in this letter; and as strange as this magnificent way of speaking of them may appear unto you, or others not conversant in the ancient ecclesiastical learning, yet you see it was the common language of ancient Christianity, and therefore I have made no difficulty to lay it before you out of the Apostolical Constitutions so called, though I own they have suffered by interpolations and corruptions, as it was the lot of some primitive tracts to do, for which reason, but chiefly upon the account of some Arian expressions in them, they were censured by the sixth general council, Canon 2.[f] But what I have cited out of them in

[d] [Hesychii Lexicon, tom. i. col. 1885.]

[e] S. Fulgentius De Veritate Prædestinationis et Gratia, lib. ii. cap. 22. [ap. Bibl. Vett. Patrum, tom. ix. p. 247, H.; Lugd. 1677.]

[f] [The body of canons here referred to is that of the council in Trullo, held at Constantinople A.D. 692, called Quinisextum. There were not any canons made either by the fifth or sixth general councils. These are considered by the Greeks as supplemental to the acts of those councils, and called the canons of the sixth general council, and are so given by Beveridge, (Pandect, tom. i. see pp. 151, sqq.) but are not received by the Latins. The passage respecting the Apostolical constitutions, excepts from the reception of the Apostolical canons that which confirms the Constitutions, (see above, p. 305, note g,) in these words; ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς κανόσιν ἐντέταλται δέχεσθαι ἡμᾶς τὰς τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος διατάξεις, αἷς τισὶ πάλαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας νύθα τινὰ καὶ ξένα τῆς εὐσεβείας παρενετέθησαν, τὸ εὐπρεπὲς κάλλος τῶν θείων δογμάτων ἡμῖν ἀμαυρώσαντα, τὴν τῶν τοιούτων διατάξεων προσφόρως ἀποβολὴν πεποιήμεθα πρὸς

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honour of the episcopal order and office, hath the air of primitive and Catholic; and as lofty as at first sight it may appear, perhaps you will not think it so when you rightly consider the holiness of their ministry, the greatness of their spiritual power, and by whom and whose authority they were made bishops, as St. Gregory Nazianzen sets it forth at the latter end of his fifth oration, in the following words[g]:

Ex. 29. 1, sqq.

διὰ τοῦτο χρίεις τὸν ἀρχιερέα, κ.τ.λ. "Therefore you anoint me bishop, and put the robe of the ephod upon me, and the mitre upon my head, and bring me to the altar of the spiritual holocaust, and slay the bullock of consecration, and consecrate my hands to the Holy Ghost, and lead me to the

Heb. 8. 2.

sight of the Holy of Holies, and make me a minister of the true tabernacle, which the Lord hath pitched, and not man. But whether he whom you have anointed is worthy to be anointed by you, and for what he is anointed, and of Him to

Ps. 45. 5.

whom he is anointed, the Father of the true and proper (Son of God) Christ, whom He hath anointed with the oil of gladness above His fellows, knows, having anointed the manhood with the Godhead to make both one. And He that is God, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have obtained reconciliation, knows it, and also the Holy Spirit, who hath appointed us to this holy ministry, on whom we stand, and rejoice in the hope of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever. Amen." It is evident from this mystical description of an episcopal consecration, in which this father

τὴν τοῦ Χριστιανικωτάτου ποιμνίου οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ἀσφαλείαν· οὐδαμῶς ἐγκρίνοντες τὰ τῆς αἱρετικῆς ψευδολογίας κυήματα, καὶ τῇ γνησίᾳ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχῇ παρενείροντες.—Concil. Quinisext. Can. ii. Concilia, tom. vii. col. 1344, E, 1345, A. See the Admonitio ad Lectorem, ibid., col. 1328, and Binius' notes, col. 1416, sqq. That some of the interpretations were Arian is said by Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 112, 113, *αἱ δέ γε διαταγαὶ τρισὶ μόνοις δοκοῦσιν ἐνέχεσθαι· κακοπλαστίᾳ, κ. τ. λ. . . . καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρειανίσμῳ.*—p. 90.]

g [*διὰ τοῦτο χρίεις ἀρχιερέα, καὶ περιβάλλεις τὸν ποδήρη, καὶ περιτίθης τὴν κίδαριν, καὶ προσάγεις τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῆς πνευματικῆς ὁλοκαυτωσέως, καὶ θύεις τὸν μόσχον τῆς τελειώσεως, καὶ τελειοῖς τὰς χεῖρας τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ εἰσάγεις εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ἐποπτεύσοντα, καὶ ποιεῖς λειτουργὸν τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς ἣν ἔπηξεν ὁ κύριος καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄξιον ὑμῶν τε τῶν χριόντων, καὶ ὑπὲρ οὗ, καὶ εἰς ὃν ἡ χρίσις, οἶδε τοῦτο ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ὄντως Χριστοῦ, ὃν ἔχρισεν ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους αὐτοῦ, χρίσας τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα τῇ θεότητι, ὥστε ποιῆσαι τὰ ἀμφότερα ἕν· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, δι' οὗ τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὃ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἑστήκαμεν καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.*—S. Greg. Naz., Orat. x. (al. v.) § 4. Op., tom. i. p. 241, A—C.]

alludes to the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth chapters of Exodus, that he thought a Christian bishop equal in dignity to a Jewish high-priest. And so in his ninth oration he speaketh thus to Julian the apostate emperor[h]; "What do you say to these things? or what will you write? O! you who were the greatest of our friends and contemporaries? You who had the same preceptors that we had, and were instituted as we were, though God hath raised us to a more excellent, I am loth to say, a more troublesome station, to teach you, who are the higher powers." And in the seventeenth oration he speaketh thus of bishops and the episcopal power[i]: "And now, O ye potentates and prefects, I come to speak to you, lest I should seem partial in speaking what was meet for the people; but passing by your dignity or pre-eminence, for shame or fear, or to take care of them, and forget you, of whom I ought especially to take care. What say ye then? or how shall we treat one another? Allow me then liberty of speech, for the law of Christ hath subjected you to my power and tribunal. For we (bishops) have an empire or magistracy also, and that greater and more excellent than yours, except you will say the spirit is inferior to the flesh, and heavenly things to earthly:" with more to this purpose. In the Decretum, pars i. dist. x. c. 6, this passage is translated thus: *Suscipitisne libertatem verbi? Libenter accipitis, quod lex Christi sacerdotali vos subjicit potestati, atque istis tribunalibus subdit? Dedit enim et nobis potestatem, dedit et principatum multo perfectiorem principatibus vestris. Aut nunquid justum nobis videtur, si cedat spiritus carni, si terrenis cœlestia superentur, si divinis præferantur humana?* Upon which the canonists have grounded this false and most arrogant maxim; *Tribunalia*

[h] [τί πρὸς ταῦτα λέγεις; τί γράφεις, ὦ φίλων ἄριστε καὶ ἡλίκων, καὶ παιδευτῶν ἡμῖν κοινωνὲ καὶ παιδευμάτων; εἰ καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν κρείττω μοῖραν ὁ θεὸς ἔταξεν, ὑμᾶς ταῦτα παιδεύειν τοὺς ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ.—Id., Orat. xix. (al. ix.) § 16. ibid., p. 373, D.]

[i] [τί δὲ ὑμεῖς οἱ δυνάσται καὶ ἄρχοντες, ἤδη γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ λόγος μέτειεισιν, ἵνα μὴ δόξωμεν πάντῃ τυγχάνειν ἄνισοι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰ εἰκότα παραινεῖν, ὑμῶν δὲ τῇ δυναστείᾳ παραχωρεῖν, ὥσπερ αἰδοῖ τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν ἡμῶν ἐλευθερίαν, ἢ δέει ἐκκλίνοντες· ἢ τῶν μὲν κήδεσθαι μᾶλλον, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀμελεῖν, ὧν καὶ μᾶλλον φροντίζειν ἄξιον· . . . τί οὖν φατέ; καὶ τί διομολογούμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἆρα δέξεσθε συν παῤῥησίᾳ τὸν λόγον; καὶ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος ὑποτίθησιν ὑμᾶς τῇ ἐμῇ δυναστείᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ βήματι. ἄρχομεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί· προσθήσω δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὴν μείζονα καὶ τελεωτέραν ἀρχήν· ἢ δεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῇ σαρκὶ, καὶ γηΐνοις τὰ ἐπουράνια.—Id., Orat. xvii. § 8. ibid., pp. 322, D, E. 323, A.]

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regum sacerdotali sunt potestati subjecta[k]. False I call it, because the ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction is distinct from the temporal or civil[l], which are ordained by God not to hurt, or invade, or destroy, but to aid, assist, and help one another. To this purpose writes a good author in bad and a learned author in dark times, Hugo Floriacensis, of whom more hereafter[m]: *Regiam et sacerdotalem dignitatem Deus in terris ordinavit* [*sive disposuit*] *non absque magno, ac saluberrimo sacramento. Unde congruit, et valde conveniens est, ut hæ duæ potestates sibi invicem fráterna charitate semper adhæreant, et ut se mutua solicitudine tueantur*, &c. Dupin in his *Prœloquium* before the seventh dissertation of his book *de Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*[n], also shews that the regal or civil power is of a different and distinct nature from the sacerdotal or ecclesiastical, and the sacerdotal or ecclesiastical of a different and distinct nature from that; and that these two powers and jurisdictions cannot be subject each to other, though the persons using these two different powers and jurisdictions are mutually subject to one another. And the learned Bishop Beveridge in the Prolegomena to his *Συνοδικὸν*, or *Pandectæ Canonum*[o], demonstrates the real

[k] [This is the canon grounded on the passage just quoted. Gratiani Decretum, pars i. dist. x. c. 6. ap. Corpus Juris Canonici.]

[l] 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 12. Preamble. [Where by divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared that this realm of England is an empire . . . governed by one supreme head and king,] unto whom a body politic compact of all sorts and degrees of people divided in terms and by names of spirituality and temporality, [being bounden, &c.] . . . the body spiritual whereof having power when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, &c. [and the laws temporal . . . was executed by sundry] judges and administers of the other part of the said body politic, called the temporality, and both their authorities and jurisdictions do conjoin together in the due administration of justice, the one to help the other, &c.

[m] [Hugo Floriacensis, (fl. A.D. 1120) Tractatus de Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate; apud Baluzii Miscellanea, tom. ii. p. 193. col. i. ed. Mansi. Lucæ. 1761.]

[n] [Duæ sunt inter homines maximæ atque præstantissimæ societates, civilis et ecclesiastica, quæ licet inter eosdem ineantur, ideoque sæpe videantur inter se confusæ atque permixtæ, revera tamen, &c.—L. E. Dupin De antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina Dissertationes Historicæ, p. 433. Par. 1691. See Appendix, No. 5.]

[o] [The passages referred to are at the beginning of Beveridge's Prolegomena; and the subject is continued through the first two sections. § 1. Etiamsi Ecclesia in imperio sit, unumque cum eo in singulis regnis caput commune habeat, reapse nihilominus ab eo distinguitur non secus atque anima a corpore; hoc enim medici, illa theologi curæ committitur: proinde homo ex duabus istis conflatus partibus, commune est utriusque regiminis subjectum, sub diverso tamen respectu, imperio quidem quatenus ζῶον πολιτικὸν est, Ecclesiæ autem quatenus ζῶον ἀθάνατον, sempiternæ scilicet felicitatis, vel miseriæ capax, &c. § 2. Vel me tacente, nemo non videat quare hæc præmissa sunt, et quid ex iis conse-

difference between these two powers and jurisdictions, and their administrations, and how the Church and empire are not to hurt one another, but that each ought to give the other his due; and that every man in a Christian nation is in a different respect a member of both societies, and ought to be subject to the laws of both.

To the same purpose with Gregory doth St. John Chrysostom[p] speak in his fourth Homily, *de Verbis Esaiæ;* "Ozias being king would usurp the empire of the priest. I will, saith he, offer incense, because I am worthy. But remain, O king, within thy bounds, for there are other bounds of the regal and others of the priestly power. This is greater than that . . . . The king hath the administration of earthly things, but the law of the priesthood is from above; for 'whatsoever they shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.' To the emperor are committed things here, but heavenly things are committed to me . . . . And when I say to me, I speak of myself as a priest . . . . To the emperor are committed bodies, to the priest souls; he remits temporal mulcts, the priest remits sins; he useth fleshly weapons, the priest spiritual; he makes war with the barbarians, I make war with the devils; greater is this principality, and therefore the emperor submits his head to the hand of the priest, and every where in the Old Testament priests did anoint kings." So in his third Homily, *ad Populum Antioch.*, εἰ γὰρ γυνὴ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων[q], κ.τ.λ. "For if a woman interceding

quetur. Ut enim ad præscriptos imperii consequendos fines, leges ab eo ferantur necesse est, quibus singuli constringimur, et quarum servi omnes ideireo sumus, ut liberi vivere possimus: sic etiam Ecclesiæ præstitutos sibi fines nunquam assequetur, nisi suas habeat leges, quibus omnes teneantur, qui in spiritualem istam societatem admissi sunt.—Συνοδικὸν sive Pandectæ Canonum SS. Apostolorum et conciliorum ab Ecclesia Græca receptorum Gul. Beveregius recensuit, &c. Prolegomena, Oxon. 1672.]

[p] [ὁ Ὀζίας οὗτος . . . βασιλεὺς ὢν ἱερωσύνης ἀρχὴν ἁρπάζει· βούλομαί, φησι, θυμίασαι, ἐπειδὴ δίκαιός εἰμι. ἀλλὰ μένε ἔσω τῶν δικαίων ὅρων· ἄλλοι ὅροι βασιλείας, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅροι ἱερωσύνης· ἀλλ' αὕτη μείζων ἐκείνης . . . ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔλαχεν οἰκονομεῖν· ὁ δὲ τῆς ἱερωσύνης θεσμὸς ἄνω κάθηται· ὅσα ἂν δήσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ ἐνταῦθα πεπίστευται, ἐγὼ τὰ οὐράνια. ἐγὼ ὅταν εἴπω, τὸν ἱερέα λέγω. . . . ὁ βασιλεὺς σώματα ἐμπιστεύεται, ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ψυχάς· ὁ βασιλεὺς λοιπάδας χρημάτων ἀφιήσιν, ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς λοιπάδας ἁμαρτημάτων. ἐκεῖνος ἀναγκάζει, οὗτος παρακαλεῖ· ἐκεῖνος ἀνάγκῃ, οὗτος γνώμῃ· ἐκεῖνος ὅπλα ἔχει αἰσθητὰ, οὗτος ὅπλα πνευματικά. ἐκεῖνος πολεμεῖ πρὸς βαρβάρους, ἐμοὶ πόλεμος πρὸς δαίμονας. μείζων ἡ ἀρχὴ αὕτη. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ χεῖρας τοῦ ἱερέως ἄγει, καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἱερεῖς βασιλέας ἔχριον.—S. Chrysost. Homil. in Oziam iv. § 4. Op., tom. vi. p. 127, B, C, E.]

[q] [εἰ γὰρ γυνὴ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων παρακαλοῦσα βαρβαρίκων ἴσχυσε καταπτεῖναι

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for the Jews could appease the anger of a barbarian, how much more shall our master[r] (διδάσκαλος), supplicating for so great a city and so great a Church, be able to prevail with so indulgent and merciful an emperor. For if he have received power to remit sins committed against God, much more will he be able to remove and blot out crimes against men. For he is a prince, (ἄρχων ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸς,) and a prince more honourable than he (σεμνότερος); for the holy laws have subjected the emperor's head to his hands[s]; and when any blessing is to be asked from above, the emperor is wont to come to the bishop, and not the bishop to the emperor." So in his second Homily, *de Fide Annæ*, speaking of the great reverence David had for King Saul in the cave, considering his dignity as a king, and not his unworthiness as a wicked man; "Let those hear this (saith he[t]) who despise bishops[u]; let them observe how great reverence he shewed to a king, whereas a bishop is more to be honoured and

θυμὸν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ διδάσκαλος ὁ ἡμέτερος ὑπὲρ τοσαύτης πόλεως, καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἐκκλησίας δεόμενος, τὸν πραότατον καὶ ἡμερώτατον βασιλέα τοῦτον πεῖσαι δυνήσεται. εἰ γὰρ τὰς εἰς θεὸν ἁμαρτίας λύειν ἔλαβεν ἐξουσίαν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὰς εἰς ἄνθρωπον γενομένας ἀνελεῖν καὶ ἀφανίσαι δυνήσεται. ἄρχων ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ ἄρχων ἐκείνου σεμνότερος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν κεφαλὴν οἱ ἱεροὶ νόμοι ταῖς τούτου φέροντες χερσὶν ὑπέταξαν· καὶ ὅταν τι δέοι γενέσθαι χρηστὸν ἄνωθεν, ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα, οὐκ ὁ ἱερεὺς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καταφεύγειν εἴωθεν.—S. Chrys. Homil. ad Pop. Antioch. iii. Op., tom. i. p. 38, C, D.]

[r] Flavian bishop of Antioch, [who had gone to Constantinople to intercede with the emperor Theodosius for the people of Antioch, after the offence given by throwing down the statues of the emperor and empress, A.D. 387.]

[s] This alludes to the ancient custom of emperors bowing their heads to receive the bishop's blessing.—[See Bingham, book ii. chap. 9. § 1.]

[t] [ἀκουέτωσαν ὅσοι καταφρονοῦσι ἱερέων, μανθανέτωσαν ὅσην εὐλάβειαν οὗτος περὶ βασιλέα ἐπεδείξατο· καίτοι πολὺ τιμιώτερος καὶ αἰδεσιμώτερος βασιλέως ὁ ἱερεὺς, ὅσον καὶ ἐπὶ μείζονα ἀρχὴν κέκληται· μανθανέτωσαν μὴ κρίνειν, μηδὲ εὐθύνας ἀπαιτεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθαι καὶ εἴκειν. σὺ μὲν γὰρ τὸν τοῦ ἱερέως βιὸν, κἂν φαῦλος ᾖ τις καὶ ἠμελημένος, οὐκ οἶδας· οὗτος δὲ ᾔδει μετ' ἀκριβείας ἅπαντα, ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Σαούλ· ἀλλ' ὅμως καὶ οὕτως ᾔδεῖτο τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δοθεῖσαν ἀρχήν. ὅτι δὲ κἂν εἰδὼς ᾖς ἀκριβῶς, οὐκ ἔχεις ἀπολογίαν, οὐδὲ συγγνώμην, καταφρονῶν τῶν προεστώτων, καὶ παρακούων τῶν λεγομένων, ἄκουσον πῶς καὶ ταύτην ἡμῶν ἀνεῖλε τὴν πρόφασιν ὁ Χριστὸς δι' ὧν φησιν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις· ἐπὶ τῆς καθέδρας Μωϋσέως ἐκάθισαν οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ φαρισαῖοι· πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἂν εἴπωσιν ὑμῖν ποιεῖν ποιεῖτε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν μὴ ποιεῖτε. ὁρᾷς πῶς ὢν ὁ βίος οὕτω διεφθαρμένος ἦν, ὡς ἄξιος εἶναι διαβολῆς τοῖς μαθητευομένοις, τούτων τὴν παραίνεσιν οὐκ ἠτίμασεν, οὐδὲ τὴν διδαχὴν ἐξέβαλε· ταῦτα δὲ λέγω, οὐχὶ τῶν ἱερέων κατηγορεῖν βουλόμενος· μὴ γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες ἦτε τῆς τὲ ἀναστροφῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εὐλαβείας ἁπάσης· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς περιουσίας πολλὴν αὐτοῖς τὴν αἰδὼ καὶ τὴν τιμὴν παρέχωμεν.—Id., De Anna Sermo; Op., tom. iv. p. 717, E, B.]

[u] ἱερέων, ἱερεὺς, and *sacerdos*, in the Latin and Greek fathers, are used to signify a bishop, and ἱερωσύνη, and sacerdotium, the order and office of a bishop. [See Suicer, in voc. ἱερεὺς, Thes. Eccl., tom. i. col. 1441, 1442.]

reverenced than a king, by how much he is called to a more noble empire[x].

"Wherefore let them learn not to judge bishops, but to be subject and obedient to them. For thou likely dost not know the life of the bishop, though it is wicked and vile, but David knew very well all the evils Saul had done; but nevertheless he reverenced the supreme power which was given him by God. So though thou knewest the wickedness of their lives exactly thou hast no excuse or permission to despise bishops, (*τῶν προεστώτων,*) or disobey their commands. For hear (I pray thee) how Christ hath obviated this pretence by what He hath said in the Gospel; 'The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair; all therefore whatsoever they command you to observe, that observe and do, but do not ye after their works.' Dost thou not see how He would not have them slight the exhortations or reject the doctrine of those whose lives were so corrupt that they deserved to be censured by their disciples? I speak this not with any reflection on the bishops, God forbid, (for you are witnesses of their conversation and godliness,) but that we should give them the more abundant reverence and honour."

So in his sermon, "Of the benefit of reading the Scriptures," there are many things to the same purpose: *σήμερον ἀναγκαῖον*[y], *κ.τ.λ.* "Now it is necessary to explain the rest of the inscription, and shew what the name of Apostle signifies. For it is not an empty name, but a name of principality[1]; of the noblest principality; of the most spiritual principality; of a principality on high (*τῆς ἀρχῆς προσηγορία, ἀρχῆς μεγίστης, ἀρχῆς τῆς πνευματικωτάτης, ἀρχῆς τῆς ἄνω*). Attend, I pray you, diligently; for as in this world there are many governments (*ἀρχαὶ πολλαὶ*) or principalities, but not all of the same dignity, but some are greater and some less; as to begin with the

[1] See also Hom. xv. in 2 Cor. vii. [quoted above, p. 285.]

[x] *ἐπὶ μείζονα ἀρχήν.* From this passage it is plain that these two powers or principalities of the emperor and the bishop, were distinct and independent of one another.

[y] [*σήμερον ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, καὶ δεῖξαι τί ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἀποστόλων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ψιλόν ἐστι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀρχῆς ἐστὶ προσηγορία, ἀρχῆς μεγίστης, ἀρχῆς τε πνευματικωτάτης, ἀρχῆς τε ἄνω. ἀλλὰ διανάστητε. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βιωτικοῖς πράγμασίν εἰσι πολλαὶ ἀρχαί, οὐ πᾶσαι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξίας, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν μείζους, αἱ δὲ ἐλάττους· οἷον, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς κατωτέρας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ποιησώ-*

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inferior, a mayor of a city; the governor of a country is above him, over whom there is also a superior governor, and so in several other gradations, as the general, proconsul, and the power of the consuls, (*τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχὴν,*) which is above them, and all these governments are not all of the same dignity: so are there many spiritual governments or magistracies, but not all of the same dignity, the dignity of the apostolate being greater than all. And as you are to be led by sensible to spiritual things . . . so coming to discourse of government (*περὶ ἀρχῆς*) I did not first speak of spiritual but temporal government, which is the object of sense, that from this I might lead you as it were by the hand to that. You have heard how many secular powers or dignities I have reckoned up, of which some are greater and some less, and how the power of the consul is the top and head of the rest. Now let us see what spiritual powers (*ἀρχὰς πνευματικὰς*) or dignities there are; the power of a prophet is a spiritual power; the power of an evangelist is another spiritual power; so is the power of a pastor, of a doctor; of gifts and healings; of interpreting of tongues. These indeed are all names of gifts, but the things signified by them imply dignity and power. With us a prophet is a spiritual dignitary (*ἄρχων πνευματικὸς*) or great officer; so is a caster out of devils; so is a pastor and a doctor; but the apostolical dignity is greater than them all. But how doth this appear that an Apostle is above the rest, and that as a consul among temporal powers so an Apostle among spiritual is the chief? Let us then hear Paul reckoning up the (spiritual)

μεθα, ἔστιν ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἔκδικος· ἔστιν ἀνώτερος ἐκείνου ὁ τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμών. ἔστι μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἕτερος ἄρχων μείζων. ἔστι πάλιν ὁ στρατηλάτης· ἔστιν ὁ ὕπαρχος· ἔστιν ἀνωτέρα τούτων ἀρχὴ ἡ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχή· καὶ πᾶσαι μὲν αὗται ἀρχαί, οὐ πᾶσαι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξίας· οὕτω καὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν πολλαὶ μὲν ἀρχαί, οὐ πᾶσαι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξίας, πασῶν δὲ μείζων ἡ τῆς ἀποστολῆς ἀξία· καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ νοητὰ χειραγωγεῖν δεῖ . . . διὰ τοῦτο περὶ ἀρχῆς διαλεγόμενοι, οὐ πνευματικῆς ἐμνήσθημεν ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' αἰσθητῆς, ἵνα ἀπὸ ταύτης πρὸς ἐκείνην ὑμᾶς χειραγωγήσωμεν. ἠκούσατε πόσας ἠριθμήσαμεν ἀρχὰς βιωτικὰς, καὶ πῶς αἱ μὲν μείζους, αἱ δὲ ἐλάττους· καὶ πῶς ἡ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχὴ καθάπερ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ πᾶσιν ἐπίκειται· ἴδωμεν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς πνευματικάς. ἔστιν ἀρχή πνευματικὴ, προφητείας ἀρχή· ἔστιν ἑτέρα ἀρχὴ εὐαγγελισμοῦ· ἔστι ποιμένος· ἔστι διδασκάλου· ἔστι χαρισμάτων· ἔστιν ἰαμάτων, ἔστιν ἑρμηνείας γλωσσῶν. ταῦτα πάντα ὀνόματα μέν ἐστι χαρισμάτων, πράγματα δὲ ἀρχῶν καὶ ἐξουσιῶν. ὁ προφήτης ἄρχων ἐστί· παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ δαίμονας ἐξελαύνων ἄρχων ἐστί· παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος ἄρχων ἐστὶ πνευματικός· ἀλλὰ τούτων ἁπάντων μείζων ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ἡ ἀποστολική. καὶ πόθεν τοῦτο δῆλον; ὅτι πρὸ πάντων ὁ ἀπόστολος τούτων ἐστί. καὶ καθάπερ

powers (*ἀρχαὶ*), and putting the apostolical dignity in the first and highest place. Saith he; 'God hath set some in the Church; first Apostles, secondarily prophets,' &c. Here you see the top of spiritual dignities, the Apostle sitting on high, none before him, none higher than he; for he first names Apostles, &c. Neither is the office of an Apostle (*ἡ ἀποστολὴ*) only the chief of all other dignities, but the root and foundation of them. And as the head which is the highest is the supreme governor and ruler (*ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐξουσία*) of the body, yea, and the root of it; forasmuch as out of the brain arise the nerves and spirits, which actuate and guide the whole animal, so the apostolical office is not only more excellent than all other gifts, as being the chief dignity and power, but it comprehends and unites in it the roots of them all. So that (for example) though a prophet is not an Apostle and prophet too, yet an Apostle is a prophet in perfection, and hath the gifts of healing, and of diversity of tongues, and interpreting tongues, &c. Did you then heretofore think the name of Apostle a mere name? Now then understand what a depth of signification there is in that word, &c. Wherefore we had reason to call the apostolical dignity a spiritual consulship, (*ὑπατίαν πνευματικὴν*,) because the Apostles were chosen or ordained archons or magistrates by God, who had not only different cities and provinces severally, but the whole world in common committed to their charge. I will now proceed to shew

ὁ ὕπατος ἐν ταῖς αἰσθηταῖς ἀρχαῖς, οὕτως ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς τὴν προεδρείαν ἔχει. αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου ἀκούσωμεν ἀριθμοῦντος τὰς ἀρχὰς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν καθίζοντος· τί οὖν οὗτός φησιν; οὓς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, κ.τ.λ. . . . εἶδες ὑψηλὸν καθήμενον τὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ οὐδένα πρὸ ἐκείνου ὄντα, οὔτε ἀνώτερον; πρῶτον γὰρ ἀποστόλους φησί· κ.τ.λ. . . . οὐκ ἀρχὴ δὲ μόνον ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποστολὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπόθεσις καὶ ῥίζα. καὶ καθάπερ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἐν τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ τοῦ παντὸς καθημένη, οὐ μόνον ἀρχὴ τοῦ σώματός ἐστι καὶ ἐξουσία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥίζα· τὰ γὰρ νεῦρα τὰ διοικοῦντα τὸ σῶμα ἐξ ἐκείνης τικτόμενα, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ βλαστάνοντα τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος δεχόμενα χοοηγίαν, οὕτως ἅπαν οἰκονομεῖ τὸ ζῶον. οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἀποστολὴ οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐξουσία τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπίκειται χαρίσμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἁπάντων ῥίζας ἐν ἑαυτῇ συλλαβοῦσα κατέχει. καὶ ὁ μὲν προφήτης οὐ δύναται εἶναι καὶ ἀπόστολος καὶ προφήτης. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολος καὶ προφήτης ἐστὶ πάντως, καὶ χαρίσματα ἔχει ἰαμάτων, καὶ γένη γλωσσῶν, καὶ ἑρμηνείας γλωσσῶν, κ.τ.λ. . . . ἆρ' οὐ ψιλὸν ἐνομίζετε τοὔνομα τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸ τούτου; ἰδοὺ νῦν ἔγνωτε πόσον βάθος ἔχει νοήματος τὸ ὄνομα, . . . εἰκότως ἄρα ὑπατίαν πνευματικὴν ἐκαλέσαμεν τὴν ἀποστολήν. ἄρχοντες γάρ εἰσι ὑπὸ θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. καὶ ὅτι ἄρχοντές εἰσι πνευματικοὶ, καὶ τοῦτο ὑποδεῖξαι πειράσομαι, ἵνα μετὰ τὴν ὑπόδειξιν μάθητε,

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you that they are spiritual archons, that you may thereby understand how much more excellent they are than temporal archons, even as much more excellent as these are than boys who in play imitate their power, &c. . . . We have respect for temporal magistrates from their ensigns of honour, as the girdle, the voice of the crier, their guards, their habits, and the sword. Let us now therefore see if the apostolical magistracy hath the like marks and signs of honour; indeed it hath, but much more excellent than those, by which you may understand that the one hath the name and shadow of which the other hath the truth, and that there is the like difference between the two powers as between little boys acting the parts of magistrates, and magistrates themselves. Let us, if you please, first compare the two powers as to prisons; for as I said before, the magistrate hath power to bind and loose, and see I pray you how the Apostles have the same power. 'Whomsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whomsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' Thou seest the power of prison and prison, and indeed the name is the same to both, but the thing signified by it is not the same. Here is bonds and bonds; bonds on earth and bonds in heaven; for the Apostles bind in heaven. Learn therefore the greatness and extent of their jurisdiction; they being on earth pronounce sentence, and the force of it pierceth heaven. And as when emperors being in one city give judgment or make laws, the force thereof goes through the whole empire, so at the same time if the Apostles being resident in one place did decree

ὅτι τοσούτῳ βελτίους εἰσιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν βιωτικῶν ὅσῳ αὐτοὶ οἱ βιωτικοὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν παίδων τῶν παιζόντων ἀμείνους εἰσί . . . . . ἀπὸ τῆς ζώνης δὲ πάλιν δοκιμάζομεν τὸν ἄρχοντα, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κήρυκος φωνῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν ῥαβδούχων, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχήματος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ξίφους· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἀρχῆς σύμβολα. ἴδωμεν τοίνυν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀρχὴν, εἰ ταῦτα ἔχει τὰ σύμβολα· ἔχει μὲν, οὐ τοιαῦτα δὲ, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ βελτίονα. καὶ ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ὀνόματα πραγμάτων, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀλήθεια πραγμάτων· ἵνα μάθῃς τὸ μέσον τῶν παιδίων τῶν παιζόντων ἀρχὰς, καὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἀρχάς· καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε, ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου πρῶτον ἀριθμήσομεν. καὶ γὰρ εἰρήκαμεν, ὅτι κύριος τοῦ δῆσαι καὶ λῦσαί ἐστιν ὁ ἄρχων· ὅρα δὴ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἔχοντας. ὅσους γὰρ ἂν δήσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, φησὶν, ἔσονται δεδεμένοι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ὅσους ἂν λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσονται λελυμένοι ἐν οὐρανοῖς. εἶδες δεσμωτήριον καὶ δεσμωτηρίου ἐξουσίαν· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τὸ αὐτὸ, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα οὐ τὸ αὐτό. δεσμὰ καὶ δεσμά. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ. οὐρανὸς γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ δεσμωτήριον· μάθε τοίνυν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καθήμενοι φέρουσι τὴν ψῆφον καὶ τῆς ψήφου ἡ δύναμις διαβαίνει τοὺς οὐρανούς. καὶ καθάπερ οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς καθήμενοι ἐν μιᾷ πόλει ψηφίζονται καὶ νομοθετοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καὶ τῶν νόμων δύναμις πᾶσαν διατρέχει τὴν οἰκουμένην· οὕτω καὶ τότε, οἱ μὲν ἀπόστολοι ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ καθή-

any thing, the force of their laws, and particularly the sentence of these bonds, did not only go through this habitable world, but mount up unto heaven. Here you see binding and binding; binding on earth, and binding in heaven, binding of bodies, and binding of souls, or rather both of souls and bodies, &c. . . . Would you also understand how it was in their power as lords to forgive debts? where there is also a great difference, for they did not forgive debts of money but debts of sins, according to what He said, 'Whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins you retain they are retained.'"

After this he shews at large how as magistrates "they had the power of the sword, the sword of the Spirit," and could "by a word kill as well as make alive again[b]." And that "they had their girdles also, not of leather but truth, that holy spiritual girdle with which they had their loins always girt[c]." He also shews "how they had executioners" to chastise, punish, and torment, "not men but devils[d]," as it is written, "To deliver such an one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh," and "whom I have delivered to Satan that they may learn not to blaspheme." I must also observe unto you, that he set forth in this manner the great dignity and excellency of

1 Cor. 5. 5.

1 Tim. 1. 20.

μενοι ταῦτα ἐνομοθέτουν· ἡ δὲ τῶν νόμων δύναμις, καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων, οὐχὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην μόνον διέτρεχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ὕψος τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνέβαινεν. εἶδες δεσμωτήριον καὶ δεσμωτήριον, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, τὸ δὲ ἐν οὐρανῷ· τὸ μὲν σωμάτων, τὸ δὲ ψυχῶν· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων· οὐ γὰρ σώματα ἐδέσμουν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχάς. . . . . βούλει μαθεῖν πῶς κύριοι ἦσαν καὶ ὀφλήματα ἀφεῖναι; καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολὺ τὸ διάφορον· ὄψει. οὐ γὰρ ὀφλήματα χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ ὀφλήματα ἁμαρτημάτων ἀφίεσαν. ὧν γάρ, φησιν, ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφέωνται αὐτοῖς· καὶ ὧν ἂν κρατῆτε, κεκράτηνται.—Id. Homil. de Utilitate Legendi Scripturas in principio Actorum Apost. Op., tom. iii. p. 74, E—78, C.]

[b] [After speaking of St. Peter's striking Ananias dead, he proceeds; *εἶδες πῶς καὶ ξίφος ἔχουσιν οἱ ἀπόστολοι. ὅταν ἀκούσῃς Παύλου λέγοντος, ὅτι ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅ ἐστιν ῥῆμα θεοῦ, ἀναμνήσθητι τῆς ἀποφάσεως ταύτης· ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ξίφος, καὶ τῷ ῥήματι πληγεὶς ὁ ἱερόσυλος ἔπεσεν. . . . τὰ ῥήματα ἀντὶ τῆς μαχαίρας ἐξενεγκοῦσα εὐθέως ἐκεῖνον ἀπέσφαξεν . . .* and then of his raising Tabitha; *θανάτου καὶ ζωῆς ἐξούσιαν εἶχον . . . ἤκουσε γοῦν τῆς φωνῆς ὁ θάνατος καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσε κατασχεῖν τὴν νεκράν.*—Id ibid., p. 78, C; 79, B.]

[c] [*βούλει μαθεῖν οὖν καὶ τὴν ζώνην αὐτῶν; καὶ γὰρ ἐζωσμένους αὐτοὺς ὁ Χριστὸς ἔπεμψεν, οὐχὶ ἐν δέρματι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀληθείᾳ· αὕτη ἡ ζώνη ἁγία καὶ πνευματικὴ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φησιν, περιεζωσμένοι τὴν ὀσφὺν ὑμῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.*—Id. ibid., p. 79, C.]

[d] [*ἀλλὰ τί βούλει; καὶ τοὺς δημίους ἰδεῖν . . . οὐκ ἀνθρώπους ἔχουσιν ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν διάβολον, καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας. . . . ἄκουσον γοῦν πῶς μετὰ αὐθεντίας ἐκείνοις ἐπέταττεν ὁ Παῦλος· περὶ γοῦν τοῦ πεπορνευκότος γράφων ἔλεγε· παράδοτε τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός. πάλιν ἐφ' ἑτέρων βλασφημούντων τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεποίηκε· παρέδωκα γὰρ αὐτούς, φησι, τῷ Σατανᾷ ἵνα παιδευθῶσι μὴ βλασφημεῖν.*—Id. ibid., p. 79, D.]

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the apostolical office and authority, to revive in the people a just idea of the dignity and excellence of the episcopal order, it being a received principle in the Church that bishops succeeded the Apostles in their spiritual magistracy and authority, and were under Christ, as this father saith they were, "spiritual archons and consuls of the Church[e]."

In his fourth Homily on the second chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, after he had threatened to excommunicate those who, after the idolatrous custom of the heathens, hired women to weep at funerals, he speaks thus[f]: "But if any one is so arrogant as to contemn the bonds wherewith we bind, let Christ again be his instructor, who saith, 'whatsoever things ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever things ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' For though we are miserable men, and despicable as indeed we are, yet it is not to avenge ourselves or wreak our anger (that we do this), but that we take care of your salvation, and therefore I exhort you to demean yourselves with modesty and reverence . . . . Neither say I these things to shew my authority, who do not desire to put it in practice, but out of grief and trouble for you. Pardon me therefore, let no man despise the bonds of the Church, for it is not man who binds, but Christ, who gave us this authority, and invests men with this honour. For we would willingly have none bound; but when we are compelled to bind you must not take it ill, for we never bind with pleasure and willingness, but grieving more than they who are bound. But if any despise what I say, let him know the day of judgment will come when he shall find it to be true."

[e] [See above, pp. 316, 317.]

[f] [*εἰ δέ τις ἀπανθαδιαζόμενος καταφρονεῖ, ἀκουέτω τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγοντος καὶ νῦν . . . ὅσα ἂν δήσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ταλαίπωροι καὶ οὐδαμινοὶ καὶ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι ἄξιοι, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἄξιοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικοῦμεν, οὐδὲ ὀργὴν ἀμυνόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας φροντίζομεν. αἰδέσθητε, παρακαλῶ, καὶ ἐντράπητε . . . οὐ γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ἐπιδείξασθαι βουλόμενοι, ταῦτα λέγομεν. πῶς γὰρ οἱ μηδὲ εἰς πεῖραν αὐτῶν ἐλθεῖν εὐχόμενοι· σύγγνωτε δὴ, καὶ μηδεὶς καταφρονείτω τῶν δεσμῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ δεσμῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἡμῖν δεδωκὼς, καὶ κυρίους ποῖων ἀνθρώπους τῆς τοσαύτης τιμῆς· . . . οὐδένα γὰρ βουλόμεθα εἶναι δεσμώτην παρ' ἡμῖν· . . . εἰ δὲ ἀναγκασθείημεν, σύγγνωτε· οὐ γὰρ ἑκόντες, οὐδὲ βουλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τῶν δεδεμένων ἀλγοῦντες, τὰ δεσμὰ περιβάλλομεν. εἰ δέ τις καταφρονοίη τούτων, ἐπιστήσεται ὁ τῆς κρίσεως καιρὸς ὁ διδάσκων αὐτόν.*—Id. Hom. iv. in Epist. ad Hebræos, cap. 2. pp. 48, D; 49, A, B, D.]

So in the fifth chapter of his third book *de Sacerdotio*, he thus compares the power of a king and a priest[g]: "It is true that earthly princes have a power to bind, but bodies only, but the binding of the priest toucheth the soul and reacheth unto heaven, so that what the priests do here below God ratifies above, and confirms the sentence of His servants. And what is this else but that God hath given all heavenly power unto them? for, saith He, 'whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained.' What power, I pray you, can be greater than this? God hath given all power of judgment unto the Son, and I see it all delivered from the Son to them, who, as if they were translated into heaven, made something above men, and exempt from human affections, are advanced to this princely power. To be short, if a king gives power to any of his subjects to cast men into prison and set them free again, he is counted honourable and regarded by all. But he that receives power from God, so much greater as heaven is more excellent than the earth, or the soul than the body, he seems to some but to have received a little honour, because he knows that some of those to whom this honour is committed despise the gift of God. Oh shame of this madness! For it is manifest madness to despise this so great princely power, without which we can neither obtain salvation, nor the blessings promised by God, &c. . . . Upon which account priests ought to be feared more than princes and kings, and had in more honour than our parents [, for they][1] begat us of blood and of the will of the

[1] [3rd ed. "that"]

[g] [ἔχουσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ κρατοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν τοῦ δεσμεῖν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ σωμάτων μόνον· οὗτος δὲ ὁ δεσμὸς αὐτῆς ἅπτεται τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ διαβαίνει τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ ἅπερ ἂν ἐργάσωνται κάτω οἱ ἱερεῖς, ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς ἄνω κυροῖ, καὶ τὴν τῶν δούλων γνώμην ὁ δεσπότης βεβαιοῖ. καὶ τί γὰρ ἀλλ' ἢ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς τὴν οὐράνιαν ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν; ὧν γὰρ ἄν, φησιν, ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφέωνται· καὶ ὧν ἂν κρατῆτε, κεκράτηνται. τίς ἂν γένοιτο ταύτης ἐξουσία μείζων; πᾶσαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔδωκεν ὁ πατὴρ τῷ υἱῷ· ὁρῶ δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν τούτους ἐγχειρισθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἤδη μετατεθέντες, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπερβάντες φύσιν, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπαλλαγέντες παθῶν, οὕτως εἰς ταύτην ἤχθησαν τὴν ἀρχήν. εἶτα ἂν μὲν βασιλεὺς τινὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ὄντων ταύτης μεταδῷ τῆς τιμῆς, ὥστε ἐμβάλλειν εἰς δεσμωτήριον οὓς ἂν ἐθέλῃ, καὶ ἀφιέναι πάλιν, ζηλωτὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος παρὰ πᾶσιν οὗτος· ὁ δὲ παρὰ θεοῦ τοσούτῳ μείζονα ἐξουσίαν λαβὼν, ὅσῳ γῆς τιμιώτερος οὐρανὸς καὶ σωμάτων ψυχαὶ, οὕτω μικράν τισιν ἔδοξεν εἰληφέναι τιμὴν, ὡς δυνηθῆναι κἂν ἐννοῆσαι, ὅτι τῶν ταῦτά τις πιστευθέντων καὶ ὑπερφρονήσει τῆς δωρεᾶς; ἄπαγε τῆς μανίας. μανία γὰρ περιφανὴς, ὑπερορᾶν τῆς τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἄνευ οὔτε σωτηρίας ἡμῖν, οὔτε τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων τυχεῖν ἔστι ἀγαθῶν. ὥστε ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀρχόντων μόνον οὐδὲ βασιλέων φο-

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flesh; but to them we are beholden for our birth from God, that blessed regeneration, and true liberty, and gracious adoption, whereby we become the sons of God."

So in his fifth Homily *de Verbis Isaiæ*[h]: "Wherefore it is a duty to restrain that unreasonable passion with religious reason, which Ozias not doing, transgressed against the supreme power of all. For the priesthood is a princely power, greater and more venerable than that of the empire. Do not tell me of the purple, or diadem, or golden apparel of kings, for these are all shadows, and more vain than spring flowers . . . . But if you would see the difference between them, and how much the king is inferior to a priest, consider the measure of power delivered to them both, and you shall see the priest placed much higher than the emperor; for though the emperor's throne seems glorious to us from the gems and gold with which it is adorned, yet he has only the administration of earthly things, nor hath he any other authority; but the throne of the high-priest is placed in heaven, and he hath power to judge of things there. And who saith this? The King of Heaven Himself in these words: 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' What honour is comparable to this? Heaven receives the power of judging from earth, for the judge sits upon earth, and the Lord complies with His servant, and ratifies the sentences above

βερώτεροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρων τιμιώτεροι δικαίως ἂν εἶεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αἱμάτων καὶ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς ἐγέννησαν· οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεννήσεως ἡμῖν εἰσιν αἴτιοι, τῆς μακαρίας παλιγγενεσίας ἐκείνης, τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἀληθοῦς, καὶ τῆς κατὰ χάριν υἱοθεσίας.—S. Chrys. de Sacerd., lib. iii. c. 5. Op., tom. i. pp. 383, C; 384, A.]

[h] [διὸ χρὴ συνεχῶς αὐτὴν ἀνακρούεσθαι, καὶ καθάπερ τινὶ χαλινῷ τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας λογισμῷ, τὴν ἄλογον αὐτῆς αναχαιτίζειν ὁρμήν· ὅπερ ὁ Ὀζίας οὐκ εποίησεν, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνωτάτω παντων ἀρχὴν παρηνόμησεν. ἱερωσύνη γὰρ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλείας σεμνοτέρα, καὶ μείζων ἐστὶν ἀρχή· μὴ γάρ μοι τὴν ἀλουργίδα εἴπῃς, μηδὲ τὸ διάδημα, μηδὲ τὰ ἱμάτια τὰ χρυσᾶ· σκία πάντα ἐκεῖνα, καὶ τῶν ἐαρινῶν ἀνθῶν εὐτελέστερα . . . ἀλλ' εἰ βούλει ἱερέως πρὸς βασιλέα τὸ διάφορον ἰδεῖν, τὸ ἑκάστῳ διδομένης ἐξουσίας τὸ μέτρον ἐξέτασον, καὶ πολλῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑψηλότερα ὄψει τὸν ἱερέα καθήμενον. εἰ γὰρ καὶ σεμνὸς ἡμῖν ὁ θρόνος φαίνεται ὁ βασιλικὸς ἀπὸ τῶν προσπεπηγότων αὐτῷ λίθων, καὶ τοῦ περισφίττοντος αὐτὸν χρυσίου, ἀλλ' ὅμως τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔλαχεν οἰκονομεῖν, καὶ πλεῖον ἔχει τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης οὐδέν· ὁ δὲ τῆς ἱερωσύνης θρόνος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἵδρυται, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ διέπειν ἐπιτέτραπται. τίς ταῦτά φησιν; αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλεὺς, ὅσα γὰρ ἂν δήσητέ, φησιν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· καὶ ὅσα ἂν λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται λελυμένα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. τί ταύτης ἴσον γένοιτ' ἂν τῆς τιμῆς; ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς κρίσεως λάμβανει ὁ οὐρανός· ἐπειδὴ ὁ κριτὴς ἐν τῇ γῇ κάθηται, ὁ

which he pronounceth below. Wherefore the priest stands mediator betwixt God and man, bringing down blessings from Him to us, and conveying our petitions to Him, by which God hath put the emperor's head under the hands of the priest, teaching us that he is a greater prince than he."

So in his eighty-third Homily on the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, shewing that the priest ought to deny the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist to profane persons, saith he[i], "Let no Judas, no lover of money be present at this table. He that is not Christ's disciple let him depart from it . . . . Let no inhuman, no cruel person, no uncompassionate man, or who is impure, come thither. I speak this to you that administer as well as to you who partake; for it is necessary I speak these things to you, that you may take great care and use your utmost diligence to distribute these offerings aright; for your punishment will be great if knowingly you suffer any wicked person to partake of this table, for his blood shall be required at your hands. Wherefore if any general or governor, or the emperor himself be not worthy, repel him, for thou hast a greater power (or authority) than he[k]." This reminds me of what the holy patriarch said in answer to the demand of the emperor, when he required him to leave his Church. Palladius tells us he refused to do it, saying[l], "I received this Church from

δεσπότης ἕπεται τῷ δούλῳ· καὶ ἅπερ ἂν οὗτος κάτω κρίνει, ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἄνω κυροῖ. καὶ μέσος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως ἕστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰς ἐκεῖθεν τιμὰς κατάγων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰς παρ' ἡμῶν ἱκετηρίας ἀνάγων ἐκεῖ, ὀργιζόμενον αὐτὸν τῇ κοινῇ καταλλάττων φύσει. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ τὰς τοῦ ἱερέως χεῖρας φέρων τίθησιν ὁ θεὸς, παιδεύων ἡμᾶς, ὅτι οὗτος ἐκείνου μείζων ὁ ἄρχων. —Id. Hom. v. in Oziam, § 1. Op., tom. vi. p. 132, B, D, E.]

[i] [*μηδεὶς τοίνυν Ἰούδας παρέστω· μηδεὶς φιλάργυρος. εἴ τις μὴ μαθητὴς, παραχωρείτω . . . μηδεὶς ἀπάνθρωπος προσίτω, μηδεὶς ὠμὸς καὶ ἀνελεὴς, μηδεὶς ὅλως ἀκάθαρτος· ταῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς μεταλαμβάνοντας λέγω, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς διακονουμένους· καὶ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαλεχθῆναι, ὥστε μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σπουδῆς διανέμειν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα. οὐ μικρὰ κόλασις ὑμῖν ἐστιν, εἰ συνειδότες τινὶ πονηρίαν συγχωρήσητε μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης· τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκζητηθήσεται τῶν ὑμετέρων. κἂν στρατηγός τις ᾖ, κἂν ὕπαρχος, κἂν αὐτὸς ὁ τὸ διάδημα περικείμενος, ἀναξίως δὲ προσίῃ, κώλυσον· μείζονα ἐκείνου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις.*—Id. Hom. in Matt. lxxxii. (al. lxxxiii.) § 5, 6. Op., tom. vii. p. 789, A—C.]

[k] Hence these rules of canon law, Lex imperatorum non est supra legem Dei, sed subtus.—[Decretum Gratiani; pars i. dist. 10. c. 1. § 1.] Non licet imperatori . . . aliquid contra divina mandata præsumere.—[Ibid., c. 2. See below, p. 327. note a.] Imperiali judicio non possunt ecclesiastica jura dissolvi.—[Ibid., c. 1.] Imperium [vestrum suis publicæ rei quotidianis administrationibus debet esse contentus,] non usurpare, quæ sacerdotibus Domini solum conveniunt.—[Ibid., c. 5.]

[l] [*καὶ δηλοῖ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ὁ δὲ ἀντιδηλοῖ, ἐγὼ*

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Christ, to take care of the souls thereunto belonging, and I must not relinquish it[m]. But the care of the city is yours; and if I must be gone, force me hence by your authority, that I may have an excuse for quitting my post."

Thus these two fathers, Gregory and John, who were bishops of Constantinople, spake and wrote of the dignity of the priesthood, or episcopal office and power, in the imperial city where the emperors were resident: and yet was this doctrine never objected against either of them, because it was the doctrine of the Church. Had it been a new doctrine, or injurious to the emperor, or against his prerogative or any part of it, it would certainly have been taken notice of, especially to prosecute the latter, against whom the court was ready to take any advantage, for the liberty he took in taxing the vices of the great, which procured him the emperor's and empress' displeasure, and [that of] some of the greatest of the clergy. This doctrine and these principles were answerable to his conduct, and the struggle he had with the court and his court enemies for his sacerdotal rights and the rights of the Church. In this contest a great part of his flock, called from his name Joannites[n], and almost all the bishops and Churches of the empire, adhered to him when he was proscribed and deposed by the imperial power.

παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος θεοῦ ὑποδέδεγμαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην εἰς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας, καὶ οὐ δύναμαι αὐτὴν καταλεῖψαι, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο βούλει, (ἡ γὰρ πόλις σοι διαφέρει) βίᾳ με ἐξέωσον, ἵνα ἔχω ἀπολογίαν τῆς λειποταξίας τὴν σὴν αὐθεντείαν.—Palladii Episcopi Helenopolitani de vita S. Johannis Chrysostomi Dialogus, cap. 9. S. Chrys. Op., tom. xiii. p. 33, A.]

[m] So the rule of the canon law, [Decretum; pars ii. caus. 7, quæst. 1, c. 8.] Suo jure quis cedere non debet.—Quam periculosum sit autem in divinis rebus, ut quis cedat jure suo et potestate, scriptura sancta declarat, cum in Genesi Esau primatus suos inde perdiderit, nec recipere id postmodum potuerit quod semel cessit.—S. Cypr. [Epist. lxxiii.] ad Jubaianum, [p. 137. ed. Ben.] Quid ergo, quia et honorem cathedræ sacerdotalis Novatianus usurpat, num idcirco nos cathedræ renunciare debemus? Aut quia Novatianus altare collocare, et sacrificia offerre contra fas nititur, ab altari et sacrificiis cessare nos oportet, ne paria et similia cum illo celebrare videamur.—Id. ibid., [p. 130. ed. Ben.] Nam cum unanimitas et concordia nostra scindi omnino non debeat, quia nos ecclesia derelicta foras exire, et ad vos venire non possumus, ut vos magis ad ecclesiam matrem, et ad nostram fraternitatem revertamini, quibus possumus hortamentis, petimus et rogamus.—[Id. Epist. xliv. (xlvi. ed. Oxon.) ad Maximum et Nicostratum, p. 58. ed. Ben.] See Epist. xlvii. [ed. Oxon. Epist. xliii. ad Cornelium, p. 58. ed. Ben.]

[n] [See Socrates, Hist. Eccl., lib. vi. cap. 18, in speaking of St. John Chrysostom, εὐθὺς οὖν πάντες οἱ αὐτῷ προσκείμενοι, ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναχωρήσαντες, τὸ μὲν πάσχα ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ λουτρῷ τῷ ἐν Κωνσταντιναῖς ἐπετέλεσαν. σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ ἄλλοι ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε κατ' ἰδίαν τὰς συναγώγας ἐν διαφόροις τόποις ποιούμενοι, Ἰωαννῖται προσηγορεύθησαν.—Eccl. Hist., tom. ii.

To the authorities of these two great and holy men give me leave, Sir, to add what is said by Sozomen[o] the ecclesiastical historian, who was not of our but your profession[p], who speaking of the interment of Constantine the Great in the Church of the Apostles, concludes thus: "From this time it became the custom for the Christian emperors who died at Constantinople to be buried there, and likewise for the bishops; the sacerdotal office (or dignity) being of equal honour with the regal, and in holy places superior thereto."

SECT. IV. Opinions and practice of the Fathers of the Latin Church.

IV. But from the bishops of the Greek Church let us go to those of the Latin, and see how they speak of the episcopal office and power. Cyprian, bishop and martyr, in his fifty-ninth epistle to Cornelius, bishop of Rome, against the schismatics Felicissimus and Fortunatus, hath this expression[q]: "There is an end of episcopacy, and of the supreme and Divine power of governing the Church, if the violence of wicked men becomes terrible to bishops," &c. In another passage he applies to schismatics who reject their lawful bishops the words of God to Samuel[r]: "They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected Me." And the words of our Lord to the Apostles[s]: "He that heareth you heareth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me, and he that despiseth Me despiseth Him that sent Me." There he also equals the bishop in place and dignity to the high-priest among the Jews, applying to him the words of St. Paul, Acts xxiii. 5: *Principem populi tui non maledices*[t], in the Latin

1 Sam. 8. 7.

p. 337, and Sozomen., lib. viii. cap. 21. p. 353.]

[o] [Κωνστάντιος ... βασιλικῶς κηδεύσας αὐτὸν, ἔθαψεν ἐν τῇ ἐπωνύμῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔνθα δὴ περιὼν αὐτὸς Κωνσταντῖνος ἑαυτῷ τάφον κατεσκεύασεν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ, ὡς ἔκ τινος ἀρχῆς ἔθους γενομένου, καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τελευτήσαντες ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει βασιλεῖς Χριστιανοὶ κεῖνται. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὁμοτίμου τῆς βασιλείας οὔσης, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τόποις καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐχούσης.]—Sozomen., lib. ii. c. 34. [ibid. p. 93.]

[p] [See Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 30, speaking of Sozomen, οὗτος δὲ δίκας ἦν λέγων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει.]

[q] Actum est de episcopatus vigore, et de ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi ac divina potestate, [nec Christiani ultra aut durare aut esse jam possumus, si ad hoc ventum est ut perditorum minas atque insidias pertimescamus. — S. Cypr. Epist. lv. (lix. ed. Oxon.) ad Cornelium, p. 80. ed. Ben.]

[r] [Item ad Samuelem, cum a Judæis sperneretur, Deus dicit: 'Non te spreverunt, sed me spreverunt.'—Ibid., p. 81.]

[s] [Et Dominus quoque in evangelio: 'Qui audit vos, inquit, me audit, et eum qui me misit; et qui rejicit vos, me rejicit, et qui me rejicit, rejicit eum qui me misit.'—Ibid.]

[t] [Item in Actibus apostolorum postmodum beatus apostolus Paulus &c.... 'nesciebam,' inquit, fratres, quia pontifex est. Scriptum est enim; Principem populi &c.' ... cum hæc tanta ac talia et multa alia exempla, præcedant, quibus sacerdotalis auctoritas ..... firmatur &c.—Ibid.]

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translation of that Church, "Thou shalt not revile the prince of thy people." In another passage he speaks of the bishop as "the vicar of Christ[u]," and saith, that "he who makes himself judge of the bishop makes himself judge of God." He also calls bishops "the stewards of God[v]," and saith, that "he who is the adversary of the lawful bishop is the adversary of God[x]," with more to this purpose. I recommend the serious perusal of this epistle to you, to inform you better about the nature of those things which have been in dispute between you and me.

St. Ambrose saith the office of a bishop "is such an honour[y], and a dignity so sublime, that it cannot be matched by any comparison; and that to liken it to the splendour and diadems of princes is a more inferior comparison than to compare lead to splendid gold." In his epistle to the emperor Valentinian I., as a bishop he conjured him by the Christian faith not to hearken to the petition of his heathen subjects[z], who desired leave to set up altars to their gods, upon which they might sacrifice to them; and said if he did

[u] [Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt aut natâ sunt schismata quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur: cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quicquam moveret, nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post cöepiscoporum consensum, judicem se jam non episcopi, sed Dei, faceret.—Id. ibid., p. 82. ed. Ben.]

[v] [Cum ille nec minima fieri sine voluntate Dei dicat, existimat aliquis summa et magna aut non sciente aut non permittente Deo in ecclesia Dei fieri, et sacerdotes id est dispensatores ejus, non de ejus sententia ordinari?—Ibid.]

[x] [Non . . . ideo adversarius et inimicus major est Christo quia tantum sibi vindicat in sæculo.—Ibid., p. 80. Ille qui Christi adversarius et ecclesiæ ejus inimicus ad hoc ecclesiæ præpositum sua infestatione prosequitur.—Ibid., p. 82. Qui adversarius Christi est.—Ibid., p. 89.]

[y] [Honor igitur, fratres, et sublimitas episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari. Si regum fulgori compares et principum diademati, longe erit inferius, tanquam si plumbi metallum ad auri fulgorem compares.—Pseudo-Ambr. de Dignitate Sacerdotali, c. 2. ap. S. Ambr. Op., tom. ii. App. col. 359, B. See above, vol. i. p. 195, notes p, q.]

[z] [Et ideo memor legationis proximæ mandatæ mihi convenio iterum fidem tuam, convenio mentem tuam; ne vel respondendum secundum hujusmodi petitionem gentilium censeas, vel in ejusmodi responsa sacrilegium subscriptionis adjungas. . . . Certe si aliud statuitur, episcopi hoc æquo animo pati et dissimulare non possumus; licebit tibi ad ecclesiam convenire: sed illic non invenies sacerdotem, aut invenies resistentem. Quid respondebis sacerdoti dicenti tibi: munera tua non quærit ecclesia; quia templa gentilium muneribus adornasti? Ara Christi dona tua respuit, quoniam aram simulacris fecisti; vox enim tua, manus tua: et subscriptio tua, opus est tuum. Obsequium tuum Dominus Jesus recusat et respuit, quoniam idolis obsequutus es; dixit enim tibi: non potestis duobus dominis servire.—S. Ambrosii Epist. xvii. (xi. ed. Rom.) ad Valentinianum, Op., tom. ii. col. 826, E; 827, B.]

grant their petition, "the bishops would neither suffer nor connive at it, and that come to the church when he would he should either find no priest, or a priest to withstand him[a]. What wilt thou answer the bishop when he shall say, 'The Church desires none of thy offerings, who hast adorned the temples of the Gentiles with gifts? The altar of Christ refuseth thy offerings, who hast made an altar to idols. Thy speech, thy hand, thy subscriptions are evidence against thee: our Lord Jesus refuses and rejects thy worship, because thou hast served idols, for He hath told you you cannot serve two masters.'" In another epistle to his sister Marcellina he shews what he did when the great officers of the court brought him that emperor's decree to deliver up his church to the Arians[b]: "I answered," saith he, "as became my order, that a church of God ought not to be given up by a bishop . . . The next day, being the Lord's day, they

[a] Non licet imperatori, vel cuiquam pietatem custodienti aliquid contra divina præsumere, nec quicquam, quod evangelicis, propheticis, aut apostolicis regulis obviet, agere.—[Decret., pars i. dist. x. cap. 2.]

[b] Epist. xiv. [Convenerunt me primo principes virtutum viri, comites consistoriani, ut et basilicam traderem, et procurarem ne quid populus turbarum moveret. Respondi quod erat ordinis, templum Dei a sacerdote tradi non posse. Acclamatum est sequenti die in ecclesia: etiam præfectus eo venit; cœpit suadere vel ut basilica Portiana cederemus. Populus reclamavit. Ita tunc discessum est, ut intimaturum se imperatori diceret. Sequenti die, erat autem Dominica (it will be observed that Hickes confuses these two days) . . . symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicæ. Illic nuntiatum est, &c. . . . . populum eo (sc. in Portianam basilicam) pergere. Ego tamen manui in munere; missam facere cœpi. Dum offero, raptum cognovi a populo Castulum quendam, quem presbyterum dicerent Arriani. Amarissime flere et orare in ipsa oblatione Deum cœpi, ut subveniret, ne cujus sanguis in causa ecclesiæ fieret: certe ut meus sanguis pro salute non solum populi, sed etiam pro ipsis impiis effunderetur. Convenior ipse a comitibus et tribunis ut basilicæ fieret matura traditio, dicentibus imperatorem jure suo uti; eo quod in potestate ejus essent omnia. Respondi, si a me peteret, quod meum esset, non refragaturum; verum ea quæ sunt divina, imperatoriæ potestati non esse subjecta. . . . His dictis, illi abierunt. . . . Mandatur denique: Trade basilicam. Respondeo: Nec mihi fas est tradere, nec tibi accipere, imperator, expedit; domum privati nullo potes jure temerare, domum Dei existimas auferendum? Allegatur imperatori licere omnia, ipsius esse universa. Respondeo: Noli te gravare, imperator, ut putes te in ea quæ divina sunt, imperiale aliquod jus habere; esto Deo subditus; scriptum est: quæ Dei Deo, quæ Cæsaris Cæsari.—Ibid., Epist. xx. (xiv. ed. Rom.) ad Marcellinam, § 2. Op., col. 853, A, sqq. § 10. col. 855, A. § 16. col. 857, A, B.]

Paulinus in vita S. Ambrosii, col. 81, 82. [ap. Op. S. Ambr. ed. Par. 1614. tom. i. The passage referred to is an account of a similar instance of St. Ambrose's firmness when Theodosius ordered that a Jews' synagogue should be rebuilt which had been burnt down by some monks, and that the monks should be punished. St. Ambrose first wrote to the emperor (Epist. xl. tom. ii. col. 946, sqq.); then preached on the subject in his presence; and refused to proceed with the service of the altar till the emperor had promised that the edict should be recalled.—Vita S. Ambr. a Paulino, § 22, 23. ap. S. Ambr. Op., tom. ii. App. col. vi. vii. ed. Ben.]

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came again, when I was officiating, and continuing in my office, I began to administer the holy Eucharist, (*missam facere cœpi,*) and while I was offering I understood that one Castulus, an Arian presbyter, was seized by the people. I began to weep bitterly, and beseech God in the very oblation that by His help no man's blood might be shed in the cause of the Church, but that my blood rather might be shed, not only for the people, but for the wicked themselves. They told me the emperor did but use his own right, because all things were in his power, and that I should presently deliver up the church. I answered, that if they asked for any thing that was mine I would not refuse it, but things that were God's were not subject to the emperor's power. With these sayings they went away. It was peremptorily demanded, Deliver up the Church; I answered, It is neither lawful for me, O emperor, to deliver it up, nor for thee to receive it. Thou that hast no right to invade a private man's house, dost thou think to seize the house of God? To this it was replied, that all things were the emperor's. I answered, O emperor, do not hurt yourself so much as to think that you have any imperial right to the things that are God's. Do not exalt yourself; if you would reign long, be subject to God; for it is written, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's:'" with much more to the same purpose.

When the young emperor cited him to dispute with Auxentius the Arian bishop, before him and his counsellors, he sent him a letter, in which he speaks thus[c]: "In answer to your summons, I think I may very fitly return what the emperor your father, of glorious memory, not only answered in word, but established by laws, that in a cause of faith, or relating to any ecclesiastical order, he ought to judge who is rightly qualified by his office," (i. e., that priests should judge

[c] [Cui rei respondeo, ut arbitror, competenter. Nec quisquam contumacem judicare me debet, cum hoc adferam, quod angustæ memoriæ pater tuus non solum sermone respondit, sed etiam legibus suis sanxit: in causa fidei vel ecclesiastici cujus ordinis eum judicare debere, qui nec munere impar sit, nec jure dissimilis; hoc est, sacerdotes de sacerdotibus voluit judicare. Quinetiam si alias quoque arguereturepiscopus, et morum esset examinanda causa, etiam hæc voluit ad episcopale judicium pertinere. Quis igitur contumaciter respondit clementiæ tuæ? Ille qui te patris similem esse desiderat, an qui vult esse dissimilem? Quando audisti, clementissime imperator, in causa fidei laicos de episcopo judicasse? Ita ergo quadam adulatione

of priests;) "moreover, that if a bishop should be called in question for his manners, the judgment likewise should belong to bishops. Which then of us did answer perversely, he that would have you like your father, or he that would have you unlike him? And when did you hear, most gracious emperor, that laics judged of bishops in causes of faith? I am not so depraved with flattery that I should be unmindful of my sacerdotal right, and give up that to another, which God hath given to me. If a bishop must be taught by a layman, it will follow that a bishop must learn of a layman, and the layman dispute, and he hear. But if we will consider the Scriptures, or ancient times, no man can deny but that in matters of faith, I say, in matters of faith, bishops used to judge Christian emperors, and not emperors bishops. When by God's blessing, you are older, you will be able to judge what a kind of bishop he is, that will subject the right of the priest to laymen. Your father, who by God's blessing lived till riper years, said, It belongs not to me to judge among bishops; but your grace now saith, I ought to be judge . . . The life of Ambrose is not of that moment[d], that for it he should betray the priesthood; one man's life is not of that value as the dignity of all the bishops, by whose advice I have wrote all these things."

To the same effect, but more at large, speaks another bishop, who had the spirit of St. Ambrose, to Justinian the emperor; I mean Facundus Hermianensis, in the three last

curvamur, ut sacerdotalis simus immemores, et quod Deus donavit mihi, hoc ipse aliis putem esse credendum? Si docendus est episcopus a laico, quid sequetur? Laicus ergo disputet, et episcopus audiat: episcopus discat a laico? Ut certe si vel scripturarum seriem divinarum, vel vetera tempora retractemus, quis est qui abnuat in causa fidei, in causa inquam fidei, episcopos solere de imperatoribus Christianis, non imperatores de episcopis judicare. Eris, Deo favente, etiam senectutis maturitate provectior, et tunc de hoc censebis, qualis ille episcopus sit, qui laicis jus sacerdotale substernit. Pater tuus, Deo favente, vir maturioris ævi, dicebat: non est meum judicare inter episcopos; tua nunc dicit clementia; ego debeo judicare . . . Non tanti est Ambrosius, ut propter se dejiciat sacerdotium; non tanti est unius vita, quanti est dignitas omnium sacerdotum, quorum de consilio ista dictavi.—S. Ambr., Epist. xxi. (xiii. ed. Rom.) ad Valentinianum, § 2—5. col. 860, C. sqq. § 13. col. 862, B.]

[d] Paulinus in Vita Ambrosii. [Hickes seems to refer to a parallel expression in St. Ambrose's epistle to Theodosius, mentioned above, note b, p. 327, in which he said, as Paulinus relates it, paratum se esse pro tali negotio mortem subire, ne dissimulatione sui prævaricatorem faceret imperatorem qui tam injusta contra ecclesiam præcepisset.—§ 22. ap. Op., S. Ambros., tom. ii. App. col. vi. See Epist. xl. § 7. tom. ii. col. 948, C, D.]

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chapters of his twelfth book[e], in which he plainly distinguishes between the office and authority of the bishop, and that of the emperor, shewing that it belongs not to the latter to determine in matters of faith. I wish you would read those chapters, out of which, till you have leisure, let me present you with two or three passages[f]: *Cognovit ille (Marcianus imperator) quibus in causis uteretur principis potestate, et in quibus exhiberet obedientiam Christiani . . . . sicut qui meminerat exitus Oziæ . . . . Ob hoc itaque vir temperans, et suo contentus officio, ecclesiarum canonum executor esse voluit, non conditor, non exactor . . . . Verum non solum Oziæ regis exitu Marcianus imperator potuit tum moveri, sed Chore quoque, Dathan et Abiron; quorum Chore, licet de filiis esset Levi, qui ex omni populo Israel electi et sacro templi ministerio fuerant deputati; tamen quoniam simul omnes usurparunt officium sacerdotum, ut immolare Deo auderent, quod multo minus est quam de fide Christiana decernere, terræ dehiscentis absorpti voratu, novo et singulari suo exitio stupendum cunctis exemplum præsumptoribus reliquerunt. Quomodo ergo sibi laico religiosus et sapiens imperator crederet impune cessurum, vel sanctorum patrum quæ de fide jam decreta fuerant retractare, vel nova ipse decernere . . . . Idcirco igitur piæ memoriæ Leo*[g] *(imperator) quietem non perturbavit Ecclesiæ, quia non suo arbitrio ac potestate præsumsit doctrinæ Dominicæ decreta statuere, nec quicquam solis creditum sacerdotibus usurpavit . . . . Ea vero*[h] *quæ postea Zeno imperator, calcata reverentia ordinis Dei, pro suo arbitrio ac potestate decrevit, quis accipiat?*

But to return to St. Ambrose; the same excellent bishop, resolving to animadvert upon the emperor Theodosius the Great by his spiritual authority, for delivering up the people of Thessalonica, without distinction, to the slaughter of the

[e] [The work of Facundus, to which Hickes refers, is his Defensio Trium Capitulorum, that is, of the three articles, which had been allowed by the council of Chalcedon, and had been recently condemned by an edict of Justinian, A.D. 544. The work is rather a defence of the council of Chalcedon, which Facundus conceived to be condemned; and is directed against the emperor's interference in determinations of doctrine. It is the substance of the answer given by him in the name of the bishops of Africa to the emperor at Constantinople, A.D. 547, which was afterwards enlarged and completed. The condemnation of the three articles was afterwards passed by the fifth general council, at Constantinople, A.D. 553.

[f] [Facundi Hermianensis, pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum, lib. xii. c. 3. Bibl. Patr., tom. xi. p. 801. col. 1. A—D.]

[g] [Id. ibid., p. 803. col. 1. A.]

[h] [Id. ibid., c. 4. p. 804. col. 1. A.]

soldiers, did it in this manner; first, he wrote him an excellent letter[l], with great apostolical freedom, as it became a bishop, but with that submission and respect which was due to his prince. In his letter he vehemently exhorts him to repentance for the Thessalonian massacre, and plainly tells him[k], if he did not, he could not administer the holy Eucharist if he were present; nor should he himself be admitted to offer, before his offering was acceptable to God. But the emperor[l] presuming to come to church before he had done penitence, the bishop met him at the porch, and after setting before him the greatness of his sin, thus addressed himself to him: "O emperor, there is one Lord, and Emperor of all, who made all things. With what eyes can you behold the temple of our common Lord? With what feet can you tread upon holy ground? Or how can you lift up your hand, dropping with the innocent blood of the slain? How can you receive with such hands the blessed body of our Lord? Or how can you bear His precious blood to your mouth, who shed so many men's blood with the words of it, when you spoke in fury? Be gone therefore, and do not aggravate your crime with a new sin; but take upon you this band, which the Lord of all doth confirm above[m]."

"This command[n]," saith the historian, "the emperor

[l] Epist. [li. (lix. ed. Rom.) Op., tom. ii. col. 997, sqq. ed. Ben.]

[k] [Offerre non audeo sacrificium si volueris adsistere.—§ 13. col. 1000, B. Tunc offeras, cum sacrificandi acceperis facultatem, quando hostia tua accepta sit Deo.—§ 15. ibid. D.]

[l] Theodoret. Eccles. Hist., lib. v. cap. 18; and Sozom. Eccles. Hist., lib. vii. cap. 25. [The passage of Sozomen (Eccl. Hist., tom. ii. pp. 315, sqq.) relates the same events as the narrative referred to from Theodoret, which is translated by Hickes in the text, and which is as follows; Ἀμβρόσιος . . . . ἀφικομένον εἰς τὸν Μεδιόλανον τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ συνήθως εἰς τὸν θεῖον εἰσελθεῖν βουληθέντα νέων, ὑπαντήσας ἔξω τῶν προθύρων, ἐπιβῆναι τῶν ἱερῶν προπυλαίων τοιάδε λέγων ἐκώλυσεν· εἷς . . . ἁπάντων δεσπότης καὶ βασιλεὺς, ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός. ποίοις τοίνυν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὄψει τὸν τοῦ κοινοῦ δεσπότου νεών; ποίοις δὲ ποσὶ τὸ δάπεδον ἐκεῖνο πατήσεις τὸ ἅγιον; πῶς δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτενεῖς, ἀποσταζούσας ἔτι τοῦ ἀδίκου φόνου τὸ αἷμα; πῶς δὲ τοιαύταις ὑπυδέξῃ χερσὶ τοῦ δεσπότου τὸ πανάγιον σῶμα; πῶς δὲ τῷ σώματι προσοίσεις τὸ αἷμα τὸ τίμιον, τοσοῦτον διὰ τὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ λόγον ἐκχέας παρανόμως αἷμα; ἄπιθι τοίνυν, καὶ μὴ πειρῶ τοῖς δευτέροις τὴν πρωτέραν αὔξειν παρανομίαν, καὶ δέχου τὸ δεσμὸν, ᾧ ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης ἄνωθεν γίγνεται σύμψηφος.—Eccl. Hist., tom. iii. pp. 215, 216. The extract below in note o, p. 332, is the continuation of this passage.]

[m] This reproof of the emperor Theodosius, and penance imposed upon him by St. Ambrose, is approved by our Church, in her Homily of the Right Use of the Church.—[Second Book of Homilies, Homily i. part ii. p. 162, Oxford, 1832, quoted above, vol. i. p. 160.]

[n] Per idem tempus causa Thessalonicensis civitatis non minima successit tribulatio sacerdoti, cum civitatem pene deletam comperisset; promiserat enim

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obeyed°, for being well instructed in the Divine oracles, he knew very well what was the duty of the bishop, and what was the emperor's, and returned with sighs and tears to his palace. Eight months passed, and on the next Christmas-day, as the emperor sat in his palace all in tears, Rufinus, one of his great officers, who was familiar with him, came to him, and asked him why he wept so much? The emperor with bitter sighs and more tears answered Rufinus, 'You are not sensible of my misery; I sigh and lament considering my calamity, in that the Church of God is open to slaves and beggars, but its doors and heaven are shut up against me; for I well remember the words of our Lord, who plainly said, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven.' 'Sir,' said Rufinus, 'I will run, if you please, to the bishop, and entreat him to loose the bands.' The emperor replied, 'You will never persuade Ambrose to do it; I acknowledge his sentence is just, nor will he ever transgress the law of God, for fear of the imperial power.' But Rufinus pressing to go, the emperor gave him leave, hoping

illi imperator se veniam daturum civibus supradictæ civitatis: sed agentibus comitibus occulte cum imperatore, ignorante sacerdote, usque in horam tertiam gladio civitas est donata, atque plurimi interemti innocentes. Quod factum ubi cognovit sacerdos, copiam imperatori ingrediendi ecclesiam denegavit; nec prius dignum judicavit cœtui ecclesiæ, vel sacramentorum communione, quam publicam ageret pœnitentiam. Cui imperator contra asserebat, David adulterium simul et homicidium perpetrasse. Sed responsum illico est; Qui secutus es errantem, sequere corrigentem. Quod ubi audivit clementissimus imperator, ita suscepit animo, ut publicam pœnitentiam non abhorreret.—Paulinus in vita S. Ambrosii, col. 82. [§ 24. ap. S. Ambr. Op., tom. ii. App. col. vii. ed. Ben.]

° [*τούτοις εἴξας ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς λόγοις· (τοῖς γὰρ θείοις λογίοις ἐντεθραμμένος, ᾤδει σαφῶς τίνα μὲν τῶν ἱερέων, τίνα δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἴδια·) στένων καὶ δακρύων ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια. χρόνου δὲ συχνοῦ διελθόντος, ὀκτὼ γὰρ ἀναλώθησαν μῆνες, κατέλαβεν ἡ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενέθλιος ἑορτή. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὀλοφυρόμενος καθῆστο, τὴν τῶν δακρύων ἀναλίσκων λιβάδα. τοῦτο θεασάμενος Ῥουφῖνος, μάγιστρος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἦν, καὶ πολλῆς μετεῖχε παῤῥησίας, ἅτε δὴ συνηθέστερος ὤν, προσέλθων ἤρετο τῶν δακρύων τὸ αἴτιον. ὁ δὲ πικρῶς ἀνοιμώξας, καὶ σφοδρότερον προχέας τὸ δάκρυον, σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, Ῥουφῖνε, παίζεις· τῶν γὰρ ἐμῶν οὐκ ἐπαισθάνῃ κακῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ στένω καὶ ὀλοφύρομαι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ συμφορὰν λογιζόμενος, ὡς τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις καὶ τοῖς προσαίταις ἄνετος ὁ θεῖος νεὼς, καὶ εἰσιάσιν ἀδεῶς, καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀντιβολοῦσι δεσπότην· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἄβατος, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ μοι ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀποκέκλεισται. μέμνημαι γὰρ τῆς δεσποτικῆς φωνῆς ἣ διαῤῥήδην φησὶν, ὃν ἂν δήσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. ὁ δὲ, διαδραμοῦμαι, ἔφη, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ, καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα πείσω λιπαρήσας λῦσαί σοι τὰ δεσμά. οὐ πείσεται, ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς. οἶδα γὰρ ἐγὼ τῆς Ἀμβροσίου ψήφου τὸ δίκαιον· οὐδὲ αἰδεσθεὶς τῆς βατιλείας τὴν ἐξουσίαν, τὸν θεῖον παραβήσεται νόμον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλείοσι χρησάμενος ὁ Ῥουφῖνος λόγοις πείθειν ὑπέσχετο τὸν Ἀμβρόσιον, ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευσεν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος βουκοληθεὶς, ἠκολούθησε μετὰ βραχὺ, ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι Ῥουφίνου πεισθείς. αὐτίκα δὲ τὸν Ῥουφῖνον ἰδὼν ὁ θεῖος Ἀμβρόσιος, τὴν τῶν κυνῶν ἀναίδειαν, ἔφη, Ῥουφῖνε, ζηλοῖς. τοσαύτης γὰρ μιαιφο-*

he himself should follow. But as soon as the divine Ambrose, as the historian calls him, saw Rufinus, he severely rebuked him, as one of the authors of the massacre: but Rufinus continuing to supplicate, and telling him that the emperor was ready to come; the divine Ambrose being warmed with zeal said, 'I tell you, Rufinus, before he comes, that I will hinder him from entering into the church: and if he turns his power into tyranny, I will receive my death with pleasure.' Rufinus hearing this despatched a messenger to the emperor, to pray him to stay at home, but meeting him in the piazza, 'I will go,' saith his majesty, 'and bear my just reproach.' And coming to the bounds of the church, he did not offer to go into it, but coming to the bishop who was in the chapter-house, he prayed him to absolve him from his bands; Ambrose told him that his coming in that manner was tyrannical, and that he had been transported with fury against God, and trodden His laws under foot. To whom the emperor replied, 'I dare not transgress the (Church's) laws, nor contrary to them do I desire to enter within the holy doors, but I come to beseech you to loose me from my bands, and to consider the mercy of our common Lord, nor to keep that door shut against me, which our Lord hath opened to all that repent.' To whom the bishop thus replied; 'What penitence will you then shew

νίας γενόμενος σύμβουλος, τὴν αἰδῶ τῶν μετώπων ἀπέξυσας... ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Ῥουφῖνος ἠντιβόλει, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἔλεγεν ἥξειν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου ζήλου πυρποληθεὶς Ἀμβρόσιος ὁ θεσπέσιος, ἐγὼ μέν, ἔφη, ὦ Ῥουφῖνε, προλέγω ὡς κωλύσω τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτὸν προβῆναι προθύρων. εἰ δὲ εἰς τυραννίδα τὴν βασιλείαν μεθίστησι, δέξομαι κἀγὼ μεθ' ἡδονῆς τὴν σφαγήν. τούτων ὁ Ῥουφῖνος ἀκούσας, ἐμήνυσε διά τινος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως σκοπόν· καὶ μένειν εἴσω τῶν βασιλείων παρῄνεσεν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἀγορὰν ταῦτα μαθὼν, ἄπειμι, ἔφη, καὶ τὰς δικαίας δέξομαι παρουσίας. ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἱεροὺς περιβόλους κατέλαβεν, εἰς μὲν τὸν θεῖον οὐκ εἰσελήλυθε νεὼν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀρχιερέα προσγενόμενος, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀσπαστικῷ οἴκῳ οὗτος καθῆστο, ἐλιπάρει λυθῆναι τῶν δεσμῶν. ὁ δὲ τυραννικὴν ἐκάλει τὴν παρουσίαν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μεμηνέναι τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἔλεγε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους πατεῖν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, οὐ θρασύνομαι, ἔφη, κατὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων, οὐδὲ παρανόμως ἐπιβῆναι τῶν ἱερῶν προθύρων ἐφίεμαι· ἀλλὰ σὲ λῦσαί μοι τῶν δεσμῶν ἀξιῶ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ κοινοῦ δεσπότου φιλανθρωπίαν λογίσασθαι, καὶ μὴ κλεῖσαί μοι θύραν, ἣν πᾶσι τοῖς μεταμελείᾳ χρωμένοις ὁ δεσπότης ἀνέῳξεν. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔφη· ποίαν οὖν μεταμέλειαν ἔδειξας μετὰ τοσαύτην παρανομίαν; ποίοις δὲ φαρμάκοις τὰ δυσίατα ἐθεράπευσας τραύματα; ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, σὸν ἔργον, ἔφη, τὸ καὶ δεῖξαι καὶ κεράσαι τὰ φάρμακα, καὶ τὰ δυσίατα θεραπεῦσαι· ἐμὸν δὲ δέξασθαι τὰ προσφερόμενα. τότε ὁ θεῖος Ἀμβρόσιος, ἐπειδὴ τῷ θυμῷ, ἔφη, τὸ δικάζειν ἐπιτρέπεις, καὶ οὐκ ὁ λογισμὸς τὴν γνῶσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ θυμὸς ἐκφέρει, γράψον νόμον τοῦ θυμοῦ τὰς ψήφους ἀργὰς ποιοῦντα καὶ περιττάς· καὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας αἱ φονευτικαὶ καὶ δημευτικαὶ μενεώσαν· γνώσεις ἐγγεγραμμέναι, τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ προσδεχόμεναι κρίσιν. διελθωσῶν δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν, οἱ τὰ ἐγνωσμένα γεγραφότες τὰ προστεταλμένα δεικνύτωσαν. καὶ τηνικαῦτα τοῦ θυμοῦ

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for so great a crime? and by what medicines will you heal so great a wound?' 'It is your part,' saith the emperor, 'to prescribe that.' 'Then,' saith the bishop, 'make a law, that the execution of the imperial sentences should be deferred for thirty days, that the anger of the emperor may have time to cool, and that their passions being moderated by time, they may then consider whether orders are just or unjust.' The emperor liking this proposal presently enacted it into a law, and signed it with his hand. When he had done this, Ambrose absolved his majesty from his bands; and he went into the church, and neither standing, nor kneeling, but prostrating his body to the earth, he spoke the words of David, 'My soul cleaveth to the dust[1], but quicken Thou me according to Thy word.' Then tearing his hair, and beating his forehead, and weeping very much, he begged absolution. Then the time coming when the offering was to be made upon the holy table, he got up, and went up weeping to the altar; and when he had offered, he stayed within the rails, as he was wont to do at Constantinople. But the great Ambrose sent his archdeacon to him, to know what he meant; and when he replied he only stayed there to receive the holy mysteries; he sent him word again, that the place within the rails was only for the priests, and none else; and therefore bid him go into the common station without the rails, and communicate with the rest, for the

Ps. 119. 25.

[1] Adhæsit pavimento. —Vers.Lat.

πεπαυσμένου καθ' ἑαυτὸν δικάζων ὁ λογισμὸς ἐξετάσει τὰ ἐγνωσμένα, καὶ ὕψεται εἴτε ἄδικα, εἴτε δίκαια εἴη. ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς δεξάμενος τὴν εἰσήγησιν καὶ ἄριστα ἔχειν ὑπολαβὼν, εὐθὺς γραφῆναί τε τὸν νόμον ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τοῖς τῆς οἰκείας χειρὸς ἐβεβαίωσε γράμμασι. τούτου δὲ γενομένου, διέλυσε τὸν δεσμὸν ὁ θεῖος Ἀμβρόσιος. οὕτως ὁ πιστότατος βασιλεὺς εἴσω γενέσθαι θαρρήσας τοῦ θείου νεὼ, οὐκ ἑστὼς τὸν δεσπότην ἱκέτευεν, οὐδὲ τὰ γόνατα κλίνας· ἀλλὰ πρηνὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου κείμενος, τὴν Δαυϊτικὴν ἀφῆκε φωνήν· ἐκολλήθη τῷ ἐδάφει ἡ ψυχή μου, ζῆσόν με κατὰ τὸν λόγον σου· καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀποτίλλων τὰς τρίχας, καὶ τὸ μέτωπον, καὶ ταῖς τῶν δακρύων σταγόσι τοὔδαφος καταῤῥαίνων, συγγνώμης ἠντιβόλει τυχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ τὰ δῶρα προσενεγκεῖν, ἀναστὰς μετὰ τῶν ἴσων δακρύων, τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐπέβη· προσενεγκὼν δὲ ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἔνδον παρὰ τὰς κιγκλίδας μεμένηκεν. ἀλλὰ πάλιν ὁ μέγας Ἀμβρόσιος οὐκ ἐσίγησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξεπαίδευσε τὴν τῶν τόπων διαφοράν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἤρετο εἴ τινος δέοιτο. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως εἰρηκότος, ὡς προσμένει τὴν τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μετάληψιν, ἐδήλωσεν, ὑπουργῷ τῷ τῶν διακόνων ἡγουμένῳ χρησάμενος, ὅτι, τὰ ἔνδον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μόνοις ἐστὶν ἱερεῦσι βατά· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀδύνατά τε καὶ ἄψαυστα. ἔξιθι τοίνυν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κοινώνει τῆς στάσεως, ἀλυυργὶς γὰρ βασιλέας, οὐχ ἱερέας, ποιεῖ. καὶ ταύτην δὲ ὁ πιστότατος βασιλεὺς ἀσμένως δεξάμενος τὴν εἰσήγησιν, ἀντεδήλωσεν, ὡς οὐ θρασύτητι χρώμενος ἔνδον τῶν κιγκλίκων μεμένηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τοῦτο εἶναι ἔθος μαθών· χάριν δὲ ὀφείλω, ἔφη, καὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἰατρείας. τοσαύτῃ καὶ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς διέλαμπον ἀρετῇ. ἀμφοτέρων

purple made emperors but not priests. This most faithful emperor took this admonition with meekness, and bid the archdeacon tell the bishop that he stayed there not out of any presumption, but because he had been wont to do so at Constantinople. So much grace, saith the historian, shone both in the bishop, and the emperor, who told Nectarius afterwards, that of all the bishops of the empire, Ambrose alone was worthy of that name." This great example of Theodosius, Facundus bishop of Hermiane in Africa proposed to Justinian the emperor, as worthy of his imitation, with a courage like that of Ambrose, becoming a bishop of God and the Church. *Si princeps quoque pro suis peccatis intercessorem vult habere sacerdotem*[p] . . . *Quod metuens beatæ recordationis major Theodosius imperator, cujus semper memorabilis erit in ecclesia Christi memoria, quanquam sæpe de magnorum barbarorum prœliis, et de maximorum tyrannorum triumphaverit: non tamen ex hujuscemodi victoriarum frequentia, in quibus Trajano, filio gehennæ, comparari non potest, veram meruit gloriam, sed de supplici et publica peccati sui pœnitentia, quam expugnato regali fastigio placide atque humiliter antistite Ambrosio castigante suscepit, et indictum sibi debitæ satisfactionis tempus ab ecclesiæ communione remotus implevit. Pie admodum credens, et sapienter intelligens, quod non ex temporali potestate qua fuerat etiam sacerdotibus Dei præpositus, sed ex eo pervenire posset ad vitam quod illis erat ipse subjectus. Unde credendum est quia si nunc Deus aliquem Ambrosium suscitaret Theodosius non deesset.* "If the emperor," saith he, "would have the bishop intercede to God for his sins, he must not disdain to let him chastise him for them; so that

γὰρ ἔγωγε ἄγαμαι.....τοὺς δὲ δὴ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὅρους, οὓς παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως μεμάθηκε, καὶ εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἐπανελθὼν διετήρησεν. ἑορτῆς γὰρ αὐτὸν πάλιν θείας εἰς τὸν θεῖον ἀγαγούσης νεὼν, τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ τὰ δῶρα προσενεγκὼν εὐθὺς ἐξελήλυθεν. τοῦ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προέδρου, Νεκτάριος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἦν, δεδηλωκότος, τί δή ποτε μὴ μεμένηκας ἔνδον; στενάξας, μόγις, ἔφη, βασιλέως καὶ ἱερέως ἐδιδάχθην διαφοράν· μόγις εὗρον ἀληθείας διδάσκαλον· Ἀμβρόσιον γὰρ οἶδα μόνον ἐπίσκοπον ἀξίως καλούμενον. τοσοῦτον ὀνίνησιν ἔλεγχος παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῇ λάμποντος προσφερόμενος. — Theodoret., Hist. Eccl., lib. v. cap. 18. pp. 216, sqq.]

[p] [The words of the original are; Si princeps quoque pro suis peccatis intercessorem vult habere sacerdotem, etiam in suis peccatis castigatorem ferre non dedignetur, ut pro illo intercedens possit audiri, ne dicatur ei quod Hieremiæ dictum est: 'Noli orare pro populo hoc, et ne postulaveris misereri illius, et non accesseris ad me pro eis, quia non exaudiam te?' Quod metuens, &c. as in the text.—Facundi Hermianensis pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum, lib. xii. c. 5. Bibl. Patr., tom. xi. p. 806. col. 1. B, sqq.]

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when he makes intercession for his majesty, he may be heard, and that God may not say unto him as He did to the prophet Jeremiah, 'Pray not thou for this people, neither lift up cry or prayer for them, neither make intercession to Me, for I will not hear thee.' The emperor Theodosius the elder, of blessed remembrance, (whose memory will alway be celebrated in the Church,) although he triumphed over the greatest tyrants, and won many battles over great barbarous princes, yet deserved he true glory, not from the frequency of such great victories, in which he may not be compared to Trajan, the son of hell, but that dreading this, he did humble and public penitence for his sin, to which upon the censure of his bishop, Ambrose, he submitted his regal greatness, and in suspension from the communion of the Church fulfilled the time of due satisfaction that was imposed upon him; very piously believing and wisely understanding, that he was to attain life eternal, not by his temporal power, in which he was superior to the bishops, but by subjection to them. From whence it is reasonable to believe, that if it would please God now to raise up an Ambrose, we should not want a Theodosius."

SECT. V.

The distinction of clergy and laity as old as the Christian religion.

V. You see, Sir, by this story, that the great Theodosius looked upon himself as one of the laity or people, and by consequence as a subject of the Church as much as any other man, according to what I laid down in my former letter[q], and that St. Ambrose treated him and Valentinian II. as such. Nay, Valentinian I. calls himself a layman when he refused to preside in conference between the Catholic bishops and the Arians: "For me[r]," saith he,

[q] [The view referred to is expressed in the latter part of the third Proposition, sent to Serjeant Geers in a previous letter (see above, p. 273, note b.) It is in these words: "to whom (the bishops) . . . He requires obedience of all His subjects, of what temporal rank or condition soever." And more explicitly in Prop. ix. "that all emperors and kings, whether absolute or limited in the exercise of their royal power, become members and subjects of (this sacerdotal kingdom) by baptism, in the same manner as other men do."]

[r] Sozomen. Hist. Eccl., lib. vi. c. 7. [ὑπολαβὼν Οὐαλεντινιανὸς, ἐμοὶ μὲν, ἔφη, μετὰ λαοῦ τεταγμένῳ, οὐ θέμις τοιαῦτα πολυπραγμονεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς οἷς τούτου μέλει καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὅπῃ βούλονται συνίτωσαν.—Hist Eccl., tom. ii. p. 227.] and Hist. Tripart., lib. vii. c. 12. [Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ tripartitæ, ex tribus Græcis auctoribus Sozomeno, Socrate et Theodoreto, ab Epiphanio Scholastico versis, per Cassiodorum Senatorem in Epitomen redactis, libri duodecim; apud Cassiodori Op., tom. i. p. 307. Rotomagi, 1679. The passage in the Historia Tripartita is simply a translation of that in Sozomen. The occasion was a request

"who am but one of the laity or people, it is not lawful to examine such things, but let priests, to whom the care of those things appertain, meet to determine them where they please." So Facundus, the forecited bishop, spoke of Zeno the emperor as a layman, as you may see by the words in the margin[t], as well as by those above cited by me[u]. And the Church treated Philip the emperor[v] in no other manner than as a common layman after he turned Christian, for Babylas the bishop of Antioch, afterwards martyr, "refused to let him come to church to pray with the rest of the people till he had made a solemn confession of his sins, and stood in the order of penitents, and the emperor obeyed." So Constantine the Great[x], mindful of his relation to the Church, sat as a layman in the great council of Nice, in a little throne below the bishops, in which he would not sit down till the synod desired him. He considered what kind of court and whose tribunal that was where he did appear, as it is evident from the speech he made to the bishops, upon receiving the accusations which many of them presented to him against one another, in these words, part of

made by the orthodox bishops to the emperor to allow a council to be held. His answer led to the holding the synod of Lampsacus, A.D. 365.]

[t] Qui si ea tanquam concilii decreta susciperent, quæ unius laici essent composita voluntate, statueret omnia cui de talibus causis judicare non competit, illi vero nihil decernerent, quibus competit judicare.—Facundus Hermianensis, ibid., lib. xii. cap. 3. [Bibl. Patr., tom. xi. p. 803. col. 1, B.]

[u] [See above p. 330.]

[v] [*τοῦτον (τὸν Φίλιππον) κατέχει λόγος Χριστιανὸν ὄντα, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ὑστάτης τοῦ πάσχα παννυχίδος, τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐχῶν τῷ πλήθει μετασχεῖν ἐθελῆσαι· οὐ πρότερον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τηνικάδε προεστῶτος ἐπιτραπῆναι εἰσβαλεῖν, ἢ ἐξομολογήσασθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐν παραπτώμασιν ἐξεταζομένοις, μετανοίας τε χώραν ἴσχουσιν. ἑαυτὸν καταλέξαι . . . καὶ πειθαρχῆσαί γε προθύμως λέγεται, τὸ γνήσιον καὶ εὐλαβὲς τῆς περὶ τὸν θεῖον φόβον διαθέσεως ἔργοις ἐπιδεδειγμένον.*]—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. vi. c. 34. [tom. i. p. 298. This circumstance is related in the Chronicon Paschale (Alexandrinum) ad Olymp. 257. (ap. Corp. Hist. Byzant., tom. iv. p. 216. Venet. 1729) on the authority of Leontius, who was bishop of Antioch in the reign of Constantius; and a similar story is told by St. Chrysostom, in his Liber de S. Babyla et contra Julianum, § 5, 6. (Op., tom. ii. p. 545, B, sqq.,) but scarcely as an historical fact, and without mention of the emperor's name. He begins (p. 542, D.) *ἐγένετό τις βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁποίος τις ἦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, κ.τ.λ.* Pagi considers it to be mentioned by Eusebius on insufficient authority, since Constantine is spoken of by so many writers as the first Christian emperor. Philip was emperor A.D. 244—249.]

[x] [*θρόνου δὲ σμικροῦ ἐν μέσῳ τεθέντος κεκάθικεν, ἐπιτρέψαι τοῦτο τοὺς ἐπισκόπους αἰτήσας.*]—Theodoret., Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 7. [tom. iii. p. 26. *παρῄει δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς μετ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆλθεν, εἰς μέσον ἔστη, καὶ οὐ πρότερον καθίζειν ᾑρεῖτο, πρὶν ἂν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἐπινεύσειαν. τοιαύτη τις εὐλάβεια καὶ αἰδὼς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸν βασιλέα κατεῖχε.*]—Gelasii Cyziceni Hist. Conc. Nic., lib. ii. c. 6. [Concilia, tom. ii. col. 164, D.]

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which I cited before[y]: "God hath appointed you, as priests and princes, (ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας,) to judge and determine controversies; and thought fit to style you gods, as being more excellent than other men, according to what is written, 'I have said, you are gods, and the sons of the Most High;' and 'God standeth in the congregation of gods, He judgeth among the gods;' wherefore it is your duty to pass by these common matters, and study Divine things." Thus the rubric of our liturgy, which distinguisheth the priest from the people or laity[z], supposes the king to be one of the latter, as much as any other man of the congregation. And in Statute 37 Hen. VIII., cap. 17[a], after he was declared head of the Church of England, he is spoken of as a layman in the preamble of the act. So I take the king to be comprehended among laymen in a parliament of Edw. I.: "Laymen have no authority to dispose of the goods of the Church, but (as the holy Scriptures do testify) they are committed only to the priests to be disposed of."

I remember, Sir, you were once a little choaked at my discourse in using these words "laity" and "layman," and making such a distinction between the clergy and the people, though laity is but another word for people; and then you said you had heard that this distinction was first used in the Romish Church, in order to subject kings and enslave the people to the clergy. This, Sir, is a vulgar error, as I have found in conversation, especially among the sceptics, deists, and latitudinarians of all sorts, who commonly affirm it with malicious reflections upon the clergy, though this distinction is necessary in the order of Church government, and was in

[y] Gelasius Cyzicenus, ibid., c. 8. [col. 176, A, B. quoted above, note o, p. 305. The concluding words are, χρὴ τῶν μὲν κοινῶν ὀλιγωρεῖν πραγμάτων, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν σπουδὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα ποιεῖσθαι.]—Theodoret, lib. i. [c. 8. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, οἷα δὴ παῖς φιλοπάτωρ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὡς πατράσιν προσέφερε.—Hist. Eccl., tom. iii. p. 27.]

[z] [e. g. In the fourth Rubric before the Communion Service, "The priest standing, &c.... the people kneeling;" before the confession "both he and all the people kneeling;" at the Communion; "Then shall the minister first receive the Communion in both kinds himself, and then proceed to deliver the same to the bishops, priests, and deacons in like manner, (if any be present,) and after that to the people."]

[a] ["Where your most royal Majesty is and hath always justly been by the word of God supreme head in earth of the Church of England . . . nevertheless the bishop of Rome and his adherents . . . have ordained that no lay or married man should . . . exercise . . . any jurisdiction ecclesiastical . . . which . . . did sound . . . to be directly repugnant to your majestie of supreme head of the Church . . . your grace being a layman."—37 Hen. VIII. c. 17.]

use among the Jews, in whose writings the priests and people are distinguished both in the law and the prophets, and in the apocryphal writers. The writers of the New Testament use the same distinction, calling the Jewish people by the name of λαὸς, from whence our word laity comes. To omit other places, the Apostle makes the distinction Heb. v. 3: "By reason hereof the high-priest ought as for the people (περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ), so for himself, to offer for sins." So the people of the Jews were not only distinguished from the priests in the temple, but from their doctors and ministers in the synagogue, as in Acts xiii. 15: "And after the reading the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue said unto them, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation πρὸς τὸν λαὸν, for the people, say on." So John, as a prophet and minister of baptism to the people, is distinguished from them, Acts xix. 4: "Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance τῷ λαῷ λέγων, saying unto the people." This distinction between the ministry and the people is as necessary in the Christian as it was in the Jewish Church; and therefore in the New Testament the people or laity are distinguished from their presbyters by the name of flock, according to the notation of which word St. Cyprian defines a Church thus[b]: *Ecclesia est plebs sacerdoti suo adunata, et pastori* [*suo*] *grex adhærens*[c]. [*Plebs* in the Roman law signifies all ranks of people, as distinguished from the senators; so Gaius, lib. vi. ad Legg. XII Tabularum, l. 238[d]. *Plebs est cæteri cives sine senatoribus.* And in the legal sense I doubt not but the holy fathers used the word for all ranks and conditions of people, as distinguished from the clergy, whose diocesan assemblies are called *synedria* by St. Ignatius[e], i. e. in his Syrian phrase

Acts 20. 28; 1 Pet. 5. 2, 3.

[b] [St. Cyprian's words are, Illi sunt ecclesia, plebs &c.—Epist. lxix. (lxvi. ed. Oxon.) p. 123. ed. Ben. See vol. i. p. 138. note m.]

[c] [In the third edition the passage ran on, "Wherefore if the enemies of priesthood please, they may as well inveigh against us for calling our people our flocks. For 'flock' is a word which distinguishes their people from their spiritual pastors, as much as 'people' distinguishes them from their priests." The alteration is made, and the portion of the text following in brackets inserted, according to the Supplement of 1715, No. 15.]

[d] [Digest., lib. l. tit. xvi. de Verborum significatione, l. 238.]

[e] [S. Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes., c. 6. (Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 18;) ad Trall., c. 3. (ibid., p. 22,) quoted above, p. 36, notes p, q.; and Epist. Interpolata ad Philadelph., c. 8. ἐὰν συδράμωσιν εἰς ἑνότητα Χριστοῦ, καὶ συνεδρείαν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.—Ibid., p. 80.]

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sanhedrims, senates; so that in those times it was thought no arrogance to make the same distinction of them in the Church that was in the state, which Theophilus Ant. *de jure Personarum* expresses thus[f]: *Et circa personas cum dicimus, hic συγκλητικός senatorius est, aut ex plebe: ὁ δεῖνα συγκλητικός ἐστιν, ἢ ἰδιώτης.* Besides, if the enemies of the priesthood please, they may as well inveigh against us for calling our people our flocks, as the Apostle did; for 'flock' is a word which distinguishes the people from their spiritual pastors, as much as the word 'people' distinguishes them from their priests, or the word *plebs* from the clergy, their ecclesiastical senators.] This distinction between the clergy and laity is plainly to be seen Acts iv. 32[g], where the people are called *τὸ πλῆθος: τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν πιστευσάντων, κ.τ.λ.* "The multitude of those that believed (that is, the people which believed) were of one heart." So St. Clement calls the laity *πλῆθος*, 1 Epist. cap. 6; there speaking of the Apostles he saith[h], *τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν . . . . . συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν*, "To these men were joined a numerous elect people," or "a numerous people of believers." So in the same epistle he saith[i]: "The chief-priest hath his proper office, and to the priests their proper place is assigned, and to the Levites belongs their proper ministration, *ὁ δὲ λαϊκὸς*[k] *ἄνθρωπος*, but the layman is con-

[f] [*καὶ περὶ πρόσωπα μὲν, ὅταν εἴπωμεν, ὁ δεῖνα συγκλητικός ἐστιν, ἢ ἰδιώτης.* — Theophilus Antecessor, Paraphrasis Græca Institutionum, de Jure personarum, p. 43. Hagæ, 1751.] lib. i. tit. 3.

[g] So Acts vi. 5. *καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους.* Chap. xv. 12. *ἐσίγησε δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος.* Ver. 30. *συναγαγόντες τὸ πλῆθος.* Chap. xxi. 22. *πάντως δεῖ τὸ πλῆθος συνελθεῖν.* Chap. xxv. 24. *τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων.*— Henr. Stephan. Thesaur., *πλῆθος*, multitudo, i. e. multitudo popularis, seu turba, plebs, vulgus, [quam significationem inter alias habet et *ὄχλος*, . . . item *οἱ πολλοὶ*, quibus opponuntur *οἱ ὀλίγοι*. . . .] Thucyd., lib. v. c. 84. *πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἤγαγον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις λέγειν ἐκέλευον περὶ ὧν ἤκουσιν.*—[Steph. Thes., tom. vi. col. 7701.]

[h] [S. Clem. Rom. Ep. i. ad Cor. § 6. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 151.]

[i] [*τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσι, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λευΐταις ἰδίαι διακονίαι ἐπίκειν ται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν δέδεται.*— Ibid., § 40. p. 170.]

[k] Ibid., cap. 40; where Dr. Fell writes most judiciously and learnedly on the place: *λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος·* Nulla tam addicta, tam misera servitus est, quam *δουλεύοντος τῇ ὑποθέσει.* Alias viri doctissimi Salmasius et Seldenus, ut alios minorum gentium criticos prætercam, Calvini aut Erasti placitis addictos, nunquam tam graviter in arte quam profitebantur lapsi essent, ut dicere sustinerent 'olim presbyteros fuisse laicos, et laici vocem, quatenus clero contradistinguitur, serius in ecclesia obtinuisse.' Ignatii loca non affero, siquidem novatores, quando ejus auctoritate premuntur, breviter se expediunt,

fined to lay matters." This distinction of laity and clergy, at which our enemies are so offended, descended from these early times to all other ages of the Church, as is plain from almost all the Epistles of St. Ignatius, where also the people of all ranks, in distinction from bishops, priests, and deacons, are called πλῆθος[l], (which Hesychius glosses by δῆμος, "the people[m]," as in Aristotle's Politics, lib. vi. τέσσαρα δὲ μέρη τοῦ πλήθους, κ.τ.λ.[n] "there are four sorts of the people.") In his Epistle to the Ephesians[o], where there were great numbers of Christian people, he calls them πολυπληθίαν, "the numerous laity." He likewise calls them πλήρωμα[p], as the word signifies a body of people in a city, or of men in an army, for so the word is used by Aristotle, in the Politics, lib. iii. ἢ πλείους μὲν ἑνὸς, μὴ μέντοι δυνατοὶ πλήρωμα παρασχέσθαι πόλεως[q], "Though they are more, yet they are too few to make a just number of people for a city." Thus in the prayer of intercession at the holy Eucharist extant in the twelfth chapter [of the eighth book] of the Apostolical Constitutions, after interceding for all the ecclesiastical orders[r], as bishops, &c., then follows the intercession of the Church ὑπὲρ τῶν λαϊκῶν "for the laics." And at the latter

dicendo ψευδεπίγραφον eum, aut interpolatum.—Fell, Annot. ad loc. ibid., p. 171.]

[l] S. Ignat. c. 8. Ep. ad Smyrn. [Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 36.] ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω.—[Ad Magnes., c. 6. ibid., p. 18.] τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἐθεώρησα ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ.—ad Trall. [c. 1. ibid., p. 22.] Πολύβιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῶν . . . ὥστε μὲ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρῆσαι.—Ibid., [c. 8. p. 23.] μὴ ἀφορμὰς δίδοτε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἄφρονας τὸ ἐν θεῷ πλῆθος βλασφημῆται.

[m] [There is a slight inaccuracy in this statement. Hesychius says, πλῆθος· ἀθροισμὸς, ὄχλος, but just below πληθύς· ὄχλος, δῆμος.—Hesychii Lexicon in voc., tom. ii. col. 978.]

[n] [ἐπειδὴ τέτταρα μέν ἐστι μέρη μάλιστα τοῦ πλήθους, γεωργικὸν, βάναυσον, ἀγοραῖον, θητικὸν, τέτταρα δὲ τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς πόλεμον, κ.τ.λ.—Arist. Pol., lib. vi. c. 7. § 1. Op., tom. x. p. 177, Oxon. 1837.]

[o] [ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπληθίαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ ἀπείληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ, κ.τ.λ. S. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. § 1. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 12.]

[p] [Ἰγνάτιος, ὁ καὶ θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει θεοῦ πατρὸς (καὶ) πληρώματι, τῇ προωρισμένῃ, κ.τ.λ. τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.]—Id. Epist. ad Eph. Inscript. [ibid., p. 11.—Ἰγνάτιος . . . ἐκκλησίᾳ ἁγίᾳ . . . ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι, (cujus omnia saluto membra.)]—Id. Epist. ad Trall. Inscript. [ibid., p. 21.]

[q] [Arist. Polit., lib. iii. c. 13. § 13. p. 83.]

[r] [ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων· πατριαρχῶν· προφητῶν· δικαίων· ἀποστόλων· μαρτύρων· ὁμολογητῶν· ἐπισκόπων· πρεσβυτέρων· διακόνων· ὑποδιακόνων· ἀναγνωστῶν· ψαλτῶν· παρθένων· χηρῶν· λαϊκῶν· καὶ πάντων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι τὰ ὀνόματα.—Const. Apost., lib. viii. c. 12. Concilia, tom. i. col. 481, C. It is to be observed that these are intercessions (with the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice) for the departed.]

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end of the [thirteenth][s] chapter in the directions for the orderly distribution of the holy mysteries, it is said[t], "After this let the bishop receive, then the presbyters, &c., and then let πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, all the laity, receive in order, with reverence and devotion." In this chapter also we find πλήρωμα used, as in Ignatius' epistles for the people, as distinguished from Church ministers, in this prayer[u]; "Let us pray for this Church, and ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, the people of it, for the universal episcopate and the whole presbytery, &c.; and παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, and for all the people of the Church." But to give an example or two more, we read in St. Cyprian's thirtieth Epistle[v], *Cum episcopis, presbyteris, diaconis, confessoribus, pariter ac adstantibus laicis.* So Epist. lix. p. 135[x], *Viderint laici hoc quomodo curent; sacerdotibus major labor incumbit.* In other epistles he calls the laity, as distinguished from the clergy, *plebs* and *populus*, as in Epist. lv.[y], *Cum Trophimo pars maxima plebis abscesserat.* So in Epist. xlix.[z], *Cæteros cum ingenti populi suffragio recepimus.* So before him Tertullian, *de Præscript. Hæret.* c. 41[a]. *Hodie presbyter, qui cras laicus, nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt.* So *de Fuga in Persecutione*, c. 11[b]. *Sed quum diaconi, presbyteri, et episcopi fugiunt, quomodo laicus intelligere poterit, qua ratione dictum, 'Fugite de civitate in civitatem?'* So *de Monogamia*, 11[c]. *Si non hæc disciplina præcedit in laicis.* [This distinction is also to be read in Origen's fifth tract upon Matth. (of the Basil edit. 1571, p. 58[d]), *Christum autem ecclesiæ caput esse, non ego, sed*

[s] [In the third edition "twelfth" was printed by mistake.]

[t] [καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο μεταλαμβανέτω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· ἔπειτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ ψάλται, καὶ οἱ ἀσκηταὶ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἱ διακόνισσαι, καὶ αἱ παρθένοι, καὶ αἱ χῆραι· εἶτα τὰ παιδία, καὶ τότε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κατὰ τάξιν μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας.—Ibid., c. 13. col. 484, E.]

[u] [ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταύτης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς, παντὸς πρεσβυτερίου, πάσης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας, παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας. —Ibid., supra, B.]

[v] [Cleri Romani ad Cyprianum, ap. S. Cyprian. Epist. xxxi. (xxx. ed. Oxon.) p. 43. ed. Ben.]

[x] [The whole passage is; Viderint laici hoc quomodo curent. Sacerdotibus labor major incumbit in asserenda et procuranda Dei majestate, ne quid videamur in hac parte negligere.—S. Cypr. Epist. lv. (lix. p. 135. ed. Oxon.) ad Cornelium, p. 86. ed. Ben.]

[y] [S. Cypr. Epist. lii. (lv. ed. Oxon.) ad Antonianum, p. 69. ed. Ben.]

[z] [Cornelii Epist. ad Cypr. ap. S. Cypr. Epist. xlvi. (xlix. ed. Oxon.) p. 61. ed. Ben.]

[a] [Tertull. Op., p. 217, C.]

[b] [Ibid., p. 540, D.]

[c] [Ibid., p. 531, D.]

[d] [Origenis Comment. in Matth., tomus xiii. § 24. Op., tom. iii. p. 603. ed. Ben. This portion of the commentary is extant only in the old Latin version.]

Apostolus intellexit: Sacerdotes autem rationabiliter possunt dici ecclesiæ oculus, quoniam et speculatores habentur; diaconi autem cæterique ministri, manus. Populum autem esse pedes ecclesiæ, &c.[e]] You may also find this distinction in the descriptions of the most ancient Christian Churches, where there were distinct places for the clergy and the people, and the throne in which the bishop sat in the midst of the clergy was esteemed the most sacred and honourable seat, and of greater dignity than that of the emperor, as you may see in *Du Fresne's Constantinopolis Christiana,* lib. iii. cap. 42, 49[f]. Sir, I the rather observe this, because you, and I knew one of the twelve judges who took it ill that he was not placed in the bishop's seat to hear sermon, as being the most honourable in the body of the Church. And as this distinction hath been used in all the ages of Christianity, so it is just, and founded in the constitution of the Church, which, as I have shewed by a cloud of witnesses, is a spiritual society, in which, by Christ's appointment, the clergy are superiors, and the laity or people of all degrees subjects. And as it is no diminution of the clergy and their spiritual dignity to be reckoned, as indeed they are, a part of the people, as the people are distinguished from the prince, so it is no diminution of the dignity of emperors, kings, and princes, and temporal magistrates, to be reckoned among the laity or people, as the people are distinguished from the clergy, whom Christ hath set over them in His kingdom. If it were not to enlarge too much upon this distinction, I could shew it abundantly out of the councils[g], as where they speak of the

[e] [This passage is inserted from the Supplement of 1715, No. 16.]

[f] [Chap. 42. In the description of the church of St. Sophia, on the 'Sedes Imperatoris;' after the account of St. Ambrose's preventing Theodosius from remaining in the Sacrarium (see above, pp. 334, 335); it is said from Sozomen, Imperatori in ecclesia locum assignavit ante sacrarii cancellos, ita ut populum imperator, imperatorem ordine sedis sacerdotes antecederent . . . addit Theophanes ab eo tempore morem hunc invaluisse, ut deinceps imperatores extra Bema cum reliqua plebe consisterent: Du Fresne, Constantinopolis Christiana, p. 24, D, E. (p. 137. ed. Par.) ap. Corpus Hist. Byzant., tom. xxiv. Venet. 1727.—and cap. 49. In tres (partes) . . . templum dividitur, βῆμα scilicet, ναὸν . . . et narthecem . . . Locum templi sanctissimum . . . βῆμα nuncupant . . . cumque Bema solis sacerdotibus ingredi vel in eo sedere fas esset, inde qui ei inservicbant dicti οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid., p. 27, A. (p. 42. ed. Par.)]

[g] Can. Apost. 10, 17, 40, 43, 49, 61, and so in the other canons which are not of equal authority, viz. 52, 75, 76. [The numbering of the Apostolical canon which Hickes follows in these references, is that of Cotelerius, (Patr. Apost., tom. i. pp. 442, sqq.) followed by Johnson in the Clergyman's Vade Mecum, (vol. ii. p. 2, sqq. See his

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clergy and people together, or reducing the former to lay communion; but I hope I have said what is sufficient to convince you of the reason and antiquity of it, and then I have said enough.

SECT. VI.

Of the mutual relations of the spiritual and temporal authorities.

VI. I might, to justify myself, proceed to examine St. Hierome and St. Augustine as particularly as I have done St. Ambrose; but hoping I have said enough in my vindication, I will only tell you that they both interpret the sixteenth verse of the forty-fifth Psalm, of the Apostles, and their successors the bishops: "Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth." *Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii, constitues eos principes super omnem terram.* Upon which words saith the former[h]; "O Church! the Apostles were thy fathers because they begat thee, but now because they are departed this world thou hast in their place thy sons the bishops, whom thou hast constituted, and these are also thy fathers because thou art governed by them. And they are princes of the Church in all parts of the earth, whithersoever the Gospel is come." So the latter[i]: "What doth this mean, 'instead of thy fathers thou shalt have sons'? The Apo-

Preface, p. 2.) The passages are, εἴ τις κληρικὸς, ἢ λαϊκὸς, ἀφωρισμένος, ἤτοι ἄδεκτος, κ. τ. λ.—Canon Apost., xii. (x. Cotel.) Concil., tom. i. col. 28, B. εἴ τις κληρικὸς ὢν· κ.τ.λ., . . . καθαιρείσθω . . . λαϊκὸς ἀφοριζέσθω ἔτη τρία.—Can. xxii. xxiii. (xvii. Cotel.) ibid., col. 29, B. εἴ τις λαικὸς. κ.τ.λ.—Can. xlvii. (xl. Cotel.) ibid., col. 36, B. εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, κ.τ.λ. . . . καθαιρείσθω, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποβαλλέσθω, ὡσαύτως καὶ λαϊκός.—Can. l. (xliii. Cotel.) ibid., col. 36, D. εἴ τις κληρικὸς, κ. τ. λ. . . . ἀφοριζέσθω. ὡσαύτως καὶ λαϊκός.—Can. lvi. (xlix. Cotel.) ibid., col. 37, B. εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος ἢ ἀναγνώστης, ἢ ψάλτης τὴν ἁγίαν τεσσερακοστὴν (τοῦ πάσχα) οὐ νηστεύει, ἢ τετράδα, ἢ παρασκευὴν, καθαιρείσθω· ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ δι' ἀσθενείαν σωματικὴν ἐμποδίζοιτο· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς εἴη, ἀφοριζέσθω.—Can. lxviii. (lxi. Cotel.) ibid., col. 40, B. εἴ τις τὰ ψευδεπίγραφα τῶν ἀσεβῶν βιβλία, ὡς ἅγια, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας δημοσιεύει . . . καθαιρείσθω.—Can. lix. (lii. Cotel.) ibid., col. 37, C. εἰ μὲν κληρικὸς, καθαιρείσθω· εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφοριζέσθω.—Can. lxxxiii. (lxxv. Cotel.) ibid., col. 44, A. ἔστω δὲ ὑμῖν πᾶσι κληρικοῖς καὶ λαικοῖς βιβλία σεβάσμια καὶ ἅγια, κ. τ. λ.—Can. lxxxiv. (lxxvi. Cotel.) ibid.]

[h] [Fuerunt, o ecclesia, apostoli patres tui: quia ipsi te genuerunt. Nunc autem quia illi recesserunt a mundo, habes pro his episcopos filios qui a te creati sunt. Sunt enim et hi patres tui: quia ab ipsis regeris, . . . Constituit Christus sanctos suos super omnes populos. In nomine enim Domini dilatatum est Evangelium in omnibus finibus mundi: in quibus principes ecclesiæ, id est, episcopi, constituti sunt.—Breviarium in Psalterium, S. Hieronymo falso ascriptum, in Ps. xliv. 17. S. Hieron. Op., tom. vii. App. col. 123.]

[i] [Quid est, 'Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii?' Patres missi sunt Apostoli, pro Apostoli filii nati sunt tibi, constituti sunt episcopi . . . Hæc est Catholica Ecclesia: filii ejus constituti sunt principes super omnem terram, &c.—S. Aug. Enarr. in Psalm. xliv. 17. Op., tom. iv. col. 398, A, C.]

stles were sent as fathers unto thee, and instead of the Apostles sons are born to thee, who are made bishops. This is the Catholic Church, whose sons are made princes in all the earth." Optatus Milevitanus calls bishops *apices et principes* of the ecclesiastical economy, lib. i. p. 15[k]. And so Simeon Thessalonicensis *de Græcorum Ordinationibus,* which is in *Morinus de sacris Ecclesiæ ordinationibus,* pars ii. p. 106[l]: *καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς δὲ, κ.τ.λ.* "and bishops, (or chief priests) upon the account of their power and principalities, are anointed with the grace of the Holy Spirit: saith the Scripture, 'Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth.' And he (the archbishop) sanctifies him (the consecrated bishop) as the ancient chief-priests, Melchisedec, Aaron, and Samuel, and as those hierarchs of grace," &c. But to carry this spiritual sense of this place unto a much higher original, Eusebius Cæsariensis in his commentary on Ps. xlv. 17, saith[m], "Aquila renders it thus: 'Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have sons;' but Symmachus thus: 'Instead of thy fathers thou hast had sons.' But this is the meaning of the place: thy sons, who are born in thee, and from thee, shall be to thee for fathers, for thou shalt have those for thy fathers, whom thou thyself hast begotten. But you will understand how this was fulfilled, if you consider how the Gentile strangers coming to the Church, and regenerated in her, become her sons, and growing great proficients, are constituted her fathers, being promoted to places of government in her, and chosen to the

[k] [S. Optati Milev. de Schism. Donatist, lib. i. c. 13. p. 11. ed. Par. 1700; quoted above, p. 35, note k. Hickes' reference is to an edition of the works of Optatus and Facundus Hermianensis, Priorii. Par. 1679.]

[l] [*καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος τῇ χάριτι χριόμενοι, καταστήσεις γὰρ αὐτούς, φησιν, ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν· ἁγιάζει δὲ τοῦτον ὡς οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς· καὶ τοὺς πάλαι μὲν ἐκείνους τὸν Μελχισεδὲκ, τὸν Ἀαρὼν τε καὶ Σαμουὴλ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ ἱεράρχας τῆς χάριτος, κ. τ. λ.*—Symeonis Thess. Archiep. de Sacris Ordination., cap. 7. Ritus omnes ordinationis et consecrationis episcopatis, &c.—ap. Morini de Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus, pars ii. p. 130, D. ed. 2. Antw. 1685. The first edition, to which Hickes' reference is made, was published at Paris, 1655. Symeon's work is also contained in the Bibl. Patr., tom. iii. Par. 1624.]

[m] [*ἀντὶ τῶν πατέρων σου ἐγεννήθησάν σοι υἱοί. τούτων τὴν διάνοιαν σαφέστερον ἀποδεδώκασιν οἱ λοιποί. ὁ μὲν Ἀκύλας εἰπὼν, ἀντὶ τῶν πατέρων σου ἔσονταί σοι υἱοί· ὁ δὲ Σύμμαχος, ἀντὶ πατέρων ἐγένοντο υἱοί σου. ἡ δὲ ἑρμηνεία τοῦ λόγου ταύτην ἔχει τὴν διάνοιαν· οἱ υἱοί σου οἱ ἐν σοὶ καὶ ὑπὸ σου γεγενημένοι, ἀντὶ πατέρων γενήσονταί σοι. ἕξεις γὰρ αὐτοὺς πατέρας οὓς αὐτὴ γεγέννηκας. νοήσεις δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα, ἐπιστήσας ὅπως οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀλλόφυλοι προσέλθοντες τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀναγεννηθέντες ἐν αὐτῇ,*

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sacerdotal office. And in what sense thou art to have them for fathers is more plainly expressed in these words[n]: 'Whom thou shalt make princes in all the earth.' In which words the prophet speaks to the Church upon the earth, which reaches from one end of it to the other, and which makes her own sons her fathers and princes." I was willing, Sir, to add this more ancient testimony of Eusebius to that of St. Hierome, and Augustine in the Latin, to shew you that this sense of those words in Psalm xlv. was in all appearance the sense of the Catholic Church. And the parliament in Queen Elizabeth's time seems to have been no stranger to these notions, which, 8 Eliz. [c. 1.[o]] in the preamble to the act, declares the state of the clergy to "be one of the greatest states of this realm." And before the Conquest every one knows the bishop sat with the count in the county court to administer ecclesiastical law and justice, according to the canons, as he did the secular, according to the customs and laws.

Sir, I hope I have now said enough to shew you that my speaking of bishops as princes is not novel, or uncouth to any but such as are not conversant in the ancient records of the Church, and if there be any good Churchmen, as you say, among your friends, who think I have written too loftily of the episcopal office in my former letter to you[p], I pray you to shew them this for my vindication. Many of them who

υἱοὶ αὐτῆς γίγνονται· κἄπειτα ἐπιδιδόντες τῇ προσκοπῇ, πατέρες αὐτῆς καθίστανται, προαγόμενοι εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς προστασίαν, καὶ τῆς ἱερατικῆς λειτουργίας καταξιούμενοι. πῶς δ' ἕξεις αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ πατέρων διερμηνεύει, σαφέστερον λέγων· καταστήσεις αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. λέγει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐκκλησίαν ὁ λόγος, τὴν ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων διήκουσαν. ἐφ' ἣν ἄρχοντας καὶ πατέρας τοὺς ἰδίους υἱοὺς αὐτὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ καθίστησιν.—Eusebii Cæsariensis Comment. in Psalm. xliv. 17. ap. Montfaucon. Nov. Collect., tom. ii. p. 192, C—E.]

[n] The place is thus paraphrased by Apollinarius:

Ἀντὶ τεῶν πατέρων υἱοὶ σέθεν ἡβωοῦσι·
Τοὺς δὲ καταστήσειας ὅλης χθονὸς ἡγεμονῆας.

[Apollinarii Episc. Laodicensis Metaphrasis Psalmorum, Ps. xliv. 17. Bibl. Patr., tom. v. p. 386, A.]

[o] [An act declaring the manner of making and consecrating of the archbishops and bishops of this realm to be good, lawful, and perfect. Forasmuch as divers questions, ... have lately grown upon the making and consecrating of archbishops and bishops within this realm, whether the same were and be duly and orderly done according to the law or not, which is much tending to the slander of all the state of the clergy, being one of the greatest states of this realm, &c.—8 Eliz. c. 1, A.D. 1566.]

[p] [This was the letter containing the forty Propositions; it is printed in the Constitution of the Catholic Church, &c. p. 61. See Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. p. 62, note g.]

are true to their own order, and never betrayed the Church in their sermons or writings, yet with great numbers of the people have been set wrong in their apprehensions of the Church and Church power by some gentlemen of your profession, who have written otherwise of the Church than as of a society founded by Christ Jesus in a manner independent on the powers of the world: and have so explained and magnified the ecclesiastical supremacy of kings, as is not consistent with it in reality or in the conceptions of men. You cannot but call to mind what I told you some said upon occasion. Really, Sir, one would wonder that men born and bred Christians should say things so reproachful to the priesthood, so dishonourable to Christ our High-Priest in heaven, so derogatory and opprobrious to the power of the keys, which He hath committed to His priests, and so repugnant to the constitution of the Catholic Church. Certainly, Sir, these men had no right idea of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, ecclesiastical and regal, nor of their different origins, and mutual subordination of the one to the other. *Solvimus quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari*, saith St. Ambrose[p], "We pay unto the emperor the things which belong to the emperor, and we give unto God the things which are God's. Is it the emperor's tribute that is demanded? We deny it not. Is it the Church of God? That ought not to be given up to the emperor, for the temple of God cannot be his right; which no man can deny to be spoken to the emperor's honour; for what is more honourable for him, than that he should be a son of the Church? For a good emperor is within the Church,

p Concio de Basilicis non tradendis hereticis, aut gentilibus, ad Mediolanensem populum. [Solvimus quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo. Tributum Cæsaris est, non negatur: ecclesia Dei est, Cæsaris utique non debet addici; quia jus Cæsaris esse non potest Dei templum. Quod cum honorificentia imperatoris dictum nemo potest negare. Quid enim honorificentius, quam ut imperator ecclesiæ filius esse dicatur? Quod cum dicitur, sine peccato dicitur, cum gratia dicitur. Imperator enim (bonus, editt. vett. omnes; omnes MSS. omittunt) intra ecclesiam, non supra ecclesiam est, bonus enim imperator quærit auxilium ecclesiæ, non refutat. Hæc ut humiliter dicimus, ita constanter exponimus. Sed incendia aliqui, gladium, deportationem minantur. Didicimus Christi servuli non timere. Non timentibus nunquam est gravis terror.—S. Ambros. Sermo contra Auxentium de Basilicis tradendis; Op., tom. ii. col. 873, D, E.]

So the civil law of the empire. [§ 7. Nullius sunt res sacræ, et religiosæ, et sanctæ: quod enim divini juris est nullius in bonis est. § 8. Sacræ res sunt, quæ rite per pontifices Deo consecratæ sunt.—Just. Instit., lib. ii. tit. i. de rerum divisione, § 7, 8. Res sacra non recipit æstimationem.—Ulpian., lib. lxviii. ad edictum. Digest., lib. i. tit. viii. c. 9. § 5.]

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but not above it, and seeketh help of the Church, and doth not refuse it. This, as we speak with humility, so with constancy we declare it; and though some threaten us with fire, and sword, and deportation, yet we being Christ's servants have learned not to fear, and no terrors are formidable to those who do not fear." Justinian the emperor confesseth[q], "That the greatest honours God of His mercy hath conferred upon men are *sacerdotium et imperium*, the priesthood and the regal office, the former to administer in Divine things, and the latter to preside in human affairs." And long before his time, ὁ Ἀβραμιαῖος γέρων, ὁ ἀληθῶς Ὅσιος[r], "The Abrahamical old father, the truly holy Hosius," put the emperor Constantius in remembrance of the distinction of these two powers, and the independency of the one on the other, in these words[s]: "Do not you meddle in ecclesiastical affairs, nor command us (bishops) what to do in them, but rather learn of us what ye are to do therein. God hath delivered the empire to you, and the care of the Church to us, and as he who secretly invades your authority, resists the ordinance of God, so be you afraid lest by drawing the affairs of the Church upon you, you make yourself guilty of a grievous sin. For it is written, 'Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' Therefore neither is it lawful for us to take upon us to command in civil matters; neither, O emperor, have you authority over the incense[t]. And truly out of the care I have of your salvation, I write these things." This great bishop and confessor for the rights of the Catholic Church, as well as for the

[q] [Maxima quidem in hominibus sunt dona Dei a superna collata clementia sacerdotium et imperium, et illud quidem divinis ministrans, hoc autem humanis præsidens ac diligentiam exhibens.—Imp. Justinianus August. Epiphanio archiepiscopo et patriarchæ Constantinopolitano. Authent. Collat. i. tit. 6. Quomodo oporteat episcopos. Novell. Const. 6. Præfatio ap. Corpus Juris Canonici. The same passage was quoted in the Greek, p. 292, note s.]

[r] [S. Athanasii Historia Arianorum ad Monachos, § 45. Op., tom. i. p. 371, E.]

[s] [μὴ τίθει σεαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ, μηδὲ σὺ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν παρακελεύου· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον παρ' ἡμῶν σὺ μάνθανε ταῦτα. σοὶ βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχείρισεν, ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπίστευσε. καὶ ὥσπερ ὁ τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποκλέπτων ἀντιλέγει τῷ διαταξαμένῳ θεῷ· οὕτω φοβήθητι μὴ καὶ σὺ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἕλκων, ὑπεύθυνος ἐγκλήματι μεγάλῳ γένῃ· ἀπόδοτε, γέγραπται, τὰ Καίσαρος, Καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῷ θεῷ. οὔτε τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἄρχειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔξεστιν, οὔτε σὺ τοῦ θυμιᾶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις, βασιλεῦ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν κηδόμενος τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας γράφω.—Epist. Hosii ad Constantium, apud S. Athanas., ibid., A, B.]

[t] The holy father here alludes to the story of King Uzziah, 2 Chron. xxvi. 16—18.

Catholic faith, by "power or authority over the incense," figuratively meant the sacerdotal office, as distinguished from the regal; the powers of the Church, which could not belong to the empire, and the administration of matters spiritual, which belonged to the bishops, the delegates or vicegerents of Christ in His kingdom upon earth. So Pope Gelasius, who was advanced to the see of Rome in the year of our Lord 492, in his eighth Epistle to Anastasius the emperor, writes thus: *Duo quippe sunt, imperator Auguste*[u], &c. "For there are two things, great emperor, by which principally this world is governed, the holy pontifical authority and the regal power. Of which the sacerdotal charge is much the greater, because the bishops at the day of judgment must give an account to our Lord of kings. For you know, most gracious son, (*fili clementissime,*) that although you are set in dignity above all men, yet you are devoutly subject to those who preside over spiritual affairs, (*religionis antistites,*) and desire those things from them by which you expect to be saved; and in receiving the holy mysteries, and ordering them as is meet, you know that by the rank you hold in religion you are to obey rather than command. Therefore in things of this nature, you know that you are to submit to their judgment, and that they are not to be governed by your will. For if the rulers of the Church, knowing that the empire is given to you by God's appointment, obey your laws[x]; with what affection, I beseech you,

[u] [Duo quippe sunt, imperator Auguste, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur, auctoritas sacra pontificum, et regalis potestas. In quibus tanto gravius est pondus sacerdotum, quanto etiam pro ipsis regibus Domino in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem. Nosti etiam, fili clementissime, quod licet præsideas humano generi dignitate, rerum tamen præsulibus divinarum devotus colla submittis, atque ab eis causas tuæ salutis expetis, inque sumendis cœlestibus sacramentis, eisque (ut competit) disponendis, subdi te debere cognoscis religionis ordine potius quam præesse. Nosti itaque inter hæc, ex illorum te pendere judicio, non illos ad tuam velle redigi voluntatem. Si enim, quantum ad ordinem pertinet publicæ disciplinæ, cognoscentes imperium tibi superna dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque parent religionis antistites, ne vel in rebus mundanis exclusæ videantur obviare sententiæ; quo (rogo) te decet affectu eis obedire, qui pro erogandis venerabilibus sunt attributi mysteriis? ... Et si cunctis generaliter sacerdotibus, recte divina tractantibus, fidelium convenit corda submitti; quanti potius sedis illius præsuli consensus est adhibendus, quem cunctis sacerdotibus, et divinitas summa voluit præeminere, et subsequens ecclesiæ generalis jugiter pietas celebravit?—Gelasii Papæ I. Epist. viii. ad Anastasium Imperatorem.—Concilia, tom. v. col. 308, C—E.]

[x] Du Pin de antiqua Ecclesiæ disciplina, Dissert. vii. § 4. [Principibus in rebus civilibus et temporalibus omnes esse subjectos; where this passage is quoted, p. 474. Par. 1685.]

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ought you to obey them who are appointed to dispense the venerable mysteries? . . . . And if the faithful ought to be obedient to all bishops, who rightly manage holy things, how much must it be your duty to comply with the bishop of that see, whom it has pleased God to advance in dignity above all bishops, and the piety of the Catholic Church hath in all times honoured and esteemed?" So in his tome *de Anathematis vinculo*[y]: "But if they are afraid to attempt these things, which they know come not within the measure of your power to whom it is permitted only to judge of human affairs, and not to preside over the Divine, how dare they presume to judge of them who administer Divine things? These things were so before the coming of Christ, as some say by way of figure, though kings and priest were both appointed in the administration of secular affairs; but after the coming of Christ, who was in one person the true King and Priest, neither the emperor assumed the title of priest, nor the priest pretended to his royal dignity . . . . Christ[z], know-

[y] [Quod si hæc tentare formidant, nec ad suæ pertinere cognoscunt modulum potestatis, cui tantum de humanis rebus judicare permissum est, non etiam præesse divinis, quomodo de his, per quos divina ministrantur, judicare præsumunt? Fuerint hæc ante adventum Christi, ut quidam figuraliter, adhuc tamen in carnalibus actionibus constituti, pariter reges extiterint, et pariter sacerdotes . . . sed cum ad verum ventum est eumdem regem atque pontificem, ultra sibi nec imperator pontificis nomen imposuit, nec pontifex regale fastigium vindicavit.—Id. Tomus de anathematis vinculo, ibid., col. 357, D, E; 358, A.]

[z] [Christus memor fragilitatis humanæ quod suorum saluti congrueret dispensatione magnifica temperans, sic actionibus propriis, dignitatibusque distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit, suos volens medicinali humilitate salvari, non humana superbia rursus intercipi; ut et Christiani imperatores pro æterna vita pontificibus indigerent, et pontifices pro temporalium cursu rerum imperialibus dispositionibus uterentur, quatenus spiritualis actio a carnalibus distaret incursibus; et ideo militans Deo, minime se negotiis sæcularibus implicaret: ac vicissim non ille rebus divinis præsidere videretur, qui esset negotiis sæcularibus implicatus, ut et modestia utriusque ordinis curaretur, ne extolleretur utroque suffultus, et competens qualitatibus actionum specialiter professio aptaretur.—Id. ibid., col. 358, A, B.

Hickes here gives the passage as it is quoted in the canon law.] Quoniam idem mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Jesus, sic actibus propriis, et dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit propria, volens medicinali humilitate hominum corda rursus in inferna demergi: ut sursum efferri, non humana superbia et Christiani imperatores pro æterna vita pontificibus indigerent, et pontifices pro cursu temporalium tantummodo rerum imperialibus legibus uterentur, quatenus spiritalis actio a carnalibus distaret incursibus; et ideo militans Deo minime se negotiis sæcularibus implicaret: ac vicissim non ille rebus divinis præsidere videretur, qui esset negotiis sæcularibus implicatus.—Decretum, pars i. dist. x. c. 8. [ap. Corpus Juris Canonici.]

See also dist. xcvi. c. 6, where the same words are cited, without any difference, but in the beginning, which in the latter is thus: Cum ad verum ventum est, ultra sibi nec imperator jura pontificatus arripuit, nec pontifex nomen imperatorium usurpavit, quoniam, &c. See more authorities in the same place to

ing the frailty of human nature, and ordering things by His royal dispensation as most conduced to the salvation of His people, He separated the offices of both powers by their proper actions and distinct duties, willing to save His people by a medicinal humility, and not to beset them with human pride; so that Christian emperors (and kings) should have need of bishops, in order to obtain eternal life; and bishops, according to the nature of temporal affairs, should make use of the imperial (or regal) administration, as far as the difference between spiritual and carnal actions will permit. So that on the one hand the soldier of Christ should not meddle in secular business; and on the other, he to whom secular businesses belong should not pretend to authority in Divine affairs, but he that both orders should modestly and carefully observe their bounds," &c.

Here you see the difference between Church and State, and the bounds which Christ hath set between them; and that bishops are in that, what kings and emperors are in this, and that both are mutually subject to one another. Religious emperors of old made no difficulty to own bishops for their ecclesiastical fathers and superiors, and pay all reverence and submission to them as such. Eusebius tells us how Constantine the Great "personally[a] sent for them to himself, and vouchsafed them the highest veneration and honour, as persons consecrated to his God, and was pleased to behold God honoured in each person, though their outward garb and dress was contemptible, and that he took them along with him in all his journeys, being fully persuaded that God for this very reason would be propitious to him." He would hear them speak, though never so long, "in a standing posture, though they supplicated his majesty to sit in his throne[b]." He gave his sons in charge, "before

prove the independency of the Church upon the State, and the difference betwixt the ecclesiastical and civil power.

[a] [*βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργοὺς συγκαλῶν θεραπείας καὶ τιμῆς τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἠξίου· ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡσανεὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ θεῷ καθιερωμένους, φιλοφρονούμενος. ὁμοτράπεζοι δῆτα συνῆσαν αὐτῷ, ἄνδρες εὐτελεῖς μὲν τῇ τοῦ χρήματος ὀφθῆναι περιβολῇ, ἀλλ' οὐ τοιοῦτοι καὶ αὐτῷ νενομισμένοι. ὅτι μὴ τὸν ὁρώμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄνθρωπον, τὸν θεὸν δὲ ἐποπτεύειν ἐδόκει. ἐπήγετο δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅποι ποτε στέλλοιτο πορείαν. κἂν τούτῳ τὸν θεραπευόμενον πρὸς αὐτῶν δεξιὸν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι πειθόμενος.*]—Euseb. de vita Constantini, lib. i. cap. 42. [ap. Eccl. Hist., tom. i. p. 522.]

[b] [*ἐπειδὴ γάρ ποτε θάρσει τῆς αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐλαβείας, ἀμφὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου μνήματος λόγον παρασχεῖν εἰς ἐπή-*

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all things, that they should take particular charge of God's Church[c]." When he resolved on his expedition into Persia, "he prepared a tabernacle in the form of a church, in which most richly furnished, he resolved with the bishops, who accompanied him, to offer up supplications to God, the giver of victory[d]." And therefore it is no wonder that following Christian emperors looked upon the Church as a society distinct from the empire, of which Christ was founder, and the bishops the rectors, who presided in it under Christ, and that they themselves were not the governors, but the defenders of the Church. So Pope Symmachus, who was made bishop of Rome in the year of our Lord 498, in his apologetical epistle to the same emperor who was involved in the excommunication[e] of the Eutychians[f] in the cause of Acacius[g]: "Let us compare the honour of the emperor with the honour of the bishop, between whom there is as great a difference as there is between him who hath the charge of human, and him who hath the charge of Divine affairs. Thou, O emperor, receivest baptism, takest the Sacrament from the bishop, entreats him to pray for thee, hopes for his benediction, and begs him to absolve thee after repentance. Lastly, thou administerest human things, and he dispenses Divine things to thee. Wherefore, if I may not say his honour is greater, it is certainly equal to thine. Do not

κοον αὐτοῦ δεδεήμεθα, πλήθους δ' ἀκροατῶν περιεστῶτος, ἔνδον ἐν αὐτοῖς βασιλείοις ὄρθιος ἑστὼς ἅμα τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπηκροᾶτο. ἡμῶν δ' ἀντιβολούντων ἐπὶ παρακειμένῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ θρόνῳ διαναπαύεσθαι, ἐπείθετο μὲν οὐδαμῶς.]—Ibid., lib. iv. cap. 33. [p. 644.]

[c] [Eusebius, speaking of Constantine's advice to his sons, says, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ φροντίδος ἄγειν ἐν πρώτοις παρῄνει, αὐτοῖς δὲ διαῤῥήδην Χριστιανοῖς εἶναι παρεκελεύετο.]—Ibid., lib. iv. cap. 52. [p. 655.]

[d] [ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας χρήματι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου παράταξιν σὺν πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ κατειργάζετο. ἐν ᾗ τῷ θεῷ τῆς νίκης δοτῆρι, τὰς ἱκετηρίας ἅμα τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ποιεῖσθαι ἐπενόει.]—Ibid., lib. iv. cap. 56. [p. 658.]

[e] Nos non te excommunicavimus, sed Acacium: tu recede ab Acacio, et ab illius excommunicatione recedis. Tu te noli miscere excommunicationi ejus, et non es excommunicatus a nobis. Si te misces, non a nobis, sed a te ipso excommunicatus es. Ita sit ut in utroque, sive discedas, non es excommunicatus a nobis, sive non discedas, non es excommunicatus a nobis. —Symmachi Papæ Epistola vi. Apologetica adversus Anastasii Imperatoris libellum famosum.—[Concilia, tom. v. col. 428, D.]

[f] An benefactus essem, si Eutychianis faverem? si Acacii nomini communicarem.—[Ibid., col. 427, E.]

[g] [Conferamus autem honorem imperatoris cum honore pontificis: inter quos tantum distat, quantum ille rerum humanarum curam gerit, iste divinarum. Tu, imperator, a pontifice baptismum accipis, sacramenta sumis, orationem poscis, benedictionem speras, pœnitentiam rogas. Postremo tu humana administras, ille tibi divina dispensat. Itaque ut non dicam supe-

think the better of yourself, because you excel in worldly pomp and splendour; for the weakness of God is stronger than men . . . . I beg leave to remind you that you are but a man, that you may use the power that God hath given you, well. . . . But perhaps you will say, 'let every soul be subject to the higher powers.' Truly we acknowledge the human powers in their bounds, till they set up their will against the will of God. But if all power is of God, that is more especially so, which presides over Divine affairs. Do you submit to us for God's sake, as for God's sake we submit to you. But if you will not submit for God's sake, you can have no favour from Him whose laws you despise." One of the greatest men and lawyers that England ever bred (whom I believe his good sense and integrity, had he not been cut off, would have engaged in a reformation), understanding this doctrine[h], bore his testimony, like a faithful confessor, to the distinction and independency of the two powers, unto death, in the reign, which you know some writers call the tyranny, of Hen. VIII., who first to the astonishment of Christendom[i],

rior, certe æqualis honor est. Nec te putes mundi pompa præcellere, quia quod infirmum est Dei, fortius est hominibus . . . Precor, imperator, pace tua dixerim, memento te hominem, ut possis uti concessa tibi divinitus potestate. Fortassis dicturus es, scriptum esse, omni potestati nos subditos esse debere. Nos quidem potestates humanas suo loco suscipimus, donec contra Deum suas erigunt voluntates. Ceterum si omnis potestas a Deo est, magis ergo quæ rebus est præstituta divinis. Defer Deo in nobis, et nos deferemus Deo in te. Ceterum si tu Deo non deferas, non potes ejus uti privilegio, cujus jura contemnis. This is the same emperor (Anastasius) whom Gelasius addressed, above p. 349.—[Ibid., col. 427, E.—428, C.]

[h] ["Rich pressed him (Sir T. More) that since the parliament had enacted that the king was supreme head, the subjects ought to agree to it; and, said Rich, what if the parliament should declare me king, would you not acknowledge me? I would, said More, 'Quia' (as it is in the indictment) 'rex per parliamentum fieri potest, et per parliamentum deprivari;' but More turned the argument on Rich, and said, what if the parliament made an act that God was not God; Rich acknowledged it would not bind, but replied to More that since he would acknowledge him king, if he were made so by act of parliament, why would he not acknowledge the king supreme head, since it was enacted by the parliament. To that More answered that the parliament had power to make a king, and the people were bound to acknowledge him whom they made, but for the supremacy, though the parliament had enacted it, yet those in foreign parts had never assented to it." . . . "More being on his trial, pleaded against the statute that made it treason to deny the supremacy, and argued strongly that the king could not be supreme head of the Church," &c.]—Burnet's History of the Reformation, part i. b. iii. pp. 354, 355.

[i] Martini Chemnitii Epist. ad Elector. Brandenburg. [This is a dedication prefixed to the first part of Chemnitius' Examen Concilii Tridentini, A.D. 1565. In ecclesia vero Filii Dei, Spiritus Sanctus vult principes terræ non tantum ad politicas et bellicas virtutes formari, sed præcipue vult ipsos erudiri ut serviant Domino in timore, et Filium ipsius, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum a tenera ætate osculari discant (Ps. ii.)

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took upon him the title of "the only supreme head upon earth of the Church of England."

"Albeit (saith the statute[k]) the king's majesty justly, and rightfully is, and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocations; yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same, be it enacted by authority of this present parliament, that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia, and shall have and enjoy, annexed, and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, preeminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend, all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought, or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed,

utque sint benefici miseræ et exulantis ecclesiæ nutrices (Is. xlix.) &c.]

Calvin in Amos, cap. vii. [Qui initio tantopere extulerunt Henricum regem Angliæ, certe fuerunt inconsiderati homines; dederunt illi summam rerum omnium potestatem: et hoc me semper graviter vulneravit; erant enim blasphemi quum vocarent ipsum summum caput ecclesiæ sub Christo. Hoc certe fuit nimium. Sed tamen sepultum hoc maneat, quia peccarunt inconsiderato zelo.—Calvini Prælect. in Amos vii. 13, Op. Theolog., tom. iii. pars ii. p. 282. Geneva, 1617] et in Epist. ad Mycon.

[Mundus hoc habet solenne, quod pro libidine regnare cupit, Christo autem imperium resignare non sustinet. Sed utcunque, &c. . . . forti et invicto zelo pugnemus pro sacra illa potestate, quam inviolabilem esse decet . . . Mosem allegant et Davidem. Quasi vero non aliud muneris habuerint illi duo, quam ut populum civili potestate regerent. Dent igitur nobis insani isti similes magistratus, hoc est, singulari prophetiæ spiritu excellentes . . . nos talibus id quod postulant libenter largiemur . . . Pii alii reges constitutum ordinem tuentur sua potestate, ut decet: ecclesiæ tamen suam jurisdictionem, et sacerdotibus partes illis a Domino attributas relinquunt.—Id. Epist. ad Myconium, (March 14, 1544.) Epist. et Respons., col. 59, 60. Gen. 1617.]

[k] 26 Hen. viii. cap. 1. [An act concerning the king's highness to be supreme head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same, A.D. 1534.]

corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm, any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding."

Sir, I do not doubt, but you are of the same opinion you were of when we discoursed together, viz., that the latter part of this act is exegetical of the former, and that the words of it restrict and limit the sense and intention of it to such a sound Christian sense, as is consistent with the original inherent rights of the Church, which she derives from Christ and His Apostles; and that it was chiefly intended to secure the rights both of Church and State, against the usurped jurisdiction, both temporal and spiritual, which the popes took upon them to exercise in this, as in other kingdoms. I doubt not also but it is your opinion, that this act and all others relating to the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, are to be interpreted in a sense consistent with those other acts of parliament, which confirm the Book of Common Prayer[1] and administration of the Sacraments, and other rights and ceremonies of the Church, according to the Church of England; and the form and manner of making, ordaining and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons. In those offices the sacerdotal power, as distinct from the civil, and derived from Christ, is clearly expressed and asserted. We baptize, and admit into the body of Christ's Church, as our Lord authorized us to do, not in the name of the king, or in the name of king and parliament, but "in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And by the authority of our Lord committed to us, we have power to absolve penitent sinners after this sort[m]: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to His Church to absolve sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences, and by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." I am sure

[1] [13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4. sect. 2. 30, 31, quoted above, vol. i. p. 246, note h.]

[m] [The Order for the Visitation of the Sick.]

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you will acknowledge, that all the kings and senates upon earth cannot give such a power, or take upon them, without sacrilege, to say[n], "Take thou authority to execute the office of a deacon in the Church of God, committed unto thee in the name of the Father," &c. Or[o], "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands; whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of His holy Sacraments, in the name of the Father," &c. Or[p], "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father," &c. To these I might add the epistles and gospels of these offices, and some of the prayers, and the preface to them; in consistency and agreement with which the very oath of supremacy, which every person ordained to any of those holy offices is to take, and by consequence every other act relating to the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, I humbly conceive ought to be interpreted; I mean in a sense which saves, and not which destroys the distinction and difference of the sacerdotal from the civil power, and the spiritual rights and powers which belong to the priesthood of the Christian Church. I may also I hope without offence say, that they are to be explained in a sense agreeable to the injunctions of Edw. VI., 1547, where it is said, that[q] "the office and function of the ministers of the Church is appointed by God;" to the *Articuli per archiepiscopum, episcopos, &c. Cantuariensis provinciæ;* 1584[r]: and

[n] [The Form and Manner of making of Deacons.]

[o] [The Form and Manner of ordering of Priests.]

[p] [The Form of ordaining or consecrating of an Archbishop or Bishop.]

[q] ["Also, whereas many indiscreet persons do at this day uncharitably contemn and abuse priests and ministers of the Church, because some of them (having small learning) have of long time favoured phantasies rather than God's truth; yet forasmuch as their office and function is appointed of God," &c.—Injunctions given by the most excellent prince Edward VI., to all and singular his loving subjects, as well of the clergy as of the laity, &c. (A.D. 1547.) art. 33. Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iv. p. 3.]

[r] [Hickes seems to refer to the articles framed in the convocation which commenced its sittings in 1584. The articles themselves were published March 31, 1585, under the title, Articuli per archiepiscopum, episcopos, et reliquum clerum Cantuarensis provinciæ stabiliti, &c. In the articles the bishops are throughout spoken of as alone possessing the power of ordination and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.—Wilkins, ibid., p. 315. Hickes refers

to Queen Elizabeth's Injunction, 1559, Art. 28[s], where it is likewise declared that "the office and function of the ministers of the Church is appointed by God." All which agrees exactly to the prayers to be said in the ember weeks: "Almighty God, the giver of all good gifts, who of Thy Divine providence hast appointed divers orders in Thy Church, give Thy grace, we humbly beseech Thee, to all those who are to be called to any office and administration in the same." And who they are that have power to admit those who are so called to serve in the sacred ministry, is evident from the other prayer: "Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who hast purchased to Thyself an universal Church by the precious blood of Thy dear Son, mercifully look upon the same, and at this time so guide and govern the minds of Thy servants the bishops and pastors of Thy flock, that they may lay hands suddenly on no man, but faithfully and wisely make choice of fit persons to serve in the sacred ministry of Thy Church; and to those who shall be ordained," &c. Perhaps, Sir, I might also say that they are to be interpreted in a sense consistent with the first article of Charta Magna[t]; for in the books written for the Church during the time of the Great Rebellion, that article was produced, as well as other laws, in her defence. To speak plainly, I believe you think as I do, that the act of supremacy, which was made by Henry VIII.[u], ought to be taken in a sense consistent with the spiritual power of the keys, as it was exercised by the Apostles and their successors in the most pure and primitive times; and with the preamble of 24 Hen. VIII. [c. 12.][v], which was made against appeals to Rome, and as I observed before, distinguishes between the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, and secures their respective rights unto both, against the papal usurpations. This law as I have heard, was not long ago pleaded in court. And Sir Edw. Coke, Instit. part 4. cap. lxxiv., asserts the distinction in

to and argues from these articles in the Prefatory Discourse. See above, vol. i. p. 288. note h.]

[s] [Injunctions given by the queen's majesty, &c. A.D. 1559, art. 28. The injunction simply repeats that of Edward VI., quoted note q, except that it adds the word "fond" before fancies. Wilkins, ibid., p. 185.]

[t] [See vol. i. p. 139, note o.]

[u] [26 Hen. VIII. c. 1, quoted above, p. 354, and Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. p. 226, note k. See the subject discussed in that and the following pages.]

[v] [See above, note l, p. 312.]

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these words[x]; "Of what things the clergy hath spiritual jurisdiction is evident in our books, and particularly in Cawdrey's case, whereof there is no question. And certain it is, that this kingdom hath been best governed, and peace and quiet preserved, when both parties, that is, when the justices of the temporal courts and the ecclesiastical judges, have kept themselves within their proper jurisdictions, without encroaching or usurping one upon another."

But King Hen. VIII. went beyond all these measures, as if after the act of supremacy this distinction had been swallowed up, and an end put to the difference between spiritual and temporal persons and power. For not long after that act was made, he set forth a Latin Bible[y] with this title, *Sacræ Bibliæ tomus primus, in quo continentur quinque Libri Moysis, Libri Josue et Judicum, Liber Psalmorum, Proverbia Salomonis, Liber Sapientiæ, et Novum Testamentum Jesu Christi.* At the end of the book are these words: [*Londini.*] *Excudebat Thomas Bertheletus Regius Impressor, Anno* MDXXXV. *Mense Jul.* In the king's preface, which is inscribed *Pio Lectori* in general, are these following words, the like whereof were never used by any Christian king before[z], and which sound something like those in which the king of Assyria said in his heart, "I will exalt my throne above the stars of God."

Is. 14. 13, 14.

[Thom.]

[Quadru. Ecclesi.]

Nos itaque considerantes id erga Deum officii nostri, quo suscepisse cognoscimur, ut in regno simus sicut anima in corpore, et sol in mundo[a], *utque loco Dei judicium exerceamus in regno nostro, et omnia in potestate habentes quoad jurisdictionem, ipsam etiam Ecclesiam vice Dei sedulo regamus ac*

[x] [The fourth part of the Institutes of the Laws of England: concerning the jurisdiction of courts. Authore Edwardo Coke, milite. J.C. p. 321, 1644. The chapter is, Of ecclesiastical courts, and begins thus: "Where some may doubt, how we that profess the common law should write of ecclesiastical courts which proceed not by the rules of the common laws. To this we answer by good authority in our books that the king's laws of this realm do bound the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts," &c. For Cawdrey's case see below, p. 366, note p.]

[y] This Bible is in the possession of Mr. Humphry Wanley. [See above, note c, p. 268. There is a copy of this Bible in the library of the British Museum, 465, a 1, with which this extract has been collated.]

[z] [Hickes had either not seen the original of this passage, or had overlooked the marginal references, which have been added in the present edition from the Bible of 1535. They will be found to be authorities for applying some of the expressions against which he objects to Christian princes.]

[a] [The expression is still stronger in St. Thomas: "Hoc igitur officium rex se suscepisse cognoscat, ut sit sicut in corpore anima, et sicut Deus in mundo." S. Thom. Aquin. Opuscul. xx. De regimine Principum, c. xii. Op., tom. x. fol. 165, H. Venet., 1593.]

tueamur, et disciplina ejus sive augeatur aut solvatur, nos ei rationem reddituri simus, qui nobis eam credidit[b], *et in eo Dei vicem agentes, Deique habentes imaginem*[c]*: quid aliud vel cogitare vel in animam [tam] inducere potuimus, quam ut eodem confugeremus, ubi certo discendum esset, ne quid aliud vel ipsi faceremus vel faciendum aliis præscriberemus, quam quod ab hac ipsa Dei lege ne vel tranversum quidem digitum aberrare convinci queat.* [Ambrosi, sup. 13. ad Rom.]

But before I proceed farther to observe in what manner this prince exercised his modern supremacy, let me recite what was afterwards enacted by statute 1 Edw. VI., chap. 2. There, Sir, it is enacted and declared, [§ I.] that the election of archbishops and bishops by congé-d'-élire to the dean and chapter should be taken away, as "derogatory and prejudicial to the king's prerogative[d];" that [§ II.] "all authority of jurisdiction, spiritual and temporal, is derived and deducted from the king's majesty as supreme head of the Churches and realms of England and Ireland, and so justly acknowledged by the clergy of the said realms," and accordingly it is enacted, "that all summons, citations or other process ecclesiastical, within the said two realms in all suits, &c. should be made in the name, and with the style of the king, as it is in writs original or judicial at the common law,

[b] [These expressions are from a work entitled Quadruvium Ecclesiæ, quatuor prælatorum officium quibus omnis anima subjicitur, by Joannes Hugo de Sletstat, vicarius parochiæ Sancti Stephani Argentin. Par. 1509.—Omnia sunt in potestate imperatoris; quoad jurisdictionem et defensionem. fol. xlii. 2.—Ipsis namque principibus a Christo ecclesia Dei est commissa, ut eam tueantur et defendant, et sive augeatur pax et disciplina ecclesiæ per fideles principes, sive solvatur, ille ab eis rationem exigit qui eorum potestati suam ecclesiam credidit committendam. Cognoscant ergo principes seculi Deo se debere rationem esse reddituros propter ecclesiam, &c.—Ibid., fol. lxxv. 2. The first passage is an extract from the gloss on the Decretum, Pars 2. Causa xxiii. Quæstio viii. c. 21; it refers only to jurisdiction in temporal things.

[c] [Principi . . . qui vicem Dei agit . . . Pseudo-Ambros. Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. xiii. 6 . . . Principes . . . Dei habentes imaginem . . . Id. in ver. 3. Op. S. Ambros., tom. ii. App. col. 99. c, A.]

[d] [The words of the act are, "Forasmuch as the elections of the archbishops and bishops by the deans and chapters within the king's majesty's realms of England and Ireland at this present time be as well to the long delay as to the great costs and charges of such persons as the king's majesty giveth any archbishoprick or bishoprick unto: and whereas the said elections be in very deed no elections, but only by a writ of congé-d'-élire have colours, shadows, or pretences of elections, serving nevertheless to no purpose, and seeming also derogatory and prejudicial to the king's prerogative royal, to whom only appertaineth the collation and gift of all archbishopricks and bishopricks and suffragan bishops within his highness' said realms," &c. —Preamble of the Act, 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.]

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and that the teste thereof be in the name of the archbishop, or bishop, or other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, who hath the commission or grant of the authority ecclesiastical immediately from the king's highness, and that his commissary, &c. shall put his name in the citation or process after the teste." And § IV., it is also enacted, that all ecclesiastical persons, "who have the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall have [in their seal of office] the king's highness' arms decently set, with certain characters under the arms, for the knowledge of the diocese, and shall use no other seal of jurisdiction, but wherein his majesty's arms be engraven." But then again there is a proviso in § VI., by which certain cases are excepted, wherein the archbishop and bishop may use their own seals[e], which had this good effect, to help to keep up the distinction between the spiritual and temporal authority or jurisdiction, though that as well as this was declared to be deducted and derived from the king as supreme head of the Church.

SECT. VII. Henry's exercise of the supremacy; the objection from law considered.

VII. Sir, this derivation of the original of spiritual power from kings is a new discovery, not known or understood by former ages; and I presume you will grant there is nothing like it in what I have produced in this letter out of ancient Christian writers. But however, without any retrospection to old principles, the king's ecclesiastical supremacy in virtue of these laws was put in ure, and exercised to such a height, and in such a degree, as many then thought, and some think at this day is not to be reconciled with the spiritual supremacy of Christ in His kingdom upon earth, and the most solemn commission He gave to His Apostles, and in them to their successors, in His last words a little before He ascended into heaven.

King Henry VIII. was so fond of it that he caused a golden medal to be struck "with his effigies half faced in his usual bonnet, furred gown, and invaluable collar of rubies,

[e] [The exceptions are as follows: "Provided always, &c., that the archbishop of Canterbury, &c., shall use his own seal and in his own name in all faculties and dispensations . . . . . and that the said archbishop and bishops shall make, admit, order, and reform the chancellor's officials, &c., and commissions to suffragan bishops in their own names under their own seals . . . . and shall certify to the court of tenths their certificates under their own name and seals . . . . and likewise shall make collations, presentations, gifts, institutions, and inductions of benefices, letters of orders, or dimissories under their own names and seals as they have heretofore accustomed."—Ibid. § 6.]

which was since sold abroad, to give the royal family bread[f]." I have caused it to be engraven in the Appendix, Number 3, as it is done according to Dr. Sloane's original[g] in the eighty-eighth page of Mr. Evelyn's Numismata, printed in folio, London, 1697. The legenda take up a double circle. In the outward circle HENRICUS OCTA. ANGLIÆ. FRANCI. ET HIB. REX. [FIDEI . DEFENSOR . ET.] within the inner, IN TERR. ECCLE. ANGLI. ET HIBE. SUB. CHRIST. CAPUT. SUPREMUM. In these circles the rose, portcluse, fleur-de-lis, and harp, are crowned. On the reverse,

H. R.

האינריכוש
שמיני ג מלך באמונה
[h] גון ובעדת אנגליאי
והיבירניאי מתחת מישיח
ראש עליון

ΕΝΡΙΚΟΣ Ο ΟΓΔΟΟΣ ΤΡΙΣ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΠΡΟ-
ΣΤΑΤΗΣ. ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ
ΤΗΣ ΑΓΓΛΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΒΕΡΝΙ-
ΑΣ. ΥΠΟ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ. ΑΚΡΗ
* Η. ΚΕΦΑΛΗ. *

Londoni. 1545.

Thus, Sir, triumphed this king in his new style and title,

f [This passage is extracted from Evelyn's work entitled, Numismata; A Discourse of Medals, &c. by J. Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S., London, 1697, p. 88. In a collection of letters from Sir Edward Nicholas to King Charles I., with the king's answers written in the margin, which were in Evelyn's possession, is one dated Sept. 10, 1641, on the opposite page of which is the reply in the king's handwriting, dated Eden. 16, (Edinburgh, Sept. 16,) in these words: "I co'mand you to draw up anie such warrant, as my Wyfe shall direct you for the disposing of the Great Collar of Rubies that is in Holland, and tell her how I have directed you to wait her co'mands in this: and that I am confident of your secrecie in this, and anie thing else, that I shall trust you with. C. R." See the Correspondence appended to Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. ii. p 19, marg., 1819. Henrietta Maria was then in land; it may be conjectured that rubies had been conveyed by her mother, who had just left England for Holland. See Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 20. She herself went over to Holland, Feb. 16. in the next year with jewels on which she borrowed large sums of money; in the account of monies so raised, (see Memoirs of Henrietta Maria, London, 1671,) the item occurs, To Weltster six rubies 40,000 gilders. The jewels at this time were disposed of not "to give the royal family bread," but to raise money for the wars in Scotland and Ireland in 1641, and in England in 1642.]

g [This medal is now in the collection at the British Museum.]

h [The letters on the medal appear to be these, as on the fac-simile in the Appendix (Number 3) of the third edition, and in Evelyn's work; perhaps the word intended was גנן, 'protecting;' in the third edition the word סגן, 'a governor,' was substituted in this place, unless it were a misprint for מגן, 'a shield.']

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from whence he derived his ecclesiastical supremacy, making an inscription of it in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, as Pilate did that over our Lord upon the Cross, THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS. I never yet heard any man talk of this medal but who made this observation, viz., that King Henry crucified the Church, as Pilate did her Saviour, with the solemnity of three superscriptions; and I have so much respect for his memory, because he delivered us from the Pope's supremacy, as to wish he had given less occasion for such a severe but obvious reflection, by exercising his ecclesiastical supremacy with more moderation to the pleasure and honour of God, and the conservation and benefit of the Church. But he presently proceeded to excess; for "the first exercise of his supremacy," as supreme head of the Church, "was naming Cromwell his vicar-general, and general visitor of all the monasteries and other privileged places[i]," longing to get their treasures and lands, which by the just judgment of God did not prosper with him, who of a member would be the head of the Church.

The next was his making him "lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters[j], by which he had authority over the bishops, and precedence next the royal family, being clothed with a complete delegation of all the king's new power in ecclesiastical affairs." From this supremacy it also proceeded that Cromwell was made dean of Wells[k], and that "other secular men had prebendaries and benefices without cure conferred upon them" in the reign of Edward VI.[l] From this

[i] Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, part i. book iii. p. 181. [fol. ed. 1679. "The first act of the king's supremacy was his naming Cromwell his vicar-general," &c.]

[j] [The passage quoted in the last paragraph continues thus; "This is commonly confounded with his following dignity of lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters; but they were two different places, and held by different commissions. By the one he had no authority over the bishops, nor had he any precedence; but the other, as it gave him precedence next the royal family, so it clothed him with a complete delegation of the king's whole power in ecclesiastical affairs. For two years he was only vicar-general. But the tenor of his commissions and the nature of the power devolved on him by them, cannot be fully known, for neither the one nor the other are in the Rolls," &c.—Burnet, ibid.]

[k] History of the Reformation, part ii. book i. pp. 7, 8. [See further on this point the act of Cromwell's attainder. "Provided always and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act of attainder, ne any offence, ne anything therein contained, extend not unto the deanery of Wells in the county of Somerset, nor to any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments thereunto belonging."—The Attainder of Thomas Cromwell. Burnet, ibid., part i. book iii. Records, No. 16. p. 192.]

[l] [At the beginning of his history of Edward's reign, Burnet says; "Henry VIII. having at the suit of Sir Edward

rigorously exercised supremacy, which our princes have since explained into a sounder sense, it also proceeded that bishops were forced to take out commissions for their bishoprics from the king to hold them only during his pleasure, and to exercise their episcopal office as his delegates, in his name and by his authority[m]. In these commissions "all jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as secular, is said to flow from the king, as supreme head, and that the bishops were his commissioners and vicegerents, and licensed by him to ordain priests, and to admit them to spiritual cures, to keep their courts, visit, inflict spiritual censures, and finally, do all things that any way belonged to the episcopal authority and jurisdiction." Sir, pray consider as you read the following words, if they are for the honour or "pleasure of Almighty God," or well consistent with the original rights of the Church: *Quandoquidem omnis jurisdicendi authoritas, atque etiam jurisdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ ecclesiastica dicitur*

North promised to give the earl of Hertford six of the best prebends that should fall in any cathedral, except deaneries and treasurerships; at his suit he agreed that a deanery and treasurership should be instead of two of the six prebendaries"... afterwards... "It may perhaps seem strange that the earl of Hertford had six good prebends promised him; two of these being afterwards converted into a deanery and treasurership. But it was ordinary at that time; Lord Cromwell had been dean of Wells, and many other secular men had these ecclesiastical benefices without cure conferred upon them."—Burnet, ibid. The observation refers to Henry's reign rather than Edward's.]

[m] [Burnet says, "Bonner took a strange commission from the king on the 12th of November this year (1539) ... whether the other bishops took such commissions from the king I know not. But I am certain there is none such in Cranmer's Register; and it is not likely, if any such had been taken out by him, that ever it would have been razed. The commission itself will be found in the collection of papers at the end. The substance of it is, 'That, since all jurisdiction both ecclesiastical and civil, flowed from the king as supreme head, and he was the foundation of all power; . . therefore the king, upon Bonner's petition, did empower him in his own stead, to ordain such as he found worthy, to present and give institution, with all the other parts of episcopal authority, for which he is duly commissioned: and this to last during the king's pleasure only.' ... After he had taken this commission, Bonner might well have been called one of the king's bishops."] History of the Reformation, part i. book iii. p. 267. [The commission itself is printed, under the title Licentia regis concessa Domino Episcopo ad exercendam jurisdictionem episcopalem; with the reference Regist. Bonner. fol. primo.] Collection of Records, No. 14, p. 184. [Burnet again, in speaking of the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., says, "The bishops were required to take out new commissions of the same form with those they had taken out in King Henry's time, (for which see p. 267 of the former part,) only with this difference, that there is no mention of a vicar-general in these commissions as there was in the former, there being none after Cromwell advanced to that dignity. Two of these commissions are yet extant, one taken out by Cranmer, the other by Bonner. But this was only done by reason of the present juncture, &c. ... Cranmer set an example to the rest, and took out his commission, which is in the collection." —See Collection of Records, ibid., No. 2. p. 90.]

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quam secularis, a regia potestate velut a supremo capite, [et omnium infra regnum nostrum magistratuum fonte et scaturigine] . . . primitus emanavit . . . [Quum itaque] nos perdilectum commissarium nostrum Thomam Cromwell, &c. . . . . nostrumque, ad quascunque causas ecclesiasticas nostra authoritate, uti supremi capitis dictæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, quomodolibet tractandas sive ventilandas, vicemgerentem, vicarium generalem [. . . constituerimus et præfecerimus. Quia tamen ipse Thomas Cromwell nostris et hujus regni Angliæ tot et tam arduis negotiis adeo præpeditus extitit, quod ad omnem jurisdictionem nobis uti supremo capiti hujusmodi competentem, ubique locorum infra hoc regnum nostrum præfatum, in his quæ moram commode non patiuntur, aut sine nostrorum subditorum injuria differri non possunt, in sua persona expediendis non sufficiet,] Nos tibi (episcopo) vices nostras sub modo et forma inferius descriptis committendas fore, teque licentiandum esse decernimus, ad ordinandum [igitur quoscunque infra Dioc. tuam London. ubicunque oriundos, &c. . . . ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordines promovendos, &c.] et alia quæcumque authoritatem et jurisdictionem episcopalem quovismodo respicienda et concernenda, præter et ultra ea quæ tibi ex sacris literis commissa esse dignoscantur, vice, nomine et authoritate nostra exequendum tibi tenore præsentium committimus [ac liberam facultatem concedimus]. In this form of commission the two kings successively took upon them almost the whole power of the keys, and the power of licensing bishops to ordain priests, and instituting and inducting them to their spiritual cures, and that clause *præter et ultra ea, &c.*, which seems to except some spiritual power, it may be that of absolving penitents and administering the holy Sacraments, yet in effect excepts nothing if you consult the whole tenor of the commission, especially those words of it wherein it is declared that those bishops[n], "who had formerly exercised their power precariously ought thankfully to acknowledge that they had it only from the king's bounty, and to declare that they would

[n] [After the words, primitus emanavit, in the commission quoted above, follows the clause, Sane illos qui jurisdictionem hujusmodi antehac non nisi precario fungebantur, beneficium hujusmodi sic eis ex liberalitate regia indultum gratis animis agnoscere, idque regiæ munificentiæ solummodo acceptum referre, eique, quotiens ejus majestati videbitur, libenter concedere convenit. —Burnet, part i. book iii. Collection of Records, No. 14, p. 184.]

cheerfully surrender it to him again whensoever he should require them to do it." Thus did two of our kings, without example, the one out of pride and ambition, the other in nonage and ignorantly, set themselves in the throne of our Lord. And the bishops of the Church of England in those two reigns before and after the Reformation, overawed through human weakness by terrible penalties, gave up the cause of Christ and the Church, for which they ought to have died martyrs, and by their compliance have left a blot upon their memories which no apology can wipe off, unless it be that humble one of father Paul, who with sorrow said, "God has not given me Luther's spirit." Their compliance brought a blemish upon the Church, which our adversaries, making no allowance for human frailty, seldom fail to put us in mind of, with insolence enough, as often as they have occasion, without any reflection, and sometimes when they have none at all. And from that rigid practice of this new ecclesiastical supremacy in those reigns it hath also proceeded in great part that the true notion of the Church, as of a society distinct from the world, and all the temporal kingdoms of it, and of her spiritual power and authority invested by Christ in His ministers, hath been too much forgotten and neglected among us, to the great dishonour of God, the unspeakable damage of religion, and contempt of the Church and clergy, which are every day more and more insulted by every vile mescroyant, and every blaspheming tongue and pen. I must here beg leave again to tell you, without offence, that the opinions, judgments, and cases written by some gentlemen of your profession, have not a little contributed to the perplexing of that plain primitive notion of the Church and the ecclesiastical power. You will easily imagine I have Sir Edward Coke's Fifth Part of Reports in my eye, from whom I have heard you and some other excellent lawyers assert that by the statute made in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, whereby there is given to her and her successors[o] "all power and jurisdiction ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual and ecclesiastical power hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be executed, with full power and authority to assign, name, or authorize any person or persons, being

[o] [Coke's Reports, part v. fol. 1, 1605, vol. iii. p. 16. London, 1826.]

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natural born subjects, to exercise and execute any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, and jurisdiction." I say I have heard you and other lawyers affirm that this statute "was not introductory of a new law, but only declaratory of an old one; so that if that act had never been made, yet the queen had had that authority, and might have given it to whom she thought fit[p]." But, Sir, I leave it to your second thoughts to consider if this late doctrine, which affirms that the spiritual or ecclesiastical power belongs to our kings and queens as such, and by consequence is inherent in the crown, be agreeable to the preamble before mentioned of 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 12[q], or to the favourable sense and intendment of 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1, as restricted by the words at the latter end of it[r], or to the king's ecclesiastical supremacy as it hath been explained by our kings and queens since that time, or by other persons by their consent or permission, as I have hereafter observed[s], in a sense not contrary to the original and inherent power of the Church. Nay, I beseech you to consider if it is reconcileable to the sense and language of former ages of Christianity, and the doctrines, reasonings, and authorities which I have produced out of the best Christian writers. For if it be inherent in the crown, then, as I conceive, it must belong to it, whether it be Christian or not Christian; and when it is Christian, it also matters not in what sense it is so, or of what sort or kind of Christians, kings and queens, and let me add, sovereign states shall be; for according to your opinion, if I mistake not, they may execute all ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction without any new law; but if it be not so inherent in the crown, then I pray you to consider

p [Coke, ibid., fol. 8. (pp. 26, 27, ed. 1826,) "declaratory of the old," are the words of Coke. This was a part of the decision of the judges in Cawdrey's case, with which the fifth part of Coke's reports De jure regis ecclesiastico, (of the king's ecclesiastical law,) begins. Term. Hil. Eliz. 33. Robert Cawdrey, clerk, brought an action for a trespass on the rectorial property at Northlaffenham against George Alton. It was denied that Cawdrey was parson, as having been deprived by ecclesiastical commissioners appointed by the queen, and so arose the question on which the judgment above was given unanimously by the judges. Coke, (fol. 9,) after some other arguments, gives instances of the exercise of such a power by our kings, from Kenulph, A.D. 755, downwards.]

q [See above, note l, p. 312.]

r [The words referred to are, "which . . . may lawfully be reformed, &c. most to the pleasure of Almighty God," &c. See above, p. 355.]

s [See below, chap. 2, sectt. 2, 3, and the Prefatory Discourse, vol. i. pp. 228, sqq.]

how much wrong the Church of God may come to suffer by that doctrine, when it is taught and received in a Christian kingdom or state.

This, and other assertions of Sir Edward Coke are in my humble opinion thoroughly refuted in a book entitled, "An Answer to the Fifth Part of Reports lately set forth by Sir Edward Coke, knight[t]," printed 1606. Sir Edward, then attorney-general, never made any reply to it, but only in a preface before the Sixth Part of his Reports, which I believe you will think scarce deserves the name of a reply[u], or that it is worthy of Sir Edward's mighty name. His adversary did not fail to return him, I think, a full and solid answer to what he hath said in that preface, in the eighth chapter of his answer to Mr. Thomas Moreton, entituled, "A quiet and sober reckoning with Mr. Thomas Moreton[x]," which was

[t] [On the title-page of this book was added "by a Catholic Divine." The author was Robert Parsons, the Jesuit. On the back of the title-page the question is thus stated: "The state of the controversy discussed throughout this work . . . The question is, whether this authority and spiritual jurisdiction were conform to the ancient laws of England in former times, or not; and whether it were a statute not introductory of a new law, but declaratory only of an old, so as if the said act had never been made, yet the queen had had that authority, and might have given it to others, as she did? M. Attorney holdeth the affirmative part, and the Catholic divine the negative."]

[u] [This reply is in an address "to the reader." Coke declines to reply to Parsons' book, first, because of the temper in which it is written; secondly, that he himself "dealt only with the municipal laws of England," in which he found Parsons "utterly ignorant," &c. "For his divinity, and histories cited by him, (he says,) I will not answer, for then I should follow him in his error, and depart from the state of the question, whose only object is the municipal laws of this realm." There is an allusion to the controversy in the preface to part viii. vol. iv. (p. vi. ed. 1826,) but only intimating that the defenders of the opposite views ran the risk of involving themselves in a præmunire.]

[x] [The chapter here referred to is headed, "A piece of reckoning with Sir Edward Coke." It is introduced by the way into this book, which was a reply to Morton, afterwards bishop of Durham. Morton had, in 1606, sent out an "exact Discovery of Romish doctrine in the case of conspiracy and Rebellion, by pregnant observation." It was replied to in a work entitled, "A just and moderate answer to the Discovery, &c.," without place or date. Morton rejoined in a book called "A Full satisfaction concerning a double Romish iniquity, heinous rebellion, and more than heathenish equivocation. Lond. 1606." To this Parsons' work, published in 1607, entitled, "A Treatise tending to mitigation towards Catholic subjects in England against the seditious writings of Thomas Morton and others, by P. R., was a reply. Morton in answer sent out "A preamble unto an encounter with P. R., the author of the deceitful treatise of mitigation, &c. 1608;" and Parsons rejoined in the work referred to in the text, of which the full title is "A quiet and sober reckoning with Mr. Thomas Morton concerning imputations of wilful falsities objected to the said T. M. in a treatise of P. R. entituled of Mitigation:" at the bottom of the title-page of which is added, "There is also adjoined a piece of a reckoning with Sir Edward Coke, now lord chief justice of the common pleas, &c. Permissu superiorum. Lond. 1609."]

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printed in 1609. Nor hath any lawyer that I have heard of, since replied to either of those answers in the defence of that great man. And, if it were not presumption in a man of my profession, I would recommend them to your reading, for better information in this controversy, which however it hath been long laid asleep, I take to be of greater moment and importance to Christianity, than most men seem to think it is. I must acknowledge there are two great errors in them, whereof one is, that the author being a Roman Catholic, makes the pope and papal hierarchy, exclusive of all others, the governing Church, contrary to all sound doctrine and tradition; and the other is, that he endeavours to exempt the persons and goods of the clergy from the temporal powers and your tribunals, asserting that when they offend against temporal laws, they are first to be judged and condemned by the ecclesiastical judges, and not before to be delivered up to the secular power to inflict upon them the punishment of the temporal laws; which are intolerable usurpations of the Church in any Christian State, and contrary to that code of canons which Pope Adrian I. sent to Charles the Great under the name of *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ*[y].

SECT. VIII. The objection from Scripture considered.

VIII. I have now I think, fully answered the first objection, except that I have not yet said any thing to the text Matt. xx. 25—27, which you thought did not favour the calling bishops lords. But that text and the whole context, only shews the differences that were to be between spiritual

[y] [The body of canons referred to by Hickes is a collection of the canons of the Eastern and African councils, given by Adrian I. to Charlemagne, A.D. 773, as the canons received by the Western Church. They were printed at Mayence in 1525, and again at Paris in 1609, under the title Codex Canonum Vetus Ecclesiæ Romanæ. An epitome is given in the collections of councils. (Concilia, tom. viii. col. 565, sqq.) Hickes' statement does not seem quite accurate. The following passage from Thorndike's work "Of the Forbearance or Penalties which a due Reformation requires," may have been his authority. Thorndike says, (c. 23, p. 119,) "If it be said that it is not visible when those usurpations took place, I shall allow all the time which that code of the canons contains, which Pope Adrian sent to Charles the Great; in whose time there can be no pretence of usurpations upon the temporalties of princes by the see of Rome. That code is yet read, under the name of Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ." The observation refers not to the special instance of usurpation referred to by Hickes, but to "usurpations upon the temporalties of princes by the see of Rome" generally; and they are not so correctly said to be "contrary to that code," as not to be contemplated by it. The Canons do not appear to have been sent by Pope Adrian under this name; it is that with which they were printed in the sixteenth century.]

and temporal princes: "But it shall not be so among you, as among the princes of the Gentiles, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister, and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant;" after My example, who, though I am a King, and have a kingdom, and am exalted above all principalities and powers, and even King of kings, and Lord of lords, yet "I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and give My life a ransom for many." Wherefore as this place supposes Christ to be a King, though not of such a nature as temporal kings are: so it supposes the Apostles to be princes under Him, though princes of another intention and very unlike the princes of the earth. The very name of an Apostle is a name of grandeur, and honour, and princely trust, as I shewed before out of St. Chrysostom[z]. For what can be more great and honourable upon earth, than to be legate and vicegerent of our Lord in heaven, who sits at God's right hand, who "hath given Him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow," and of whom He hath said by the prophet David, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy kingdom?" As His Father sent Him, so sent He them, and by virtue of their mission they acted and transacted with men in His name, which made St. Hierome write on these words[a], "Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ:" "On this manner he begins with the authority of that name and office for your sakes, to whom he was to write;" and upon Titus 1, saith he[b], "Styling himself the Apostle of Jesus Christ, it seems such a way of speaking as *Præfectus Prætorio Augusti Cæsaris, Magister exercitus Tiberii Imperatoris.* For as the judges of this world, that they may seem the more noble, take names from the kings they serve, and from the dignity of the office unto which they are ex-

ver. 28.

Ps. 45. 6.

[z] [See above, pp. 315, sqq.]

[a] [*Paulus Apostolus Jesu Christi.* Auctoritas et nominis et officii prænotatur, propter eos quibus erat responsurus.—Pseudo-Hierom. Comment. in 1 Ep. ad Tim. i. 1. ap. S. Hieronym. Op., tom. xi. col. 1043, A.]

[b] [Porro quod ait: *Apostolus autem Jesu Christi*, tale mihi videtur, quale si dixisset, Præfectus Prætorio Augusti Cæsaris, Magister Exercitus Tiberii Imperatoris. Ut enim judices sæculi hujus quo nobiliores esse videantur, ex regibus quibus serviunt, et ex dignitate qua intumescunt, vocabula sortiuntur: ita et Apostolus grandem inter Christianos sibi vindicans dignitatem, Apostolum se Christi titulo prænotavit, ut ex ipsa lecturos nominis auctoritate terreret: indicans omnes qui in Christo crederent, debere sibi esse subjectos.—S. Hieron. Comment. in Epist. ad Titum i. 1. Op., tom. vii. col. 688, C, D; 689, A.]

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alted; so the Apostle, challenging to himself great authority among Christians, did signify beforehand that he was the Apostle of Christ, that by the authority of the name he might create reverence in his readers, and thereby shew that all believers in Christ ought to be subject to him." And as Apostle, so is Bishop a name of no less honour and dignity, for Christ under God is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, and as He deputed that trust and office to the Apostles, so they, and He by them, committed it to their successors. He is our High-Priest in heaven, and they under Him our high-priests upon earth. Nay, they represent Him both as king and priest; in both these capacities they preside over us, and in the former they are no less than His viceroys in the several principalities of His kingdom. To this purpose speaks an author who lived in the time of King Henry I. or King Henry II., (who both had differences with the archbishops of Canterbury, Anselm and Becket,) and as it were arbitrates the difference between both parties in a book intituled as in the margin[c], which he dedicates *Henrico Regi Anglorum gloriosissimo,* and as far as he then could, favours the king's side. He shews himself to have been a learned man for those dark times, and well versed in the Latin fathers, and thus he writes: *Nam et regalem dignitatem habere sanctæ scripturæ testimonio videtur episcopus. Ait enim Dominus Jesus Christus Apostolis suis eorumque sequacibus: 'Ego dispono vobis, sicut disposuit mihi Pater meus regnum.' Et Apostolus: 'Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium.' . . . . Vices enim Christi filii Dei summi in terra videtur obtinere . . . . unde inter nos et Deum mediator debet existere. Ipse est sanctus sanctorum, clericorum scilicet ac presbyterorum, quibus omnibus eminet, ac præcellit. Hic est ecclesiæ sponsus, hic Christi vicarius. . . Honorandi igitur sunt omnes episcopi, sicut regni cœlestis clavicularii,* &c. [lib. i.] cap. 9. p. 34[d].—*Nunc autem sanctorum prophetarum vicem in ecclesia Christi retinent sacerdotes. Sic enim Dominus ad ipsam loquitur* [*per Isaiam Prophetam*]: *'Ecce cônstituam principes tuos sicut antea, et*

[c] Hugonis Floriacensis Tractatus de Regia Potestate, et Sacerdotali Dignitate. In Miscellaneorum Steph. Baluzii libro quarto. Parisiis, 1683. [tom. ii. ed. Lucæ. 1761. It was to King Henry the First that the tract was addressed. See vol. i. p. 332, note s.]

[d] [Hugon. Floriac. &c., p. 189. col. ii. ed. 1761.]

consiliarios tuos sicut ab initio.' Et Psalmista: 'Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii; constitues eos principes super omnem terram.' Igitur regiam et sacerdotalem dignitatem Deus in terra ordinavit, &c.[e]

This indeed is an author of popish times; but long before the beginning of popery they spoke of bishops in this manner, as of spiritual lords. Not to repeat what was cited above, out of the twentieth chapter of the second book of the Apostolical Constitutions[f], the title of which is this, *ὅπως χρὴ τοὺς ἀρχομένους πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐπισκόποις,* "How the subjects (of the Church) ought to obey their governors the bishops:" in that chapter we read thus[g]: "Let the layman honour, love, and fear a good shepherd as his lord, and despot, and the high-priest of his God, and his preceptor in religion. For he that hears him, hears Christ; and he that doth not obey him doth not obey Christ, and he that doth not receive Christ, doth not receive His Father, as it is written, 'He that heareth you heareth Me, and he that despiseth you despiseth Me, and he that despiseth Me, despiseth Him that sent Me.'" The first of those titles, *κύριος,* is a title of great dignity, both in its secular and sacred signification. In its secular signification, it is used to denote the emperor[h]; and in its sacred signification, it is given to God and to Christ, whose legates and vicegerents the bishops are, and to the Holy Ghost[i], whose dispensers they are. In like manner *δεσπότης* is a title of God, and the emperor, and his regal relations, and the great princes, and magistrates under the emperor in the Greek writers; and upon the principles I have laid down, they were given to the bishops upon the score of their great spiritual dignity and pre-eminence in the kingdom of God and Christ, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords. Thus Arius begins his letter to Eusebius

Jude 4.

[e] [Ibid., p. 193. col. i.]

[f] [See above, pp. 305, sqq. This chapter, however, is not quoted there.]

[g] [*τὸν μέντοι ποιμένα τὸν ἀγαθὸν ὁ λαϊκὸς τιμάτω, ἀγαπάτω, φοβείσθω ὡς κύριον, ὡς δεσπότην, ὡς ἀρχιερέα θεοῦ, ὡς διδάσκαλον εὐσεβείας. ὁ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀκούων Χριστοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸν ἀθετῶν Χριστὸν ἀθετεῖ, καὶ ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ δεχόμενος οὐ δέχεται τὸν αὐτοῦ θεὸν καὶ πατέρα· ὁ ὑμῶν γάρ, φησιν, ἀκούων, ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ὑμᾶς ἀθετῶν, ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ, καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν, ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.*—Const. Apost., lib. ii. c. 20. Concilia, tom. i. col. 248, A, B.]

[h] [See Acts xxv. 26. *περὶ οὗ ἀσφαλές τι γράψαι τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἔχω.*]

[i] [See 2 Cor. iii. 18. *καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος.*]

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bishop of Nicomedia[j]: "Arius unjustly persecuted by Alexander my bishop, to my most desired lord Eusebius."

The same Eusebius, writing to Paulinus bishop of Tyre, begins thus[k]: "Eusebius sendeth greeting in Christ, *τῷ δεσπότῃ μου*, to my lord (or despot) Paulinus;" this shews what the custom was before the council of Nice. Not long after which the bishops who came out of Egypt with Athanasius, inscribed a letter to the bishops assembled at Tyre[l], "To our most honourable lords." The synod of Jerusalem in their letter to the clergy of Egypt and Lybia, tell them[m], "they could never be thankful enough to God, who had restored unto them their pastor and lord, Athanasius." So Valens and Ursacius, writing to Julius bishop of Rome in their own vindication, thus address to him[n], "To the most blessed lord Pope Julius." Where I must observe to you, that *Papa* was then a title common to all bishops. Gregory Nazianzen, in a letter to Gregory Nyssen, hath these words[o], "Let no man speak untruth of me, nor of my lords the bishops." And St. Chrysostom superscribes his letter to Pope Innocent[p], *τῷ δεσπότῃ μου Ἰννοκεντίῳ*, "To my lord (or despot) Innocent, peace in the Lord." *Palladii Dialog.*, p. 10. In the same epistle mentioning several bishops, he calls them[q] *τοὺς κυρίους μου τιμιωτάτους*, "my most honourable lords." And a letter of George, bishop of Laodicea, hath this superscription[r], "To

[j] [Ἀρείου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Εὐσέβιον τὸν Νικομηδείας ἐπίσκοπον. κυρίῳ ποθεινοτάτῳ, ἀνθρώπῳ θεοῦ, πιστῷ, ὀρθοδόξῳ Εὐσεβίῳ, Ἄρειος ὁ διωκόμενος ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πάπα ἀδίκως διὰ τὴν πάντα νικῶσαν ἀλήθειαν.—Theodoret. Hist. Eccl., lib. i. cap. 5. tom. iii. p. 22.]

[k] [Εὐσεβίου ἐπισκόπου Νικομηδείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Παυλῖνον ἐπίσκοπον Τύρου. τῷ δεσπότῃ μου Παυλίνῳ, Εὐσέβιος ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.—Id. ibid.; cap. 6. p. 23.]

[l] [τοῖς ἐν Τύρῳ συνελθοῦσιν ἐπισκόποις, κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις, οἱ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου σὺν Ἀθανασίῳ ἐλθόντες τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.—ap. S. Athanas. Apolog. contra Arianos, § ii. Op., tom. i. pars i. p. 193, D.]

[m] [ἡ ἅγια σύνοδος ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις συναχθεῖσα, τοῖς ἐν Αἰγυπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρεσβυτέροις, κ.τ.λ. κατ' ἀξίαν τῷ τῶν ὅλων θεῷ εὐχαριστεῖν οὐκ ἀρκοῦμεν ἀγαπητοί, ἐφ' οἷς θαυμασίοις ἐποίησε πάντοτε, ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ νῦν μετὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐκκλησίας, τὸν ποιμένα ὑμῶν καὶ κύριον καὶ συλλειτουργὸν ἡμῶν Ἀθανάσιον ἀπωδοὺς ὑμῖν.]—Sozomen. Eccl. Hist., lib. iii. cap. 22. [Hist. Eccl., tom. ii. p. 127.]

[n] [ὁμολογία Οὐάλεντος καὶ Οὐρσακίου τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντων, πρὸς τὸν Ῥώμης, ὡς ψευδῆ κατεῖπον Ἀθανασίου ... τῷ κυρίῳ μακαριωτάτῳ πάπᾳ Ἰουλίῳ, Οὐρσάκιος καὶ Οὐάλης.—Ibid., c. 23. p. 128.]

[o] [ἡμῶν δὲ μηδεὶς καταψευδέσθω, παρακαλῶ, μηδὲ τῶν κυρίων τῶν ἐπισκόπων.—S. Greg. Naz. Epist. clxxxii. ad S. Greg. Nyssen. Op., tom. ii. p. 149, A.]

[p] [τῷ δεσπότῃ μου αἰδεσίμῳ καὶ ὁσιωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰννοκεντίῳ Ἰωάννης ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.—Palladii vita S. Chrysost. Op., tom. xii. p. 5, A.]

[q] [ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἐνομίσαμεν τοὺς κυρίους μου τιμιωτάτους καὶ εὐλαβεστάτους ἐπισκόπους Δημήτριον, κ.τ.λ. πεῖσαι.—Id. ibid., B.]

[r] [κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις, Μακεδονίῳ,

my most honourable lords Macedonius, Basilius, Cecropius, Eugenius, George sendeth greeting in the Lord." The bishops of the second general council[s], "To the most honourable lords Damasus, Ambrose," &c. In a synodical epistle sent by the bishops who met in a council in Illyricum, to the bishops of Asia, Phrygia, Cataphrygia, and Pacatiana[t], they style Elpidius bishop of Illyricum, by whom they sent the letter, *τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργον*, "Elpidius our lord and fellow minister;" so they also style Eustathius bishop of Sebastia. And the same Eustathius, Silvanus bishop of Tarsus, and Theophilus bishop of Castabala, in the inscription of their letter to Pope Liberius write thus[u]: "Eustathius, &c. send greeting in the Lord, to our lord, and brother, and fellow minister Liberius." So St. Ambrose, holding a synod with other bishops, wrote a synodical epistle to Siricius bishop of Rome, which Aper, a presbyter, subscribed for his bishop in these words[x]; "At the commandment of my lord bishop Geminianus." In the third tome of *Bibliotheca Patrum*, edit. 4[y], may be seen abundance of letters inscribed to bishops with the title of lord, which were written towards the end of the fifth century; which they who have not those volumes, may see collected, lib. xvi. cap. 1. of Dr. John Forbes' *Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ*[z]. Clodoveus, king of France, so in-

Βασιλείῳ, Κεκροπίῳ, Εὐγενίῳ, Γεώργιος ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.] — Sozomen. Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 13. [tom. ii. p. 147.]

[s] [κυρίοις τιμιωτάτοις καὶ εὐλαβεστάτοις ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς, Δαμάσῳ, Ἀμβροσίῳ, κ.τ.λ. . . . ἡ ἅγια σύνοδος τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων, τῶν συνεληλυθότων ἐν τῇ μεγαλῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.—Theodoret., lib. v. c. 9. Hist. Eccl., tom. iii. p. 203.]

[t] [συνοδικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἰλλυρικῷ συναχθείσης συνόδου περὶ τῆς πίστεως. οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπισκόποις διοικήσεως Ἀσιανῆς, Φρυγίας, Καροφρυγίας, Πακατιανῆς ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν. ἀναγκὴν οὖν ἔχομεν, πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργὸν Ἐλπίδιον ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλευούσης Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. And so again twice in the following page.] —Id. ibid., lib. iv. c. 9. [p. 157. εἴγε οὕτως ἔχει ὥσπερ ἀκηκόαμεν παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν τοῦ συλλειτουργοῦ Εὐσταθίου.—Id. ibid., p. 158.]

[u] [κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ Λιβερίῳ, Εὐστάθιος, Σιλβανὸς, Θεόφιλος, ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.]—Sozom., lib. vi. cap. 11. [p. 232.]

[x] [Domino dilectissimo fratri Siricio papæ Ambrosius, Sabinus, Bassianus et cæteri . . . . ex jussu domini episcopi Geminiani, ipso præsente, Aper presbyter subscripsi.—Rescriptum Episcoporum Ambrosii, &c. ad Siricium papam. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1220, B. 1222, E.]

[y] [The third volume of the Bibliotheca Patrum, de la Bigne, in tomis viii. edit. 4. Par. 1624, consists entirely of letters . . Epistolæ quas de Deo et rebus divinis ecclesiæ patres conscripserunt.]

[z] [The subject of lib. xvi. is De successoribus Petri et aliorum episcoporum, and cap. 1. is against a difference of grade among bishops; at § 28. he gives the extracts from the Epistles in the Bibl. Patrum, beginning with the instances which Hickes has copied, thus, Veterum quorundum episcoporum Gallorum, qui sub finem quinti

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scribed his letter to the bishops met in council at Orange[a], *Dominis sanctis*, &c., "To my holy lords the bishops," and in the end of his letter (saith he) *Orate pro me domini sancti*, &c., "Pray for me my holy lords." They were his lords in spirituals, as he was theirs in temporals; his superiors under God the Son, as he was theirs under God the Father. Lastly[b], this was the usual style of priests, when they subscribed councils for their bishops. Thus were bishops styled lords[c] and despots upon the account of their great dignity, power, and pre-eminence, to which they were advanced by our Lord in His kingdom; and therefore, Sir, my way of speaking of them in my Propositions, was not new or insolent; and it will never be well with Christianity, till men think of bishops as I have written of them, till they reverence them more for their spiritual, than any temporal dignity, and be as afraid to assail their thrones as the thrones of kings. Sir, I protest to you as a divine, I know nothing that can be objected against my lofty way, (for so you call it,) of speaking of bishops as princes, but the thirty-ninth canon in the book of the canons of the African Church, which forbids the metropolitan or primate of any province to be called prince of the bishops, or

sæculi claruerunt, leguntur quædam epistolæ, tom. iii. Bibl. Patr. edit. 4. cum his inscriptionibus, &c.—Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ . . . prece et studio Ioannis Forbesii a Corse, pp. 759, 760. fol. Amst. 1645.]

[a] [Et Clovodeus Franciæ rex epistolam suam ad episcopos, quos ad concilium Aurelianense venire jusserat (A.D. 507) sic inscribit, 'Dominis sanctis, et apostolica sede dignissimis episcopis Clovodeus rex.' Eundemque sic claudit; 'Orate pro me, domini sancti, et apostolica sede papæ dignissimi.'—Ibid., § 39. p. 760.]

[b] Dr. Downame's Defence, b. iii. cap. 6. pp. 148, 149. [In 1608, Downame (or Downham, afterwards bishop of Derry), published a sermon preached at the consecration of James Mountague as bishop of Bath and Wells, "in defence of the honourable function of bishops," on Rev. i. 20. To this an answer was sent out, and in 1611 Downame published a reply, with the title, A Defence of the Sermon preached at the consecration of the bishop of Bath and Wells, against a confutation thereof by a nameless author: divided into four books . . . the third defending the superiority of bishops over other ministers, and proving that bishops always had a priority not only in order, but also in degree, and a majority of power both for ordination and jurisdiction . . . by George Downame, D.D. London, 1611. The subject of chapter 6. is "Titles of honour given to bishops;" of § 1. "Whether bishops may be called lords." He gives the same instances as Hickes has done, and adds (p. 149) after the word Geminianus (see above, note x); "and this was the usual style of presbyters when they did subscribe to councils instead of their bishop whose place they supplied." He refers to several instances.]

[c] See more instances, Habert. Pontif. Græc., p. 539. [Observat. viii. Ad Edictum Metropolitæ ordinato. Qualis episcopi dominatus. He adds, however, after quoting several of the instances given by Hickes and others; Neque mirum episcopos . . . dominos vocari; cum ipsi quoque presbyteri domini vocarentur etiam ab episcopis; of this he gives instances.]

supreme bishop. The words are these[d]; *Ut primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquod hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus*, i. e. "That the bishop of the prime see be not called prince of the bishops, or supreme bishop, or by any such name, but only bishop of the prime see." But this canon hath no relation to bishops, either severally considered as spiritual chiefs or princes in their proper districts over the clergy and laity, or as collegiate princes over the whole Church of God, but only to metropolitans, primates, or patriarchs; and particularly, to the metropolitans or primates of Rome, who began betimes to behave themselves like *episcopi episcoporum*[e], contrary to the collegiate equality of bishops; and therefore to prevent that this fast and arrogance, which began to appear in the oriental and occidental Churches, should not come among the African primates, they would not have them called princes of the bishops, lest they should think themselves as much superior to their fellows and colleagues in the episcopal office, as bishops were to presbyters, or the first to the second order of priests. For this reason they would have them only called primates, or bishops of the prime see: though as superiors to presbyters, bishops were called *principes sacerdotum*, and *summi sacerdotes*, according to that of Tertullian *de Baptismo*[f], *Dandi quidem baptismi jus habet supremus sacerdos, qui est episcopus;* and that of *Facundus Hermianensis*[g], *Quid commemorem laicos . . . quid ministros plurimos? Quid diaconos in tertio? quid presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio constitutos? Ipsi apices, et principes omnium episcopi*, &c. Bishops therefore are princes of the clergy and laity, princes of the Church in its several districts, as a spiritual society, though primates,

[d] [Codex Canon. Eccles. Africanæ, Canon xxxix. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1281, C. This codex is a collection of canons of different African councils. This is Canon 26 of the third council of Carthage, (A.D. 397.) Concilia, ibid., col. 1403, C. The Greek translation is, *ὥστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιουτοτρόπον τί ποτε· ἄλλα μόνον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας.*]

[e] Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; [quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare.—Conc. Carth. de Bapt. Hæret. apud Cyprianum. [S. Cypr. Op., pp. 329, 330. ed. Ben.]

[f] [Tert. de Bapt. cap. 17. Op., p. 230, C.]

[g] [This seems a mistake for Optatus Milevitanus (lib. de Schism. Donatist. cont. Parmenian., lib. i. c. 13. p. 11. quoted above, p. 35. note k.)]

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and metropolitans, and patriarchs are not princes of the bishops, who are of the same order with them[h], and their brethren and colleagues.

[h] Hieronymus in Epist. ad Evagrium. Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, et paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes Apostolorum successores sunt. [S. Hier. Epist. cxlvi. ad Evangelum (al. lxxxv. ad Evagrium) Op., tom. i. p. 1076, D. 1077, A.] See also Balsamon, and Zonaras on canon xlii. Concil. Carth. [This is the canon quoted above, p. 374, as the thirty-ninth of the canons of the African Church, see note d. Balsamon and Zonaras observe that in the sixth and seventh canons of the council of Sardica, and the ninth and seventeenth of the general council of Chalcedon, Metropolitans are called 'exarchs;' that the latter council therefore approved the decision of the council of Sardica in this point rather than that of Carthage; in which the primates' not having titles of distinction given is to be attributed only to the desire of repressing ambition. See their words in Beveridge, Pandectæ Canonum, tom. i. p. 567, A—C.]

CHAPTER II.

AN ANSWER TO THE SECOND CAPITAL OBJECTION AGAINST THE DIGNITY AND AUTHORITY OF THIS OFFICE, FROM THE CHURCH INDEPENDENCY BEING A PRESBYTERIAN DOCTRINE.

SECT. I.

The distinct power and polity of the Church not a Presbyterian but a Catholic doctrine.

YOUR next objection against my Propositions is for containing a doctrine so like that of the presbyterians concerning Church power and independency, by which they have endeavoured to enslave the State to the Church.

To which I answer, that there are few sects that do not retain some truths, one of which is the distinction of ecclesiastical and civil power, and the independency of the Church on the State, and as far as the presbyterians have abused and misapplied this doctrine to the wrong or disturbance of the secular potentates, and invading their rights, so far it is to be condemned and abhorred by every good Christian, in the presbytery as well as in the pope. But then that abuse of the doctrine, which is catholic and primitive, is purely the fault of the men. But as I have taught and explained it in my letter[1], it can never hurt the State, or secular sovereigns and those put in authority under them, otherwise than by their own fault, when they bring the judgments of God upon themselves and the people for acting contrary to it, and their duty to Christ and His Church. According to my Propositions the Church hath no sword, but the spiritual one of excommunication, nor any arms to defend itself against the oppression of the State, but spiritual censures, prayers,

[1] [The letter referred to is the fuller one containing the forty Propositions, published under the title of the Constitution of the Catholic Church, and the nature and consequences of Schism, in a Letter to a Sergeant at Law, in the posthumous volume bearing the same title sent out in 1716. See Proposition 24. (pp. 78, 79.) "That the union or interweaving of the civil with the ecclesiastical laws and government gives the State no more right or pretence of right to usurp it over the Church or invade its spiritual rights which it derives from Christ, than it gives the Church to usurp it over the State, or invade its temporal rights which it derives from God." So Prop. 28. (p. 81.) "(Men) are bound under the relation of faithful temporal subjects to defend the rights of the State, which are their own civil rights, against the Church, when she invades them."]

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and tears. Its rights, as a society founded by Christ Jesus, are no otherwise to be maintained, than its faith and worship, by patience and suffering, commonly called passive obedience; and so far am I from enslaving the laity to the clergy, or the Church to the State, that in my Propositions I make them subordinate, and subject to one another; the Church to the State in all temporal matters, and the State to the Church in purely spiritual matters: and in this divine harmony doth the peace of the Church and a Christian State consist. My doctrine condemns the Church's going beyond its bounds, and invading the rights of princes *in ordine ad spiritualia,* as much as the State's transgressing its bounds, and violating the rights of the Church *in ordine ad temporalia;* but more especially if Church magistrates go beyond their bounds in disturbing the peace, order, frame, or government of the State, I would have them undergo more severe and exemplary punishments than other men.

Thus, Sir, you see the doctrine of Church power and independency is to be distinguished from the abuse of it; and the abuse of it, whether by presbyterians, or the clergy of the Church of Rome, is no reflection upon the pure and innocent doctrine, but upon them who make so ill use of it, contrary to the intention of our blessed Lord, and the ends for which He gave it to the Church. Wherefore I say of this doctrine, as St. Paul said of the law, it is "spiritual, holy, just and good;" though like the law, it hath been much abused with mixtures, as other doctrines have been. But in my Propositions, you know it is delivered in its primitive original purity, without presbyterian or popish mixtures, and secured as much as it can be in writing, from being perverted and abused. If you would see how much it is corrupted with presbyterian mixtures, you need but consult the sixth book of Spotswood's Church History, from p. 289 to p. 302. But nevertheless there are many truths asserted there concerning the Church and Church government, to which I give my full assent. They are such as these[k]: [chap. i. 3.] "The

Rom. 7. 12, 14.

[k] [The following passages are extracted from "a form of Church policy," presented to the Scottish parliament by the Presbyterian body in 1578, and entitled; "Heads and conclusions of the Church; and first of the policy thereof in general, wherein it differeth from the civil." Hickes' reference is to the fourth edition of The History of the Church and State of Scotland, &c. by

Church, (as it is taken for them who exercise the spiritual function,)" i. e. for the Church governors, "hath a certain power granted by God, according to which it useth a proper jurisdiction, or government. . . . . [4.] This power ecclesiastical is an authority granted by God the Father, through the mediation of Jesus Christ [unto the Church gathered and having the ground in the word of God,] to be put in execution by them unto whom the spiritual government of the Church by lawful calling is committed.

[8.] This power and polity is different and distinct in its own nature from that power and polity which is called the civil power. . . . [9.] For this power ecclesiastical floweth [from God] immediately [and] (from) the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal head in the earth, but only Christ, the only spiritual King and Governor of the (universal) Church.

[13.] As the ministers and others of the ecclesiastical State are subject to the magistrate civilly; so ought the person of the magistrate to be subject to the Church spiritually [and in ecclesiastical government.]

[15.] The civil power is called the power of the sword; (and) the other power the power of the keys.

[19.] The civil magistrate getteth obedience by the sword and [other] external means; but the minister by the spiritual sword and spiritual means. [22.] As ministers are subject to the judgment and punishment of magistrates in external things, if they offend; so ought the magistrates to submit themselves to the discipline of the Church, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion.

[Chap. x. Art. 2.] It pertains to the office of a Christian magistrate to fortify and assist the godly proceedings of the Church; . . . [4.] to assist and maintain the discipline of (it) . . . . without confounding the one jurisdiction with the other; . . . [7.] or usurping any thing that pertains not to the civil sword, but belongs to the offices merely ecclesias-

J. Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrew's. London, 1677. The first passage extracted is the third article of chapter 1, which runs thus in the original; "The Church in this last sense hath a power," &c. . . . referring to art. 2. "(The Church is taken) sometimes for them that exercise the spiritual functions amongst the congregation of them that profess the truth." The words in parentheses in the text are added by Hickes, (who also substitutes 'polity' for 'policy'); those in brackets are inserted by the editor, from the original of Spottiswood.]

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tical; as the ministry of the word or Sacraments, using ecclesiastical discipline, and [spiritual] execution thereof, or any part of the spiritual keys, which the Lord Jesus gave to the Apostles, and their true successors."

So in the Westminster Confession, chap. xxv. § 3[1]: "Christ hath given to the Catholic visible Church the ministry, as well as the oracles, and ordinances of God." So chap. xxx. § 1: "The Lord Jesus, as King and Head of His Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of Church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate." § 2: "To these officers the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed," &c., not to transcribe many other passages out of that Confession, and two or three presbyterian books more, viz., *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*[m], and *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici; Jus Divinum Ministerii Anglicani*[n]; which assert "Church power to be seated in Christ the head of the Church, and from Him committed to the Apostles, and from them to Church officers, and that they alone who received it from the Apostles" (which I have shewed were bishops superior to, and distinct from presbyters), "can derive and transmit it to others;" and that this transmission, and derivation of Church power by continued lineal succession, as well as the power itself, was founded on positive Divine institution. For the proof of all which, they cite such texts of Scripture as I made use of in the former letter you gave me leave to write to you.

II. This distinction of the power and polity of the Church

[1] [The Confession of Faith and Catechisms agreed upon by the assembly of Divines at Westminster, to be a part of uniformity in religion between the Churches of Christ in the three kingdoms. London, 1650. Chap. 25. Of the Church. § 3. "Unto this Catholic visible Church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God," &c. Chap. 30, § 1, is Of Church Censures; from which Hickes' quotations are made verbatim.]

[m] [The first work referred to is, "Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici; or the Divine Right of Church Government asserted and evidenced by the Holy Scriptures, &c., by sundry Ministers of Christ within the city of London." ed. 3. 1654. See chap. xi. sect. 2. pp. 178—202.]

[n] [The two last mentioned works are two parts of the same book; of the first the title is, "Jus Divinum, or the Divine Right of the Gospel ministry. The first part." London, 1654. Of the other, "The second part, containing a justification of the present ministers of England, both such who were ordained during the prevalency of episcopacy from the foul aspersion of Antichristianism, and those who have been ordained since its abolition from the unjust imputation of novelty; that a Bishop and Presbyter are all one in Scripture, and that ordination by Presbyters is most agreeable to the Scripture pattern." London, 1654. The heading of the pages is "Jus Divinum ministerii Anglicani, or the Divine Right of the ministry in England." The work is directed against the independents as well as the Church.]

CHAP. II. SECT. II.

The abuse of this power by the Presbyterians. The doctrine of the Independents.

from that of the State by Divine institution, which the presbyterian writers insist so much upon, is indeed not only like to what I laid down in my former letter to you, but the very same, and the doctrine is never the worse, no more than other sound doctrines, for being taught in the Kirk; though, as they have misapplied and abused it, it is to be abhorred and detested by all good Christians, as contrary to the holy Gospels, and the doctrine and practice of the holy Catholic Church, and utterly inconsistent with the civil order and peace of kingdoms and sovereign states. The peace and quiet of a nation, where there is such a Church or Churches, is not to be preserved without a standing army; but the distinction between the two powers, jurisdictions, and governments, which I have taught, as it was ordained by the wisdom from above; so is it "pure, peaceable, and gentle, without hypocrisy, and full of the fruits of righteousness and good works." It is a distinction "not of man, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead." It is a real distinction and difference, not invented by priests, but ordained by Jesus Christ, to distinguish His kingdom from the kingdoms of the world, and the things which belong to God from those which belong to Cæsar, or betwixt the things which belong to the empire, and those that belong to the Church. A real distinction, I say it is, by all the rules of Logic, which teacheth us[o], "that different subjects and the accidents of different subjects, are really different from one another;" and "that those things are really distinct, of which one can exist without the other." Thus the Church subsisted without the State for three hundred years together; there was then nothing more visible than the distinction or rather opposition between it and the empire, or between the kingdom of Christ and that of Cæsar. The two societies and governments were all that time as distinguishable as light from darkness to every vulgar eye, while the Apostles and their successors preached against the Jewish and Gentile religions, planted and formed Christian societies or Churches, in the greatest cities of the world, and thereby turned it upside down, "doing all things contrary to the decrees of Cæsar" and the laws of the empire, and

Acts 17. 6, 7.

[o] [Differunt vero realiter, quorum unum potest esse sine alio absque contradictione; vel quæ sunt in diversis subjectis vel diversa subjecta.—Sanderson, Logic, lib. i. c. 19, § 5.]

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vouching all they did by the authority of "another King, one Jesus," "who was dead, but whom they affirmed to be alive." Sir, "He that liveth and was dead, but is alive for evermore," is the founder of the Church. "He who hath the keys of hell and death" gave the power of the keys to commission ministers of His own to govern His kingdom unto the end of the world, to admit in and to exclude out of it, to bind and to loose, to chastise and correct with spiritual censures, to humble and exalt, to suspend, deprive, degrade, and restore, and finally to cut off the incorrigible with the spiritual sword. If this be presbyterian, or popish doctrine, I own myself to be so unhappy as to believe both, and bound in conscience to maintain them in behalf of the Church against the world. Here, Sir, my conscience saith unto me, as St. Ignatius said to Polycarp[o], στῆθι ἑδραῖος ὡς ἄκμων τυπτόμενος, "stand steady, and fast, like a beaten anvil." Indeed, Sir, the institutions of Christ, without making comparison between them, are dear and sacred to me, as well as His revelations, and I have no more power to do any thing against the doctrines which I think relate to the being and government or discipline of the Church, as a society, than against those which relate unto it as a sect.

If you had pleased, you might have objected as well against my Propositions about the distinction of the Church from the State, for containing a doctrine so like that of the independents. For there is not a little of that doctrine in P. Nye's posthumous book entitled, "Of the oath of Supremacy, and power of the King in ecclesiastical affairs," printed at London, 1683[p]. In that book you will find the author, in the words of other writers, asserting[q] that "government or discipline" (as well as doctrine) "is intrinsic (to) and inseparable from the [very] essence of a Church, . . . and not the grant and constitution of any secular prince and State; that 'the Church is endued[r] with a judicature immediately derived from Christ,

[o] [S. Ignat. Epist. ad S. Polycarp. c. 3. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 40.]

[p] [From the address of the publisher to the reader at the beginning of this work it would seem to be a reprint. It begins; "The reprinting of this judicious and learned treatise of Mr. Nye's, is occasioned by the reimposing of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy on the city of London at this juncture for election of common council men," &c. Its design is to shew that "the principles of dissenters are not inconsistent with the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs."]

[q] [The following extracts are from Nye, chap. 5. Obj. 1. § 2. p. 38.]

[r] [This is an extract from Dr. Thomas Jackson's Treatise of the holy Catholic Faith and Church, first pub-

and independent upon any earthly power, or any power whatsoever upon earth, whether spiritual (i. e. papal) or temporal;'" that "'the things comprised in the Church[s], and by God Himself commanded to the Church,' as 'the word, Sacraments, and use of the keys, or ecclesiastical power, and cure of souls,'" (of which let me add the episcopal certainly is the greatest,) "'are subject to no mortal creature, pope, or prince;'" that "'the Church hath the keys from Christ[t] equally independent upon any mortal man, in discipline as in doctrine;'" that "all grant there is a government *jure Divino* and by the appointment of Jesus Christ;" that "it is denied by none but Erastus and his followers, who may as well deny praying, preaching, or Sacraments to be *jure Divino;*" that "it is as expressly ordained, that discipline be exercised in the name of Christ, as to preach, pray, or baptize in His name; that there are certainly things of God" (among which give me leave to reckon the episcopal cure and jurisdiction, as well as you reckon the order) "that are not things of Cæsar." And p. 24 he observes[u], that "Churches were planted, established, and kept up where there was no assistance from the princes of the earth, but opposition;" that is, as I have shewed in my first letter[x], "against the laws and consent of secular powers." In p. 23 he shews the difference between Church power and government, and the temporal, and of that he saith, that it is "spiritual, and hath all particulars for

lished in 1627, cap. 8. § 5. The words of Nye, p. 38, are: "Churches are endued (saith Dr. Jackson),"&c. Jackson's are: "It is probable that there were as many several distinct visible Churches as there were Apostles or other ambassadors of Christ, immediately endued," &c.—See his collected Works, vol. iii. p. 834. ed. 1673.]

[s] [This is an extract from Bp. Bilson's work, The true difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion, p. 171. Oxford, 1685. Nye's words (p. 38) are, "by God Himself commanded to the Church, (these things are specified in p. 227, to be the word, &c.)"]

[t] [This extract is from Rutherford (a presbyterian)'s work, entitled, "The due right of Presbyteries, or a peaceable plea for the Government of the Church of Scotland, by Samuel Rutherford, professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, London, 1644."]

[u] [Nye's words are: "It is not to be denied that souls were converted and Churches established and kept up," &c.]

[x] ["They (the Apostles) challenged maintenance, and levied contributions of their spiritual subjects, and erected tribunals of spiritual judicature, and inflicted spiritual punishments by their own authority, in a way wholly independent of the secular powers, and contrary to their established customs and laws." This position is very fully drawn out in the context of the passage in the letter referred to, "Of the Constitution of the Catholic Church, and the nature and consequences of Schism, in a letter sent to a Sergeant at Law."—See Hickes' posthumous work published under that title, pp. 110, sqq. London, 1716, and above vol. i. p. 62, note g.]

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substance, both in respect of persons and administrations, for matter and manner appointed by Jesus Christ, and in all nations to be the same." And p. 21[y], "that Church power architectonically considered, is the jurisdiction and authority of Christ, and seated in Him as head of the Church, and in the Church it is διακονία, and seated in her only ministerially, because the Church acts all in the name, and by the authority of Christ;" p. 18 he saith that "Christ is appointed by His Father to be King and Law-giver of the Churches, who hath left rules and laws for managing the affairs of those spiritual corporations." But then he differs from the presbyterians in this, that he endeavours to reconcile the power and authority spiritual with the king's supremacy; shewing the true scope and sense of the oath of supremacy, as it hath been altered and interpreted by our kings, not to be contrary to the power and jurisdiction of the Church[z]. He cites the letter of King Hen. VIII. to the clergy of the province of York in 1533[a], who were offended at his

[y] [Nye's words are: "And truly ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ Church power, is not properly jurisdiction or authority as in the Church, but as in Christ, the head of the Church; as seated in the Church, or 'cœtus fidelium,' it is only διακονία, 'ministerium' not 'dominium,' and acts all in the name or authority of Christ."]

[z] See Mr. Thorndyke's Forbearance of Christian Penalties. [The proper title of Thorndyke's work is, "a Discourse of the Forbearance or the Penalties which a due Reformation requires. London, 1670." It treats of the questions of the reforming the Church itself, and of the treatment due to recusants. Chap. xxiii. is what Hickes refers to; its subject is, "Of restoring and reforming the Jurisdiction of the Crown and of the Church in Ecclesiastical causes," pp. 118, sqq.]

Dr. Simon Lowth of the Subject of Church Power, chap. vi. [The portion of this chapter which is referred to is sect. 4, where the subject of the king's supremacy is very fully treated, pp. 431, sqq. Lond. 1685.]

The Discourse concerning the Illegality of the Ecclesiastical Commission. London, 1689, pp. 13, 14. [This work was published anonymously. It was written by Stillingfleet, who, on being summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission appointed by James II., drew up the substance of it; which he afterwards completed and published after the king had left the country. He refers to the act, 5 Eliz. c. 1. § 14, and the admonition attached to the queen's injunctions, to the thirty-seventh article, and the testimonies given in the text, and to others from our divines: the position he maintains is that "as in temporal matters the king's supreme authority is exercised in his ordinary courts, so likewise in ecclesiastical, but as to extraordinary jurisdiction, that depends on the legislative power."]

[a] [Nye, when speaking of the oath of supremacy as it stood in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward, (according to the act 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1, in which the king was acknowledged to be the supreme head of the Church,) says, that "Henry by his letter written to the clergy of York province well defends it." The letter was written in 1533, when the convocation of the province of York hesitated to acknowledge the king's supremacy as that of Canterbury had done; see above, vol. i. p. 225, note. The letter is printed in Wilkins' Concilia, tom. iii. pp. 762, sqq.]

title of being head of the Church; and secretary Walsingham's letter to Monsieur Critoy[b], in which he tells him how "the oath of supremacy was altered into a more grateful form, the hardness of the name and appellation of supreme head being removed." He cites the sense and interpretation by which Queen Elizabeth explained it in the form it now stands, in the admonition annexed to the injunctions[c]; the confirmation of that sense by way of proviso in Stat. 5. Eliz. 1[d]: the 37th article in the Articles of Religion concluded in the year 1562[e], King James the First's explication of it, in his Apology[f], p. 76, 1604; Bp. Bilson's[g], Dr. Morton's[h], and Mr.

[b] [This letter of Walsingham, explaining the seeming inconsistency of the queen in persecuting both papists and puritans, was first printed in 1654, in a collection of letters entitled, "Cabala sive Scrinia sacra, Mysteries of State and Government, in Letters of illustrious persons, and great agents in the reign of Hen. VIII., Queen Elizabeth, King James, and the late King Charles," part ii. p. 39. The date of the letter is uncertain. It is also printed in Collier's Eccl. Hist., vol. ii. p. 607; referred to by Nye, p. 10.]

[c] ["The queen's majesty being informed that in certain places of the realm, sundry of her native subjects, being called to ecclesiastical ministry of the Church, be by sinister persuasion, and perverse construction persuaded to find some scruple in the form of an oath, &c. . . . her majesty neither doth nor will challenge any authority than that was challenged and lately used by . . . king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI., which is, and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them."—An admonition to simple men deceived by malicious, appended to injunctions given by the queen's majesty, &c. A.D. 1559.—Wilkins' Concilia, tom. iv. p. 188; referred to by Nye, ibid.]

[d] ["Provided also, that the oath expressed in the said act, made in the said first year, shall be taken and expounded in such form as is set forth in an admonition annexed to the queen's injunctions, published in the first year of her majesty's reign," &c.—Act 5 Eliz. 1, § 14.]

[e] [Nye, p. 10. The words of the article are, "The queen's majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and all other her dominions, under whom the chief government of all estates of this realm whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the queen's majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folk to be offended, we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments; the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself, that is, That they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers." See vol. i. p. 230, note u.]

[f] ["In that oath is contained only the king's absolute power over all persons, as well civil as ecclesiastical, excluding all foreign powers and potentates to be judges within his dominions."—An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance; first sent forth without a name: but now acknowledged by the author, the right high and mighty prince James, &c. p. 47. Lond. 1609; quoted by Nye, p. 11.]

[g] ["Bishop Bilson, a great searcher into the doctrine of the supremacy of kings, gives this as the sense of the

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Mason's[i] sense of it; and lastly, he also cites the preface to Statute 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 12[k], wherein the temporal and spiritual bodies of this realm, and their respective authorities and jurisdictions are distinguished, and the king's supremacy, as head over both united into one body politic, is declared in such manner as is no ways prejudicial to the Church, as a spiritual society immediately instituted by Christ, and committed to the administration and government of the Apostles and their successors, independently on the secular powers. But to return to the presbyterians: I could pick up more gold out of the dross and rubbish with which this unhappy sect have debased and depraved the pure doctrine of Church power, and the distinction of the independency of the Church from the State. They have rejected the supreme order and authority to which Christ hath committed the administration of His kingdom, and declared it to be an antichristian usurp-

oath. 'The oath,' saith he, 'expresseth not kings' duty to God, but ours to them; as they must be obeyed when they join with truth, so must they be endured when they fall into error. Which side soever they take, either obedience to their wills, or submission to their swords, is their due by God's law, and that is all which our oath exacteth.' And a few lines following he interprets what is meant by supremacy. 'We do not,' saith he, 'give to princes power to do what they list, in the matters appertaining to God and His service. Indeed we say the pope may not depose them, nor pull the crown off their heads. In this only sense we defend them to be supreme, that is, not at liberty to do what they list without regard of truth or right, but without superior on earth.' (Bilson's True Difference, &c. p. 218.)" Nye, p. 12.]

[h] ["Dr. Morton against the pope's supremacy, out of an epistle of Leo to the emperor, speaking thus: 'You must not be ignorant that your princely power is given unto you, not only in worldly regiment, but also (spiritual) for the preservation of the Church.' As if he had said, not only in cases temporal, but also in spiritual, so far as it belongeth to the outward preservation, not to the personal administration of them. And this is the substance of our English oath: and further, neither do our kings of England challenge, nor subjects condescend unto.'—p. 26." (The reference is to the third part of Morton's work, entitled "A full satisfaction concerning a double Romish iniquity, &c." part iii., "which is a confutation of the principles of Romish doctrine in two points;" "1. The supreme head of rebellion," the pages of which are headed "a confutation of the pope's supremacy over kings." chap. 9. p. 26. Lond. 1606,) quoted by Nye, p. 12. See above p. 367, note x.]

[i] ["Mr. Mason in his Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Angliæ, speaking of Calvin's being offended, 'verum si intellexisset nihil aliud sibi valuisse hunc titulum,' &c. 'Calvin would never have disallowed this oath if he had understood by the title of supreme governor in ecclesiastical things, that nothing else had been claimed, but an exclusion of popish tyranny, and a lawful power in the king over his subjects; which stands not in coining new articles of faith or forms of religion, such as were Jeroboam's calves; but in defending and propagating that faith and religion of which God in the Scriptures is the undoubted author. In this sense and no other that ever we have heard of is the title of supreme governor given to and accepted by the king.' (Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sive de legitimo ejusdem ministerio, &c., lib. iii. c. 5. p. 319. Lond. 1625; p. 270 of the translation, Lond. 1628.) Nye, p. 13.]

[k] [Nye, see above, p. 312, note l.]

ation, and contrary to the word of God. They have most sacrilegiously taken the administration to themselves, even the whole power of the keys, which Christ gave to His Apostles and their successors the bishops, together with the power of ordination, and by consequence have altered the polity of His kingdom, and subverted the constitution of the Catholic Church. They have also extended[1] their pretended ecclesiastical powers from matters of faith and pure spiritual discipline, to secular business, and matters of temporal government, to the great prejudice of the royal authority, as to abrogate acts of parliament, and discharge people from obedience to them, making Church power to signify any thing *in ordine ad ecclesiastica,* and *spiritualia,* by extending it to whatsoever they think conducible to God's glory, the advancement of Christ's kingdom, or the good of the Church. Furthermore, these usurpers of the spiritual power, add the temporal to the spiritual sword, and contrary to the doctrines of the Gospel, fight against the temporal sovereign, for King Jesus, as often as they think it needful to defend His sceptre, and the rights of His kingdom, of which they are the greatest invaders, having rebelled against their lawful bishops, and opposed as much as they can the whole order; and for want of succession and ordination having none but groundless and impudent pretensions to the ministry, and by consequence no right to administer spiritual authority, or take upon them the government of the Church.

SECT. III.

Nothing here advanced contrary to the Regal Supremacy as rightly understood.

III. All this, Sir, you know as well as I; I have heard you often speak of them upon principle, as the scandal and reproach of the reformed name, and declare that they were no Church; which made me a little wonder that you should think the primitive doctrine in my propositions concerning the power and independency of the Church like that of theirs, who indeed have endeavoured to enslave the State to the Church. To conclude, Sir, in all my letter there is

[1] The king's large declaration, printed at London 1639, from p. 402 to the end. ["A large declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland, from their first originals: together with a particular deduction of the seditious practices of the prime leaders of the covenant, taken out of their own foul acts and writings: by which it doth appear that religion was only pretended by those leaders, but nothing less intended by them. By the King. London, 1639." The part referred to by Hickes is the narrative of the rebellious proceedings of the presbyterians.]

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nothing contrary to the regal supremacy, as it hath been qualified and explained by our kings and queens, nor to any other part of the law. And that you may not censure what I have written, or rather collected as such, pray read Bishop Sanderson's opinion of episcopacy, delivered in these words[m]: "My opinion is, that episcopal government is not to be derived merely from apostolical practice or institution, but that it is originally founded in the person and office of the Messias, our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, who being sent by His Father to be the great Apostle, Bishop, and Pastor of His Church, and anointed to that office immediately after His baptism by John, 'with power and the Holy Ghost' descending then upon Him 'in a bodily shape,' did afterwards, before His ascension into heaven, send and empower His Apostles (giving them the Holy Ghost likewise, as His Father had given Him) in like manner as His Father had before sent Him, to execute the same apostolical, episcopal, pastoral office, for the ordering and governing of His Church until His coming again; and so the same office to continue in them and their successors 'unto the end of the world.' This I take to be so clear from these and other like texts of Scripture, that if they shall be diligently compared together, both between themselves and [with] the following practice of all the Churches of Christ, as well in the Apostles' time as in the purest and primitive times nearest thereto, there will be left little cause why any man should doubt thereof." Nothing that I have said affects the regal supremacy more than this opinion of that great casuist and the consequences of it, which you can infer as well as I. I could produce more passages of the same tendency out of his book entituled "Episcopacy not prejudicial to Regal Power," which you may see in the sixth chapter of the learned Dr. Lowth's excellent book "Of the subject of Church Power[n]," a book

Acts 10. 37, 38.

Luke 3. 22.

John 20. 21.

Matt. 28. —20.

[m] [These extracts are made from a Postscript to the Reader, appended to the posthumous treatise of Sanderson entitled "Episcopacy, as it is established in England, not prejudicial to regal power, written in the time of the long parliament, by the special command of the late king," p. 101. London, 1678.]

[n] Printed at London by Ben. Tooke, 1685. [The portion of Lowth's work referred to is that in which he makes the following quotation from Sanderson's Episcopacy, p. 121, "That there is a supreme ecclesiastical power, which by the law of the land is established, and by the doctrine of our Church acknowledged to be inherent in the Church," with other long extracts from the same work.]

you may remember which upon my recommendation you promised me to read. In the same chapter[o] you will also find some places of the same nature taken out of Bishop Bilson's "True Difference betwixt Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion[p]," which was allowed by public authority, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, a princess jealous enough of her prerogative and supremacy. I refer you to them, and when you have read them you will find yourself obliged to censure those great men Bilson and Sanderson, who were approved for what they wrote, or to acquit me. I could also produce abundance of places to the same purpose out of the former's excellent book entituled "The Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," printed in English at London 1593[q]. Indeed, Sir, it is difficult to write as one should of the constitution and rights of the Catholic Church, and of the episcopal order and office, without writing what may in some kind or degree seem to thwart the laws and government of some or other kingdoms or sovereign states, which have taken the liberty to make laws contrary to the consentient doctrine and practice of the ancient Catholic Church. The whole title of the book which Bishop Bilson, then Warden of Winchester College, wrote Of the Perpetual governing of Christ's Church, as well as the book itself, was opposite and cross to many new-modelled Churches then set up by the civil power in divers places, though, praised be God, it was not so much as thought contrary to the regal power and supremacy established by the laws of this realm. I will take the pains to transcribe part of two or three pages out of the thirteenth chapter of it[r], which if I had written now I am afraid you would have thought in the consequences of it to have looked obliquely upon the regal supremacy and civil power. "Cyprian (saith he) hath written a whole book to prove 'that the unity of each Church resteth on the

[o] [See Lowth On the Subject of Church Power, sect. 19. pp. 472, sqq.]

[p] [Ibid., sect. 18, pp. 459, sqq.]

[q] [A Latin translation of this work was sent out by Bilson in 1611.]

[r] p. 245. [The subject of chapter 13 is: "that some chief pastors, in and ever since the Apostles' times, have been distinguished from the rest of the presbyters by the power of ordination and right of succession, and placed in every city, to preserve the external unity and perpetuity of the Church, whom the ancient fathers did, and we after them do call by the name of bishops." The extracts have been corrected according to the original of Bilson.]

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singularity of the pastor[s],' whither I remit him that is desirous to read more at large; as also to his first book and third epistle, entreating of the same matter, and written to Cornelius. The effect of all is contained in these words[t]: 'Who is so wicked and perfidious, who so mad with the fury of discord, that believeth the unity of God, the Lord's vesture, the Church of Christ, may be torn in pieces, or dare tear it? Himself in His Gospel warneth and teacheth (us) saying, There shall be one flock and one shepherd. And doth any man think there may be in one place either many shepherds or many flocks?' In the aforesaid epistle . . . . he saith[u], 'Heresies have sprung and schisms risen from none other fountain than this, that God's priest is not obeyed, nor one priest in the Church acknowledged for the time to be judge in Christ's stead; to whom, if all the brethren would be subject, according to the Divine directions, no man would after the Divine judgments, after the suffrages of the people, after the consent of other bishops, make himself judge now, not of the bishop, but of God.' . . . . And therefore is the conclusion general, both with councils and fathers, that there could be but one bishop in one city, where the presbyters were many. Cornelius, bishop and martyr, long before the council of Nice, reporting to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, the original of Novatian's[x] schism, saith[y], 'This jolly inquisitor of the Gospel understandeth not that there ought to be but one bishop in (that) Catholic Church in which he knoweth

[s] De Unitate Ecclesiæ, vel de Simplicitate Prælatorum. [De Simplicitate Prælatorum is the title of this tract in Erasmus' edition, p. 246. Ant. 1541; de Unitate Ecclesiæ, that in later editions.]

[t] [Quis ergo sic est sceleratus et perfidus, quis sic discordiæ furore vesanus, ut aut credat scindi posse aut audeat scindere unitatem Dei, vestem Domini, Ecclesiam Christi? Monet ipse in Evangelio suo et docet dicens; 'et erit unus grex et unus pastor;' et esse posse uno in loco aliquis existimet aut multos pastores aut plures greges? —S. Cypr. de Unitate Ecclesiæ, Op., p. 196. ed. Ben.]

[u] [Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur: cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversus sacerdotum collegium quicquam moveret, nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, judicem se jam non episcopi, sed Dei, faceret.—Id. Epist. lv. (lib. i. Ep. 3. ed. Erasm. Ant. 1541.) ad Cornelium, p. 82. ed. Ben.]

[x] ['Novatius,' Bilson.]

[y] [ὁ ἐκδικητὴς οὖν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὐκ ἠπίσταto ἕνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἡγνόει (πῶς γάρ;) πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τεσσεράκοντα ἕξ.—Epist. Cornelii Episc. Rom. ad Fabium Episc. Antioch. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. vi. cap. 43. H. E. tom. i. p. 312.]

there are forty-six presbyters.' The great Nicene council took special care . . . . . 'that[z] there should not be two bishops in one city.' Chrysostom, when Paul writeth to 'the bishops and deacons' of Philippi, asketh this question[a]: 'What meaneth this? were there many bishops of one city?' and answereth, 'By no means, but by this title he designeth the presbyters, for then the name was common.' . . . . Theodoret (*in* 1 *cap. ad Phil.*[b]) 'In no case many bishops could not be pastors of one city.' . . . . Œcumenius[c]; 'The presbyters he calleth bishops, for as yet the words were common to both.' Optatus (*contra Parmenianum*, lib. ii.)[d] 'He is a schismatic and a sinner that against one episcopal chair erecteth another.' Hierome (*in* 1 *cap. ad Philip.*[e]) 'Bishops here we understand to be presbyters, for in one city there could not be many bishops.' . . . . This is a certain rule to distinguish bishops from presbyters: the presbyters were many in every Church, of whom the presbytery consisted. Bishops were always singular, that is, one in a city and no more[f], except another intruded, (which the Church of Christ counted a schism, and would never communicate with any such,) or else an helper was given in [respect of] extreme and feeble

[z] [Concil. Nicæn. Canon viii. The council was providing for the reception of bishops returning from schism to the Catholic communion; the canon concludes: εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρέσκοι, ἐπινοήσει τόπον ἢ χωρεπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὅλως δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ὦσιν.—Concil., tom. ii. col. 37, B.]

[a] [τί τοῦτο; μιᾶς πόλεως πολλοὶ ἐπίσκοποι ἦσαν; οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὕτως ἐκάλεσε, τότε γὰρ τέως ἐκοινώνουν τοῖς ὀνόμασι.—S. Chrys. Hom. i. in Epist. ad Phil. Op., tom. xi. p. 194, E; 195, A.]

[b] [ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ οἷόν τε ἦν πολλοὺς ἐπισκόπους μιᾶν πόλιν ποιμαίνειν.—Theodoret. in Epist. ad Phil., cap. 1. Op., tom. iii. p. 323, D.]

[c] [οὐκ ἔπειδαν ἐν μιᾷ πόλει πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐπίσκοποι, ἀλλ' ἐπισκόπους τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καλεῖ. τότε γὰρ ἔτι ἐκοινώνουν τοῖς ὀνόμασι.—Œcumenii et Arethæ Comment., tom. ii. p. 65, C, D.]

[d] [The whole passage is as follows: Igitur negare non potes scire te in urbe Roma Petro primo cathedram episcopalem esse collatam, in qua sederit omnium Apostolorum caput Petrus; unde et Cephas appellatus est, in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur, ne cæteri Apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent, ut jam schismaticus et peccator esset, qui contra singularem cathedram alteram collocaret.—S. Optati contra Parmen. sive de Schism. Donatist., lib. ii. c. 2. p. 28.]

[e] [Hic episcopos presbyteros intelligimus: non enim in una urbe plures episcopi esse potuissent.—Pseudo-Hieron. in Epist. ad Philip., c. 1. S. Hieron., Op., tom. xi. col. 1011, D.]

[f] "It is a fundamental rule of the Church, necessary for preserving peace and unity therein, that but one bishop should be in one Church." Dr. Isaac Barrow in a Discourse of the Unity of the Church, c. 7. [Barrow's words are, "When some confessors had abetted Novatianus against Cornelius, (thereby against a fundamental rule of the Church, necessary for preserving of peace and order therein, that but one bishop should be in one Church.")—Works, vol. vii. p. 652. Oxford, 1830.]

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age, in which case the power of the latter ceased in the presence of the former. And this singularity of one pastor in each place descended from the Apostles and their scholars in all [the famous] Churches of the world, by a perpetual chair[g] of succession, and doth to this day continue but where abomination or desolation, I mean heresy or violence, interrupt it. Of this there is so perfect record in all the histories and fathers of the Church, that I much muse with what face men that have any taste of learning can deny the vocation of bishops came from the Apostles. For if their succession be apostolic, their function cannot choose but be likewise apostolic; and that they succeeded the Apostles and Evangelists in their Churches and chairs may inevitably be proved, if any Christian persons or Churches deserve to be credited.

The second assured sign of episcopal power is imposition of hands to ordain presbyters and bishops. For as pastors were to have some to assist them in their charge, which were presbyters; so were they to have others to succeed them in their places, which were bishops. And this right by imposing hands to ordain presbyters and bishops in the Church of Christ, was at first derived from the Apostles unto bishops, and not unto presbyters; and hath for these fifteen hundred years, without example or instance to the contrary, till this our age, remained in bishops, and not in presbyters."

SECT. IV.

The powers of Church and State have both been abused.

IV. Sir, these Catholic doctrines relating to the Divine original of the episcopal office, and the single or monarchical government of every Church, or spiritual district in the kingdom of Christ, have been often abused to the hurt of the State, as well as the doctrine relating in my Propositions to the power of the keys, which you say is so like that of the presbyterians, by which they indeed endeavoured to enslave the State to the Kirk. But though all these doctrines have been too often abused by proud and turbulent prelates, especially by the bishop of Rome, yet they are true and Catholic doctrines, and ought to be so received in all the parts of the Christian world. We have had our Anselms, and Beckets, and in many other kingdoms the mitres have sometimes most insolently and unrighteously justled with the crown, and the spiritual lords over the flocks of Christ

[g] [Hickes, ed. 3. "chain."]

have sometimes been most undutiful to their temporal lord; but notwithstanding you know, Sir, there is nothing more unreasonable, than to argue against the truth, or right, or use of a thing from the abuse of it, especially against power and authority, whether spiritual or temporal, which through the corruption and infirmities of human nature is most easily abused. If men will be always jealous of power, and arguing continually against it, because it may be abused, there can be no entire peace in any societies, not in families, senates, republics, and kingdoms, as well as in Churches, whose governors our Lord supposed might, and sometimes would abuse their power, as well as the governors of the world. It were easy to shew how these have abused their power in all forms of civil government, and particularly in the oppressions, and persecutions, and vexations of the Churches in their dominions, though their power was of God, and they the ministers of God; and if you should make a scheme of civil government in propositions after the same manner as I have done of the ecclesiastical, I might with as much reason say after your example that the doctrine of your propositions, though never so true, looked something like that of Erastus, or perhaps of the Super-Erastians, Hobbes, Selden, and other such writers, who have endeavoured to destroy the being and constitution of the Church, as a society, by arguments not at all known to the Jewish Church, nor to the Christian, till these latter ages, in which scepticism, and unbelief, by the just judgment of God, have increased from small beginnings, to as full and perfect a stature as the envious powers of hell can wish.

Wherefore, Sir, we must neither argue against Church or State, from the abuses of their respective powers. For God, who ordained them, hath set bounds between them, and if either of the two go beyond those bounds, it is not the fault of the powers, but of the potentates, who may easily live in perfect amity and peace together by mutual agreement with, and subjection to one another, as, not to instance in foreign kingdoms and empires, our Christian ancestors of the English-Saxon Church and State did for many hundred years, when they made their respective laws, and ministered their respective justice together in such perfect concord, that I

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may challenge you to shew me any one Saxon law, that is against any one canon of the Church. It was William the Conqueror, who first invaded the rights and liberties of the English people, that first broke in upon the rights and liberties of the English Church. "He would not suffer the primate[h] in a general council of the kingdom to enact any canon which he did not first approve. He would not suffer any bishop to censure any of his ministers or courtiers, or inflict any rigorous ecclesiastical penances upon them, though they were guilty of adultery or incest." And what is very remarkable, though he pretended to be a true and zealous son of the Church of Rome, which then was esteemed the Catholic Church, yet "he would let none[i] in his dominions acknowledge any, who was constituted bishop of Rome, for pope, without his order, or admit any of his letters as such, unless they were first shewn to him." Thus, saith the historian[k], "all Divine, as well as human affairs, were governed by his beck." So easy a thing is it, Sir, to abuse power. That bright archangel and heavenly potentate Lucifer, who kept not his first station, transgressed the Rubicon of his power, and thereby became a devil, and therefore we need not wonder that among the angels of the Church, some of Luciferian tempers have done the like, and thereby became tyrants in the Church, and rebels to God and their kings. But still, I say, the abuse of the ecclesiastical power must not always make us jealous of it, or those who defend it, as the ordinance of God, especially in such dregs of time as these, when to the great decay of Christian piety, it is become precarious, and oppressed to such a degree in so

[h] Eadmeri Historia Rerum Novarum, lib. i. p. 6. ed. Lond. 1623. [Primatem quoque regni sui, archiepiscopum dico Cantuariensem (seu Doroberneusem), si coacto generali episcoporum concilio præsideret, non sinebat quicquam statuere aut prohibere nisi quæ suæ voluntati accommoda, et a se primo essent ordinata. Nulli nihilominus episcoporum suorum concessum iri permittebat, ut aliquem de baronibus suis seu ministris, sive incesto, sive adultero, sive aliquo capitali crimine denotatum, publice nisi ejus præcepto implacitaret aut excommunicaret, aut ulla ecclesiastici rigoris pœna constringeret.—pp. 29, E; 30, A. ad cal. S. Anselmi Op., Par. 1721; where the words enclosed in parentheses are omitted.]

[i] [Non ergo pati volebat quemquam in omni dominatione suæ constitutum Romanæ urbis pontificem pro apostolico, nisi se jubente, recipere, aut ejus literas, si primitus sibi ostensæ non fuissent, ullo pacto suscipere.—Id. ibid. This sentence immediately precedes the one last quoted.]

[k] [Cuncta ergo Divina simul humana ejus nutum expectabant.—Id. ibid., paulo supra.]

many protestant countries, that it is almost brought to its last gasp. As you love the Church, and believe its government by bishops to be of Divine institution: so methinks you should be for giving them all the powers that belong to their spiritual office. You own their authority by which they preach, and administer the holy Sacraments, and ordain presbyters and bishops, to be originally and immediately given by Christ to the Apostles, and that it was conveyed by them to their successors, and so to be transmitted from successors to successors unto the end of the world. Why then are you so shy in owning their rectoral power; since the same blessed Saviour, who bid the Apostles teach and baptize all nations, and "Do this in remembrance of Me," said also to them, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth," &c., and "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." And as they exercised the power of preaching, and administering the Sacraments, and ordaining, by the one commission, so by the other they exercised spiritual jurisdiction, and equally gave both powers to their successors; and their pretensions to the one power was never called in question, more than to the other, in former times, no not when it was most abused. You are willing in the full latitude of their delegation to hear them, as teachers in chief under Christ, as He is a prophet, and to acknowledge them as chief-priests under Him, who is High-Priest of His Church. But you are loath in virtue of their delegation, to own and obey them in the vicegerency of His regal office, and to be subject to them as your spiritual lords. You admit them as shepherds under Him the chief Shepherd of our souls, to feed, but not to govern His flock; but according to the Scriptures, and Catholic tradition, which is the best expositor of them, you must take them for pastors in both senses; for they have authority for the one, as well as the other from Christ, and therefore without choosing you ought to own or reject both. But, Sir, why should you make a doubt or difficulty of their authority, as masters under our Lord in His house, vicegerents under Him in His kingdom, governors under Him in His cities, or if you please, as senators of His own appointment to govern His commonwealth. They were acknowledged and obeyed

Matt. 18. 18.
John 20. 23.

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as such without scruple, by Christians of all ranks, as well after as before the empire turned Christian, when emperors, as well as their subjects, submitted themselves to them, as their spiritual superiors; emperors, who knew very well what they did, and who had too much courage to fear any thing but God, and too much wisdom to be imposed upon by the craft of priests.

I hope I have shewed this fully in my answer to your letter; and when you have well considered what I have written, I desire you to send your second thoughts and reflections upon it to

Your most faithful,

and humble servant,

[GEORGE HICKES.]

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